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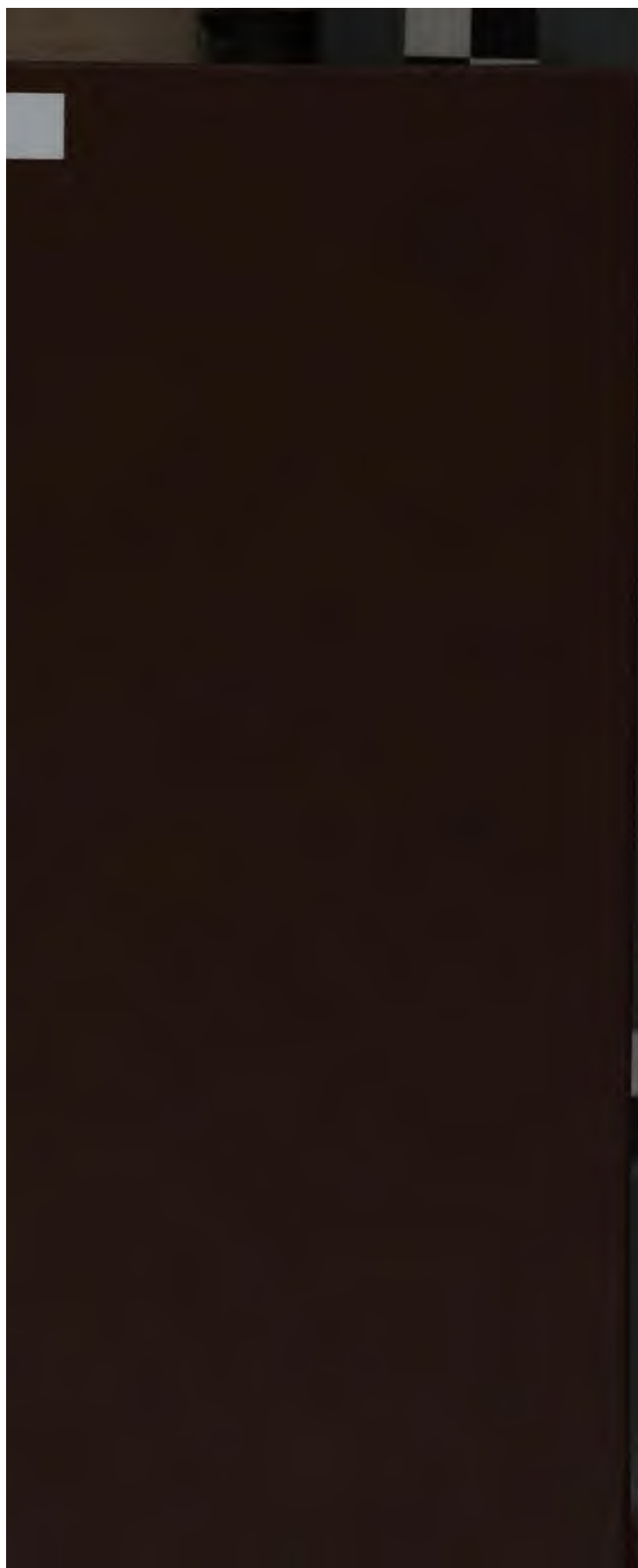
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THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW.

MDCCCXLV.

JULY—DECEMBER.

(1845)

Φιλοσοφίαν δὲ οὐ τὴν Στωικὴν λέγω, οὐδὲ τὴν Πλατωνικὴν, ἢ τὴν Ἐπικουρεῖον τε καὶ Ἀριστοτελικὴν· ἀλλ' ὅσα εἴρηται παρ' ἑκάστη τῶν αἱρεσίων τούτων καλῶς, δικαιοσύνην μετὰ εὐσεβοῦς ἐπιστήμης ἐκδιδάσκοντα, τοῦτο σύμπαν το ἙΚΛΕΚΤΙΚΟΝ φιλοσοφίαν φῆμι.—CLEM. ALEX. *Strom.* L. I.

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THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR JULY, 1845.

Art. I. *The History of British India, from 1805 to 1835.* By Horace Hayman Wilson, M. A., F. R. S. Vol. i. Madden & Co., London. 1845.

BRITISH power in India has grown up like the enchanted palace of Aladdin. The great Moguls have hardly ceased to rub their eyes with astonishment. European knowledge has proved itself a more wonder-working lamp, than that of the African magician : inasmuch as truth will be frequently found far more marvellous than fiction ! But the parallel holds yet further between the fact and the fable ; for, as in the favourite story alluded to, there was a window of the hall left incomplete, so in the case of our Anglo-Indian empire, the fabric never seems finished. There is always a war to begin or conclude,—an enormous robbery to avenge, or perhaps perpetrate,—some province of diamonds or indigo to set in order, or conquer. Neither directors at home nor governor-generals abroad, have been able to realise their professions of moderation, and set limits to aggrandizement. In Roman history, Adrian surrendered the acquisitions of his predecessor ; but all our heroes in Hindostan have, as yet, been Trajans. At what point will the talisman of ambition or necessity cease to operate ? The descendant of Timour, who reigned at Delhi in 1715, might have cast a supercilious glance on two intelligent factors from the then humble presidency of Calcutta, presenting, as they did, an offering from the English merchants—‘one hundred gold

mohurs ; a table-clock set with precious stones ; the horn of an unicorn, we presume, a rhinoceros ; a large lump of ambergris ; a gilded escrutoire ; an immense map of the world ; with a very respectful letter from the honourable governor to the emperor.' How have the times changed in the imperial horoscope ! Half a century had barely elapsed, before the genius of Lord Clive had obtained the Dewanny of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa for the East India Company ; by which their sovereignty was extended over 116,850 square miles of territory, including the rich cities of Patna and Benares, and the Deltas of the Brahmapootra and the Ganges. The Pergunnahs and Burdwan, with Midnapore and Chittagong, were already theirs ; whilst the Nizam had to surrender Masulipatam and the Northern Circars. The nabob of Arcot conceded in the same year the Jaghire of Madras ; and from the terrible Mahrattas was won the island of Salsette, for our settlements at Bombay. The vizier of Oude and the rajah of Tanjore contributed to our establishment ; and the protracted administration of Warren Hastings prepared the way for an act of our domestic legislature, which was to subjugate the Company, with all its possessions, to the controul of parliament and the crown. Then followed the governor-generalships of the marquisses Cornwallis and Wellesley—the dreadful conflict between British and French influence, the Mysorean wars, the fall of Seringapatam, and the overthrow of Tippoo Sahib—the early achievements of the Duke of Wellington, the siege of Bhurtpore, and the final extension of our influence from the Himmalaya mountains to Cape Comorin. It has been justly remarked by one, who knows India well, that prejudice caused by party feeling or personal interest, must have ceased to bias the mind in passing judgment upon the Indian measures of Lord Wellesley. They formed the most brilliant instance of British rule in that quarter of the globe. Asia, in one word, confessed her weakness ; and that the sceptre, which is to sway orientalism, must come from a western island.

The period when he entered upon his charge was most portentous. 'His comprehensive intellect seized with discriminating promptitude, and pursued with unabated vigour, those measures, which annihilated the influence of our powerful European rival, subjugated the most implacable, but not unnatural enemy amongst the native chiefs to the British power, and brought under our authority the princes on the coast,—whose treachery had been so clearly established, as to render forfeiture of their territories necessary. The impotent head of the Mahratta state, by his vacillating policy, defeated the measures which were calculated to maintain his supremacy, and promoted the further aggrandizement of his powerful feudatories.

These chiefs had subsisted by means of their predatory and undisciplined bands. Having incorporated French officers and troops amongst their forces, they manifested designs so hostile and so ambitious, as to leave but the choice between abject submission to their yoke, or a decided opposition to its continuance. The governor-general was too well aware of the strength which unopposed ambition gathers, to expect that peace would be secured by any temporizing concession to an insatiate thirst for rule.' Although harassed by a series of occurrences acquiring force from the circumstances under which they arose, he pursued those political views which his foresight had prescribed. 'He repudiated,' says Mr. Auber, 'that unhealthy course of pusillanimity founded upon an erroneous application of parliamentary declarations against Indian conquests: declarations made under circumstances the exact opposite to what then existed; and which put forth a truism practically inapplicable to and inconsistent with the safety of our Indian empire. By his measures, that empire has been placed upon a basis, which short-sighted policy, or positive imbecility can alone weaken or remove.' All this is no doubt perfectly true and sound, so long as we keep on the right side of strict justice, and avoid doing evil, that good may come. The territorial acquisitions of Lord Wellesley were magnificent. Down to the conclusion of the grand peace with the Mahrattas in 1805, Mill has carried his history. At this point, therefore, our author takes it up, with the conquest of the Doab under Lord Lake, and our appropriation of Agra, Mathura, and Delhi—the first celebrated for its reliques of Mogul magnificence, the second for the superstitious reverence entertained for it by the Hindoos; and the third notorious in every age, as the metropolis of the heathen or Mohammedan monarchs, who have triumphed over Hindustan. The following page is an interesting one, we think :—

'Along with this imperial city, the British became possessed of the person and family of the representative of the fallen dynasty of Timour, the venerable Shah Alem, alike distinguished by his descent and his misfortunes. Indebted to the English, in the dawn of life, for safety and support, he had passed through manhood to old age, amidst an unvarying succession of danger, tumult, treachery, and disaster, and was happy to end his days in peace and security, under the shelter of his early friends. However trifling the accession to the real power of the victors, which might be thought to accrue from their holding in their hands the titular sovereign of Hindustan, and although the charge was not unattended by circumstances of anxiety and embarrassment, yet that the keeping of the person of Shah Alem was not devoid of political value might be inferred from the eagerness with which the prize had been disputed by military

adventurers; and by the weight, which chieftains the most lawless, and princes the most powerful, still attached to an order, or a grant that bore the seal of the emperor, even though the document conferred but a nominal title to the honours or possessions which it purported to bestow. Shah Alem himself was an object of general sympathy, from the injuries or indignities, which he had undergone from his own rebellious servants, or his Mahratta allies; and the respectful and benevolent treatment which he experienced from his new guardians contrasted favourably with the conduct pursued towards him by their predecessors. There can be no doubt that the change was most acceptable to the Mohammedans of Hindustan, and contributed essentially to conciliate their good will, and gain their allegiance.'—p. 10.

Instead of analysing the work before us, of which only one volume has as yet appeared, we propose giving a brief sketch of the extent of our Indian Empire, and more particularly as affected by the last charter: which we shall follow up by a glance at the perils and responsibilities connected with it.

Our direct possessions in the peninsula of Hindustan include about two-thirds of its superficial territory; these being so geographically arranged, as to secure us, through military and political power, an effective control over the other third. For many years subsequent to our custody of the Great Mogul, a sort of deception was maintained, by governing in the name of the emperor, and even issuing his coin as the circulating medium of the country. But, in 1818, Lord Hastings terminated this illusion, by openly proclaiming the supremacy of the British government. The number of our eastern fellow subjects may be stated, in general terms, at about one hundred and twenty millions; from thirty to forty of whom are under the nominal rule of titular potentates,—effeminate shadows maintained in mock pageantry,—whose extinction can be at no great distance, —whose presence however is harmful, while it lasts,—and who are neither more nor less than parallels to such kings as Fumenes, Attalus, Herod, or Agrippa in Roman history. From the Sutlej to the Southern Cape is nearly nineteen hundred miles in actual distance; nor can it be much less from the mouths of the Indus to Arracan. Our revenues are 22,000,000*l.* sterling per annum; with commercial and social prospects opening before us, which will sooner or later include something like paramount lordship, or at least influence, over Burmah, Siam, China, Thibet, and Japan; to say nothing of the vast oriental archipelago, extending like a chain of jewels down to the insular continent of Australia! The exports and imports, already enormous, are but on the point, or in the very preliminary process of development. Spain, Portugal, Holland, and France,

have all and each done their best successively to undermine or ruin us, and have signally failed. A few feeble factories, just discernible upon the map, remain as vestiges of their efforts; nor need we except Goa or Java from the description. Austria and Prussia have never held any genuine power in the oriental world of enchantment. Russia, indeed, has not wanted the will, but has happily never yet been able to find the way. Hitherto the bear has done little else than gnash its teeth, or growl from the semi-civilized courts of Persia and Beelochistan, at the triumphant sway of the British lion. Scindia, as is well known, constitutes our most recent acquisition: and, probably, the entire Punjaub will be the next spoil. Our home authorities seem to have satisfied themselves, as to the irrepressible tendency of our Indian empire to enlarge its boundaries, and augment its preponderance, in spite of the most peremptory injunctions of forbearance, and a scrupulous desire of obedience to them abroad. In 1813, the charter was renewed under the wretched auspices of Lord Castlereagh: and again in 1833, under the nobler ones of Earl Grey. To this last measure attention should be given for a few moments. Principles of liberalism in commerce and politics had not germinated altogether in vain.

Lord Glenelg, as president of the Board of Control, clearly felt that the same parties should be no longer both sovereigns and merchants. Having carefully observed, as he said, 'the practical effects of the blended system of trade and government, the Company ought, as soon as possible, to be released from commercial dealings.' He considered that the national interests demanded a cessation of all monopoly respecting the China traffic. With the profits of that monopoly, the directors had been in the habit of supplementing their revenue: but it was plain to his lordship, that under proper management the Indian exchequer was perfectly competent to meet every just demand. Its annual amount had already reached the income we have mentioned; and which promises still further to increase. How should it be otherwise? The soil for the most part is rich and fertile, and suited to every kind of produce. There are immense resources still remaining unexplored. The people, generally speaking, are frugal, patient, laborious, improving, and desirous of further advancement. Twenty-nine propositions were in consequence submitted to the East India Company; of which the first eight required a surrender to the Crown of all assets, both commercial and territorial, estimated at a capital of twenty-one millions sterling, with all their rights and possessions, in consideration of an annuity of 630,000*l.* per annum; and a guarantee fund, which was first mentioned as 1,200,000*l.*, but

was afterwards augmented to 2,000,000*l*. The eleven ensuing proposals related to patronage, and the continuance of the college at Addiscombe: the remainder referred to the free admission of all British subjects to Hindoostan, and the enlarged powers and privileges of the Board of Control. The directors were to administer the government of the country, subject to those powers, for twenty years longer: but their entire correspondence was to be under the cognizance of the minister at home, so that, as was justly observed, the directors are now reduced, in genuine importance, to little else than a 'clumsy cumbrous machinery.' They may recall, however, a governor-general, as we have recently seen; whilst a second exertion of such audacious activity would, without question, involve a forfeiture of the perilous prerogative. Queen Victoria, in one word, now governs India as much as she does England; and this is a great fact, by no means adequately impressed on the public mind. Steam navigation, perhaps, will be the most efficacious means for bringing it home to our bosoms and consciences. Bombay is now distant about as many weeks as it was months in times gone by. The voyage and journey thither seem about to become a holiday trip to the enterprising tourists who are resolved to make the most of a long vacation. They rush to Marseilles, embark for Malta, glance at Alexandria and the needle of Cleopatra, visit Cairo and mount the pyramids, cross the desert, call at Aden, steam through the far-famed Straits of Babel Mandel, splash along for a delicious fortnight over the Indian Ocean, and inscribe their names in an album at the caves of Elephanta, literally within less than fifty days! Such expeditions, growing into general fashion, may serve to remind us of our perils and responsibilities with respect to the glorious Orient. Surely we are bound never to lose sight of them.

As to the former, we must remember, that our empire rests upon opinion! Its basis is no natural rock of adamant. It has shifted these ten times, so to speak, since Mahmoud the Gaznavide erected his throne in that very city, whose gates, within the last few years being blown open by petards, elevated a most fortunate English general to his scarcely merited peerage. The eastern mind is peculiarly susceptible of impressions either way. There has always been a surprising sympathy about it with the magic of names, the charms of success, the glare of parade, the mere halo of human glory. Its characteristics are generally childish ones, fantastical, full of the love of phantoms, sensual rather than sentimental, with a predominance of fear, confident only by fits and starts, with very little permanent self-reliance. It will spill blood like water, on the spur of an occasion: but its

courage has no intellectual connection with the associations of the past, or with ennobling aspirations for the future. Its religion is superstition, its faith fanaticism. It has the smallest allowance possible of heart and affection about it. Orientalism, therefore, presents us with a compound of sandy materials. A couple of unsuccessful campaigns might undo the work of a century. So long as our vast heterogeneous Indian population shall believe in our military invincibility, so long and no longer we are safe. But let us beware of mutiny! It is wonderful to see how reckless many of our proceedings still are with regard to the army. The Sepoys make admirable troops under considerate and qualified officers; yet how often are their harmless prejudices violated through sheer inexperience. One spark may ignite a train destructive to the most impregnable citadel. Take, as an example, the massacre of European officers and soldiers in the garrison of Vellore, by the native regiments on duty along with them, on the morning of the 10th of July, 1806. This fortress, situated about eighty-eight miles west from Madras, had been chosen, for the convenience of its position, and the strength of its defences, as a safe residence for the family of Tippoo Sultan, which consisted of twelve sons and six daughters. Sir John Cradock had given offence by his prohibition of ear-rings on parade, of coloured marks on the forehead, and the customary cut of the Sepoy beards and mustachios. Some new pattern, moreover, had been devised for turbans, which made them resemble hats. The essential and main spring of the conspiracy was doubtless an abhorrence of christianity; but its occurrence was influenced in the manner and season of its development, by incidental and local excitement:—

‘About three o’clock in the morning, the tranquillity of repose was broken by the sudden discharge of fire-arms: and the sound was speedily repeated in various directions. The Sipahis (Sepoys) had been assembled silently in their quarters, under arms by their native officers, and led to unexpected assaults upon the European posts. The few English sentinels on duty, at the main guards and powder magazines, were shot or bayoneted almost before they were aware of their danger, and the possession of the magazines secured to the insurgents the sole supply of ammunition. Their chief body beset the European barracks, firing through the open doors and windows volley after volley, and repelling every attempt of its inmates to sally forth, by a murderous discharge of musquetry, and the fire of a field-piece which they had planted opposite to the doorway. As soon as these attacks commenced, detachments were stationed to watch the dwellings of the officers, with instructions to fire upon any one who should come forth: and in pursuance of the orders, Colonel Harcourt, as he descended from his house, received a wound, which

proved fatal; and Lieutenant-colonel M'Kerras, commanding the 23rd, was shot as he was hastening to the parade. After the barracks were surrounded, parties of the native soldiers forced their way into the houses of the Europeans, and put to death with unsparing ferocity all whom they could discover. Thirteen officers were killed, besides several conductors of ordnance. In the barracks eighty-two privates were murdered, and ninety-one wounded. The mutineers did not venture to enter the building, where they would have had to encounter the bayonets of the soldiers, but contented themselves with pouring their fire into the apartments; in which, the men, unable from want of ammunition to return it, screened themselves from its effects, as well as they were able, by the beds and furniture. During the whole of these transactions, an active communication was kept up between the mutineers and the palace, and many of the servants and followers of the princes were conspicuously active in the scenes of bloodshed and plunder, which followed the first success.—pp. 117—119.

The above extract, we believe, conveys by no means an over-drawn picture of a tragedy, which filled both India and England with alarm. Vengeance was inflicted upon the guilty without delay; but what could be more evident than that the disease of discontent was deeply seated? It would seem to be an admitted fact, even at the present time, that an estrangement almost always grows up between the European officers and the native troops, which is too often engendered by the contemptuous indifference entertained by the former for the feelings and opinions of the latter, and by their imperfect acquaintance with the native languages. The sword is a dangerous matter to handle, upon all occasions. Unless reason, and knowledge, and justice, and vigilance secure the control of it, conspiracy may in a moment turn the edge of it against our own bosoms. It is our conviction, that the forces of India generally require a thorough investigation; that the native army, more particularly, should be emancipated from the curse of professional caste and exclusiveness; and that our whole military system should lay aside every vestige of unnecessary assumption, which only serves to remind one hundred millions of people, that they are not their own masters.

But if one of our dangers be connected with coercion, there is another quite as perilous, which stands related to revenue. From the days of Lord Cornwallis to those of Lord Auckland, extravagance every now and then was allowed to run riot. The directors have too often treated India as essentially a private estate. Monopoly still revels in Bengal and the Deccan. That of salt alone, if our memory be correct, brings in a return of something like two millions sterling; wrung from wretched

subjects, as all such revenues must be, at an enormous and even incalculable cost of public waste and private suffering. Immense evil also arose from the financial and judicial systems being blended together. The leading object of government first appears to have been the extraction of the largest possible amount of money from a defenceless population. Persons engaged in this duty, whether as fiscal officers, or as farmers and contractors, were armed with plenary powers, both as magistrates and judges. A pertinacious appeal from those whom they oppressed, might sometimes reach the ears of their superiors; but in general such a resource must have been unavailable, and the people in vast districts were left to the irresponsible pleasure of individuals. Land forms the main source of the British direct taxation. Without going into the question as to whether, according to Hindoo and Mohammedan notions, the sovereign be absolutely proprietor of the soil, the permanent settlement of Marquis Cornwallis, at all events, assumed that he was so. His lordship fancied himself a Joseph in Egypt; and acted accordingly, with very benevolent intentions, it may be admitted, but under insufficient information. Our author thus expresses himself, with caution and moderation, in our humble judgment:—

‘The expense of any scheme of administration must be proportionate to the advance of a state in wealth and power. The more numerous the people, the more extensive the territory, the more complicated the internal and external relations, the more costly must be the machinery of the government. The golden age has not yet come back; and, from time to time, all countries must be placed in situations in which an unusual application of available resources is indispensable for their safety. It were most impolitic, therefore, if it were possible, to fix for ever impassable bounds to the public revenues, in ignorance of the possible extent of future exigencies. Such a limit was, of course, never in contemplation; but it was anticipated, that the restriction of the government demand upon the land would be followed by a proportionate improvement in the estates of the landholders; that capital would accumulate, expenditure increase, and the people be placed in circumstances favourable for an augmented consumption of articles both of necessity and luxury; that a system of indirect taxation might then be introduced into India; and that in the end, the revenue of the government would augment with the augmented affluence and prosperity of the country. These anticipations had been indulged in, without a due consideration of the obstacles, which impeded their realization; without a due regard for the manners, the wants, and the feelings of the people. It would be scarcely prudent to predict, that these obstacles will never be overcome; but many and great changes must take place, before they can be so far surmounted as to justify an

Indian government in ceasing to look to the land as the principal feeder of the Exchequer. It were an act of suicidal improvidence prematurely to divest itself of so commodious and productive a source of revenue, to any extent, which may not be in excess of the fair claims and reasonable expectations of the agricultural population, and which is consistent with their own usages and opinions.'—pp. 453, 454.

What we feel ourselves, upon the subject, is, that the time must at length arrive, when those who pay this enormous land-tax will express and enforce their right to participate in the management and distribution of it. So long as the government constitutes itself sole landlord, we agree with our author, in another place, there will be little or no accumulation of capital, or creation of collateral resources amongst the mass of the population. The sovereignty is one overgrown monster of appropriation, in whose presence interests upon a smaller scale naturally wither and wane away. Unless, therefore, matters are judiciously altered, how will that improvement in Indian finances ever be realized, to which Lord Glenelg and others so confidently looked forward? If loans, or paper issues, or advances in aid from the United Kingdom, are to be fallen back upon, then will certain and irretrievable embarrassment be the ultimate result. The rich argosy of our oriental empire will go to pieces amidst the shallows and quicksands of bankruptcy, or at least monetary mismanagement. India, to all intents and purposes, is now part and parcel of our dominions. She has a right to have her social burdens so adjusted, as that their pressure shall not prove in the long run oppressive,—or otherwise than nationally advantageous. In all these respects, we may rely upon it, that the line of plain duty will be found the path of true safety.

A third peril, which recent events have palpably brought before us, is one we have already adverted to, namely, that tendency to further aggrandizement, which, we are assured, is unavoidable. It may be, and probably is so; and yet for that very reason, there is not the less danger. Perpetual enlargement calls for fresh means of protection, new machinery to support and work the growing fabric of British greatness, more armies, more officials, more tribunals, more police; since there must be more enemies to guard against, more restless passions to allay, more princes to pension, and a lengthening labyrinth of perplexities to thread our way through every year. Nor is the genuine Minotaur, after all, put really to death. The catastrophe in store for us abides its time. What a Babel of tongues would be heard, were every tribe and nation, in connexion with the three presidencies, to send a representative of

its wrongs into some temple of truth! Yet we still move forward, conquering and to conquer. Is success always certain? Shall we never make a false step,—never push too far into Affghanistan, or central Asia? Will the Shah of Persia always wait upon our will? Is Russia never to meet us face to face, somewhere beyond, or on the banks of the Oxus, saying, in her hoarse Sclavonian, ‘Hitherto thou hast come,—but thou shalt no further go!’ The very idea of such an encounter summons before the imagination a fourth peril,—and that is, foreign rivalry. Divine Providence has hitherto conducted us from one almost unparalleled triumph to another. Clive himself would be amazed, could he but now discern the golden harvest, which has sprung up, since he gathered his laurels at Plassey. But envy has grown gigantic, also. Maritime competitors are longing for the struggle which is to shew whether some fortunate conjunction between the Tricolor of France, the Twenty-seven stars of America, and the Eagles of Muscovy, may not achieve the humiliation of the Union Jack,—and with that the disruption of our colossal colonial empire! We are no alarmists; yet convinced are we, that in the present age, the keys of the gorgeous east will rest with those hands that may be permitted to wield the trident of the ocean. Hindustan is to modern Europe, at least in the nineteenth century, what Constantinople and the Byzantine territories were to the great commercial republics of Genoa, Pisa, and Venice. Under God, we must trust in our wooden walls, and in the righteousness of a good cause; which last may afford us a fair opportunity for venturing a few brief reflections upon our responsibilities. We shall touch upon them in relation to the Presidencies,—our Tributaries,—the administration of Justice,—the Police,—the suppression of what is called Thuggee and Dacoity,—Infanticide,—Heathenism and its abominations,—Christianity,—Manufactures, trade, and commerce,—and general External Policy.

1. *The presidencies.*—We are bound to make these effective centres of civilization and good government. Let the great Prætorian Prefect ride abroad, if he please, upon his white elephant, with his howdah, his pæons, and his body-guard. Let that degree of pomp and circumstance exist, which falls in so suitably with the corrupt taste of orientals: yet beyond these limits, strict economy ought to prevail. Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay should not be mere nests, in which British officials lay golden eggs for themselves and their families: not preposterous schools for forming habits of parade and extravagance: not luxurious capitals, where nominal christians are to compete with Hindoos and Moslem, as to who shall be the most idle, the most profligate.

gate, or the most absurd. From these three points should social, intellectual and religious illumination, irradiate all over the Peninsula. Let the natives there witness, with their own eyes, the real secret of our strength; and let them there see, that India is governed for the sake and welfare of India; and not to be a Golconda, a Peru, or a Mexico, to England, Scotland, and Ireland. Hindustan, as is well known, is remarkable for its crowded cities; so different from the barren leviathan of the Russian empire, which only possesses some half dozen places, with a population above fifty thousand. In these, there is silently growing up a multitude of half-castes, the children of European and Asiatic parents, who may prove in the course of two or three generations a sort of middle class, pregnant with the elements of change. That this change may take the direction of improvement, is devoutly to be wished. Let the colleges and seminaries gradually rise for their instruction. Let the doors of office be opened to them, as well as the natives, in no niggardly measure. Caste is in the east what class is in the west. Let the foundations of the former be sapped by every sound and beneficial system, which may propose for its object the benefit and advantage of all. Monopoly constitutes the political Juggernaut of India, which has hitherto driven its cruel car over the necks of prostrate millions. We are bound to withdraw from it all extraneous support: and may the day be at no great distance, when its worshippers shall lay hands upon this, as well as all other idols, and cast its detestable fragments to the moles and the bats. Female education, also, can be best supported by an organisation, resting for its main machinery upon the pillars of the three presidencies. The emigration thither, and settlement there of pious, able, English ladies, may be the happy means of shedding the dews of heaven upon sultry wildernesses of misery, destined, through the benediction of providence, to blossom into a spiritual paradise of human affection and intelligence.

2. *Our tributaries.*—These, together with our allies, as some of the native powers are still termed, comprise the Vizirate of Oude, the Nizamut of Hyderabad, the Rajahrates of Berah, and various other principalities—about one-third of the entire country. Nothing can be worse than these sham potentates. Their influences fester in the midst of our own possessions, just as those of the Indians did, and still do, amongst the United States of America; or as gipsy towns and villages would amongst ourselves, were their forces and effects sufficient. At each native court, whether Hindoo or Mohammedan, there is a British resident, who has the controul of all public measures; since powerful troops are ready to execute his commands, every

officer and soldier of which receives his rank and pay, under the auspices of the Company, but at the expense of the mock sovereign. The deputy thus circumstanced must be for ever distracted between the calls of duty and delicacy. He must conciliate the rich Pageant in purple and fine linen, and maintain English interests at the same time. The former, being a mere titular prince, without the shadow of independence,—and compelled to pay nearly annual subsidies for the honour of British protection,—naturally enough lives in a castle of indolence, intent upon amassing treasure from his wretched subjects. These last groan under the most bitter bondage,—not the less so, as being utterly hopeless. Should oppression rouse them to insurrection, as occurs not unfrequently, the resident draws the sword, and puts them down. Meanwhile, government, as to all beneficial purposes, remains in abeyance. The ruler withdraws himself into his harem—a prey to eunuchs and women,—respected and feared by none, except his own brothers or relations, who may be hanged or decapitated by his orders, at any moment. Discontent stalks through the land. Revenge, assassination, lust, and cruelty, reign and revel. Such states degenerate into moral cancers, upon an enormous scale. Fiscal exaction ruins agriculture, and annihilates commerce. Then succeed famine, plagues, and consequent depopulation. From surrounding sovereignties, better managed, the desperate and lawless, whose means of existence are robbery and violence, resort, as matters of course, to these dens and deserts of anarchy. We are bound to lay aside the mask of moderation, in these cases, with the least possible delay. We call ourselves lords of Hindustan, and yet want to hold fast the credit of being very unambitious into the bargain. More than forty millions have a right to demand from us the inestimable blessings of peace and order. Let a colossal pension list indemnify existing royal families; and let the Company govern Hyderabad or Berah, as they do Bombay or Travancore. It is well understood that such will one day be the ultimate result; and why, let us ask, through hypocritical assumptions of disinterestedness, should the farce of governing in the names of others be turned into a protracted tragedy? We admit our responsibilities to guilty princes: why not recognize them with regard to the tribes of an innocent people?

3. *Administration of justice.*—Under this head we have fallen hitherto into grievous errors. In some parts of India there used to prevail a kind of arbitral courts, which proved generally sufficient for the small amount of litigation happily prevalent in earlier times. But upon the establishment of regular judicatures, after our European fashion, which was

effected far too indiscriminately and suddenly, every one who had, or who fancied he had, a wrong to redress, resorted to the new tribunals, in such multitudes, that they well nigh overwhelmed the judges. The jurisdiction of each court comprehended an extent of territory and population out of all proportion. In Bengal there was about one Zilla bench of sages to a million of souls ! The Zilla is a district, sometimes nearly half as large as Scotland. The annual expense of the judicial department, in our leading presidency, was calculated by Lord Cornwallis at about £306,000 ; whilst in 1809-10, it had increased to £806,000 ! In 1813 the cost per annum for the three presidencies amounted to £1,572,492 : yet the causes in arrear for Bengal alone were 81,000 for 1819, and 140,000 for 1829 ! There are three hundred judicial functionaries of all grades to about 80,000,000 of population. Economy has forced upon the authorities a very general employment of natives in this department, who are paid by fees, and have no salaries, or, at least, none in the provincial courts ; but the English judges enjoy enormous stipends, being, moreover, through their imperfect acquaintance with Indian languages, very much under the secret management of interpreters and secretaries notorious for their corruption and profligacy. In administering criminal justice, evils of a still more pernicious tendency have originated in the assignment of magisterial duties to the municipal or district tribunals. ‘ If a judge devoted his attention to the civil suits in arrear, the business of the magistrate was necessarily interrupted, and an interval might intervene between the apprehension of a prisoner and his commitment, which sometimes subjected the innocent to the punishment of the guilty, and detained for an indefinite period a person in confinement, against whom no charge could be substantiated. The same remedy, applicable to civil causes, was here also obvious ; and the separation of incompatible duties was a necessary preliminary to their effective discharge.’ How is it, amidst perplexities so multifarious, that the wise men of Gotham, whose gloomy yet substantial palace is still standing in Leadenhall street, never could hit upon an expedient so simple as lowering their scale of salaries, and increasing the number of their judges ? At thirty years of age these functionaries are usually promoted to their respective benches ; where each serves, upon an average, about five years as a district judge, at £3,000 per annum ; five years more as a provincial judge of appeal, at £4,800 per annum ; and five years more as one of the principal appellate court, at £6,000 per annum ! His retiring pension is £1,000 a year for life, in addition to the fortune which, with ordinary prudence, he must have accumulated. Without add-

ing a sixpence to the present outlay, we should say that the number of judges in Hindustan might be much more than doubled, if not nearly tripled. Their lordships by courtesy are under-worked and over-paid. Without running into any extremes about the matter, we would aim at the realization of a just medium. Furthermore, we are under honest and down-right obligations to throw open all civil offices to every British subject, whether native or European, that should qualify himself for them by adequate knowledge, experience, or integrity; leaving the nomination to the local government of India,—the only party that can be presumed a competent arbitrator as to the capacity of candidates. Englishmen, or their descendants, the half-castes, or genuine natives, might then be found to fill situations in abundance at one half, or one fourth, or even one tenth, of the emoluments which are at present given: as, for instance, the British district judge and magistrate now receives £3,000 a year, whilst a native in the same post is contented with £300! This contrast we borrow from a parliamentary return. Sir Henry Strachey declared, in evidence, that such a rate of reward as last mentioned, quite satisfied its recipients; adding, also, that if properly treated, they would soon prove themselves fit for any civil function whatsoever. In other words, honesty is always the best policy. Let the balances of all adjudicature be placed in the best hands that can be discovered, without looking at caste or class, or aught else than efficiency and good character. Let an improved code be introduced gradually, so as to identify itself with popular usages, and commend itself to universal regard. Let the legal staff be then strengthened, both in numbers and native talent. We shall soon cease to hear of causes in arrears, to the amount of thousands and myriads, positively choking up the channels of justice.

4. *Police*.—In having undertaken the government of a hundred millions of people, collected in villages, towns, and cities, we are certainly responsible for protecting the lives and properties of our subjects. Yet few things can well be worse throughout the land, than the palpable inefficiency of our means for maintaining common order. Lord Minto could make a minute to the following effect, under date of the 10th of November, 1810: ‘A monstrous and disorganized state of society has existed under the eyes of the supreme British authorities, and almost at the very seat of that government to which the country might justly look for safety and protection. The mischief will not wait for a slow remedy; the people are perishing almost in our sight. The delay of every week is a doom of slaughter and torture against the defenceless inhabitants of very populous countries.’ We appeal with confidence to travellers, mission-

aries, merchants, and military men, whether there do not still exist the most serious grounds for complaint with regard to the absence of a suitable constabulary ; and this, not in one section or district only, but generally,—from the Hoogley to the Indus, and southwards, down to the very point of the Indian peninsula. The British suffer less by far than the natives, from such neglect, for obvious reasons.

5. *Thuggee and Dacoity*.—We shall see these assertions further illustrated by what our author adduces in this volume relative to the various classes of robbers who, under the designations of Thugs, Dakoits, Choars, Kuzzaks, and Budhukes, infest the entire country. The first and the last would appear to be identical, being sets of villains distinguished by their practice of strangling unsuspecting travellers with whom they may contrive to fall in upon a journey ; they are sometimes formed into secret societies, not dissimilar from some of those in the middle ages : and it was vainly hoped that Lord William Bentinck had utterly extirpated them. The Kuzzaks are mounted robbers, who singly beset the highroads, or, being collected into parties, attack and plunder entire villages : in other words, they are Turpins, or Robin Hoods, or Rob Roys, as occasion may require. The Dakoits and Choars are more like the early companions of Gil Blas, thieves who naturally and constitutionally assemble in gangs, and who usually limit their depredations to the houses or persons of those reputed to possess valuables or money in concealed hoards. These were once the most formidable, being thoroughly organized under Sirdars, or leaders ; they commonly meet for their lawless procedures under cover of the night ; being, by day, to all appearance, among the most peaceable and quiet members of the community. Their grand characteristic, wherever they subsist, still continues to be that of Dan :—‘ An adder in the path.’ They have watchwords and secret signals. Companies, variously armed with swords, clubs, pikes, and matchlocks, will grow, as it were, out of the ground, coming together nobody knows how, and gathered from no one knows where, in numbers from fifteen to fifty. The spot will be some tope or grove adjacent to the desired spoil. The following is a midnight picture of what these worthies were some thirty years ago, as also of what they too often are now :—

‘ When collected, their marauding excursion was usually preluded by a religious ceremony,—the worship of the goddess Durga,—the patroness of thieves, typified by a water-pot, or a few blades of grass. The ceremony was conducted by a Brahmin of degraded condition and dissolute life. Having propitiated the goddess by the promise of a portion of their spoil, they marched, with lighted torches, and little attempt at concealment, beyond disguising their

faces by pigment, or covering them with masks, to the object of their expedition, usually the dwelling of some shopkeeper, or money-changer, in which it was expected to discover treasure. Occasionally the motive of the attack was vengeance; and information given by the householder, or any member of his family, against some member of the gang, brought upon him the resentment of the whole fraternity. Upon entering the village, it was customary to fire a gun, as a signal to the inhabitants to keep within their dwellings: the house against which the operation was designed, was then surrounded; and whilst some of the gang forced an entrance, others remained as a guard without. Unless exasperated by resistance, or stimulated by revenge, the Dakoits did not commonly proceed to murder;* but they perpetrated atrocious cruelties upon such persons as refused to give them, or were unable to give them, information regarding property, which they suspected of having been concealed: burning them with lighted torches or blazing straw, or wrapping cloth or flax steeped in oil around their limbs and setting it on fire; or inflicting various tortures which caused immediate or speedy death. The object being accomplished, and the booty secured, the gang retired before daylight, and the guilty individuals resumed their daily occupations.'—p. 398.

In Bengal alone, six hundred and ninety such atrocities disgraced a single year. The police rarely interferes, until the mischief is perpetrated. Terror suppresses, for the most part, all tangible and conclusive evidence. The Zilla judge may be a hundred miles off. Our constables are about from twenty to fifty for each district. We have broken up by our modern innovations the ancient institutions to which the natives were superstitiously attached: when the Zemindars were accountable for all acts of violence and disorder. Throughout many sections of the country, it is perfectly true, that matters are far better than they were: whilst still so utterly defective is our entire system of internal protection, that native governments have of late been known to reproach us for our supineness. Why not introduce retrenchment into our overgrown salaries, and thus secure competent funds to cover India with an effective constabulary? We otherwise fail in our duty; and must be considered responsible for the consequences.

6. *Infanticide*.—Here again, we were cajoling all the world,

* As this was passing from our pen, the 'Evening Mail' of the day was laid before us for Thursday, 6th of March. Our glance fell upon the ensuing paragraph among the deaths; viz.—'Barbarously murdered, by a band of hired Dakoits, at his house, Fureedabad, Juanpore, on the night of the 15th of last December, Mr. James Barwise, indigo planter, formerly of Margate, but for the last eighteen years a resident of Juanpore. They seem to have gone to the house with the matured design of murder. *After cutting up the body*, they left, without touching a single article.'—Again we enquire, 'Where is our Indian police?'

more than a generation ago; that we had extinguished a practice known still to be horribly prevalent in India. Take as an example, the principality of Cutch, as well as its neighbourhood, where the Shareja Rajputs were and are notorious for the murder of their female offspring. Girls were almost invariably put to death as soon as born. 'Preferring the death of a daughter to a matrimonial alliance with an inferior race, and looking upon most races as inferior, precluded by custom from marrying her to a husband of her own tribe, the Sharejas believed it to be more humane to nip the flower in the bud, than to await the risk of being blighted in maturer growth.' The Bombay government, horrified at this unnatural practice, employed Colonel Walker to suppress, either by persuasion or other means, a crime said to be as incompatible with the Institutes of Menu, as the laws of humanity. The British officer did his best, and thought he had succeeded. An engagement was signed by all the principal chiefs, for themselves and their fraternities, to renounce the usage of murdering their female children, and even expel from their caste any person who should continue to practise it. Penalties, moreover, were to be inflicted, such as a christian administration might impose. All looked well, and we ventured to announce that infanticide had ceased in Guzerat. Ten years afterwards, it was ascertained that there were but sixty-three Shareja females alive in all Kattiwar, born subsequently to the pledge obtained and relied upon by the Bombay presidency! It was not, perhaps, probable that satanic customs, and illusions cherished from an early period, should all at once disappear. But we should have been less loud in self-gratulation, and more active in the enforcement of police regulations. Unfortunately, even the fear of punishment exercises but little controul, where the detection of an offence committed in the depths of domestic oriental privacy, demands so much decision blended with delicacy, as to be often utterly impracticable. We must educate the female mind, awaken the voice of nature, enlist the affections of the sterner sex, undermine the influence of sanguinary superstition, elevate the standards of morality, disperse the darkness of heathenism with the beams of the Sun of Righteousness, and achieve the religious revolution of India, which we are bound to do in due season, before the real victory will have been gained, for which the church on earth is waiting. Still, are we performing what lies in our power, as to all these respects?

7. *Heathenism and its Abominations.*—The pall of pagan idolatry still envelopes that magnificent territory, which has been the envy of the world in every age. Sutteeism, if not perfectly extirpated, has been so far checked, as to shew, what may be achieved by the efforts even of a single enlightened governor-

general. We are responsible for a frightful amount of sin and suffering, which need never have occurred, had England only remembered her obligations, and not quaked with fear before a board of directors, assuring her, from year to year, that British dominion in India would go out in darkness, if the funeral piles for widows had their flames extinguished. Public opinion grievously wants rousing on these, and analogous topics. Bishop Wilson transmits such glowing accounts to Salisbury-square, that the imagination gets dazzled with ideas, that the millenium must be close at hand; until closer inspection and investigation inform us, that his lordship gloats over his rising cathedral at Calcutta, which is to be the beacon of christianity for Hindostan. Alas! the treasure expended upon an edifice, destined to pass, perhaps, some day into other hands, might have settled one hundred additional missionaries, or even more, where now the reign of cruel superstition remains undisturbed. No mistake could have been greater than erecting a church establishment in the East. It drew immediate attention, from reflecting natives, to precisely those subjects which had better have lain hidden for some time longer; namely, the blots and infirmities of Christendom. The religion of the gospel, from that moment, seemed to lose its grand characteristics of love and unity; it being evident, that one sect exalted itself above all the others, decking itself out with secular rank, and worldly wealth, and borrowed plumage. If permitted to remain unmodified, there will grow up on the banks of the Ganges, precisely that state of affairs, which we are now witnessing and bewailing at home. Bishops College will become a minute Oxford,—the prelacy of Calcutta will be a Lambeth, overlooking Garden Reach and the waters of the Hoogley,—a lukewarm clergy will preach that, which is ‘neither hot nor cold,’—and the mountain of the Lord’s house will be built up by other missionaries than Anglican priests and deacons. Heathenism gains largely, we may depend upon it, by the church and state alliance.

8. *Christianity*.—We hold ourselves responsible to India, or at least we ought to do so, for demonstrating to her by a moral and religious process, that the gospel of Jesus will constitute her true grandeur and glory. We must prove to her by example, and influence, and the diffusion of scriptural knowledge, that the light of life alone can permanently illuminate her darkness. Idolatry, with all its abominations, must be unveiled, as an enormous mystery of iniquity, destroying souls, generating misery, enslaving the mind, enfeebling the faculties, opposing every element of human happiness, blighting prosperity, and encountering every advance of civilization with more than mortal abhorrence. Christianity, on the other hand, must be left to

take its own course, unfettered and unencumbered. Protection, which is bad enough in politics, becomes an impertinence in spiritual matters. It is holding up a candle to the sun. The field, however, that is to be shone upon and fertilized, is so wide and vast, that there is no room to ridicule, even what is, from beginning to end, inconceivably ridiculous. Let the truth of God be but set up in its simplicity, purity, and sincerity; and there need be no fear for the consequences.

9. *Manufactures, Trade, and Commerce.*—These are rapidly augmenting, and will do so yet further, in proportion to the wisdom of our rulers. Free-trade is becoming more and more the order of the day; notwithstanding occasional checks to its progress, which circumstances soon show to be merely temporary ones. Bengal and Madras must surrender their opium, salt, and tobacco monopolies. Reformation is needed with regard to export, import, town, and transit duties. Some of these are levied on different principles, and at varying rates of charge. Payment under one government does not always exempt the merchant from paying a second, or even a third time, if his goods are conveyed from the territory of one presidency to that of another. It is to be trusted, also, that one coinage for the whole of India will be adopted. Nothing can exceed the confusion that has prevailed with regard to the circulating medium, down to the present time. The currency is foreign in a British empire. Each presidency has its own coin, and that of Bengal not less than two. Three out of these four coinages have not only distinct impressions, but pass for different values. What is money, in some parts of India, is mere bullion in others, and must be put into the melting-pot. Such anomalies most seriously harass and impede mercantile transactions. Manufactures, trade, and commerce, are, one and all, directly or indirectly affected by them. We hear of all sorts of rupees; while the mints of Bengal and Bombay have cost £400,000! Why should we not strike the currency at home, as has been suggested, in silver rupees at two shillings each, so that our shillings and sixpences should correspond to the halves and quarters? We repeat, that our responsibility extends to these details, in which the monetary advantage and prosperity of millions of our fellow subjects are concerned. Our equalization of the East and West Indian sugar duties has done much for commerce: only let us not repose upon our oars,—but rather push forward in a similarly liberal spirit.

10. *General external Policy.*—Attention to this may be termed the last, yet not the least of our responsibilities. We acted nobly in our recent treaty with China, by casting our overwhelming influence into the decision, that Great Britain

abjured exclusiveness. Sir Henry Pottinger seems to have felt himself an ambassador for the universal world. In the verdict of future history, our tenure of oriental power will be condemned or approved, as we use it for our selfish purposes, or as we administer it for the common benefit of all nations. We have at present scarcely a cloud in our eastern firmament, which to superficial observers can be described as any visible cause for alarm; limiting this observation to the courts of Nepaul, Ava, and Pekin. Our author truly says, the British government 'has put forth its energies, with a might which makes resistance to it hopeless, and has elevated it to an eminence, from which it directs without dispute the destinies of Asia.' His volume is a worthy successor to the labours of the immortal Mill. The mantle of that philosophical historian has fallen upon a congenial mind. His style is lucid and convincing,—free from all meretricious ornament,—yet by no means deficient in power. The present volume contains only a single book, divided into eight chapters. We need scarcely add, that we differ from him in many respects, and transcribe only to protest against it,—such a passage as that towards the termination, in the year 1813:—

'The advocates for the authorized extension of missionary efforts, although they might claim the merit of disinterestedness, were little entitled to credit for candour or discretion. Placing implicit and indiscriminating reliance upon exaggerated and erroneous descriptions of the condition and character of the Hindu and Mohammedan population of India, they disregarded the danger of precipitately attempting their reform; and overlooked the possible peril, that where a state withholds its protection from the national faith, the people may exercise the right, as they have the power, of protecting it for themselves.'—p. 579.

It is wonderful to observe the enervating effects of an intellectual error even upon the strongest faculties. The idea of protecting religion at all seems at once to overcloud the mind that entertains it, however clear it may be under other circumstances. The names of those great men who struggled successfully for that which the historian deprecates, are enrolled in the Book of Life above; whilst even in these sublunary scenes the fame of a Clive, or the lustre of a Mornington, is destined to pass away and perish. Nor can we conclude, without generally denouncing as christian Reviewers, that degree of criminal coolness, with which, even too many religious persons render homage to military glory! Our policy in Hindostan must after all be described as, what St. Augustine would have honestly called it,—a *Splendidum Peccatum*! Its details involve so much

violence, bloodshed, rapacity, despotism, and injustice,—that the eloquence of Burke himself has failed in recording an adequate reprobation. May God forgive our guilty country, and direct the thoughts of our present and future rulers to make whatever atonement may lie in their power, for outrages, which have rarely been surpassed in the annals of a fallen world.

Art. II. *The Institutions of Popular Education.* An Essay : to which the Manchester Prize was adjudged. By the Rev. Richard Winter Hamilton, L.L.D., D.D. London : Hamilton, Adams, and Co. ; Jackson and Walford. 1845.

DR. HAMILTON has been honoured with the premium of one hundred guineas, promised by an unknown 'Churchman of Manchester' to the writer of 'the most valuable Essay on the best method of extending the benefits of Education to the people of England, consistently with the principles of civil and religious liberty.' By writing for this prize, he has continued to give his sanction to the prize essay system ; and his opinion has such weight with us as to prevent, for a time at least, our saying what we should otherwise have deemed it right to say. The thought, however, will not be repressed, that whatever benefits the system has occasioned, its power to benefit is ebbing rapidly. The honour conferred on Dr. Hamilton, in the present instance, is really not very great. The invitation issued from Manchester failed to elicit more than fourteen essays. The honour of the successful competitor is, then, merely this ; that thirteen essayists, we know not who, have each produced a work inferior to his ; an honour that Dr. Hamilton will not rate very highly. Yet the proposed subject was more popular at the time of its proposal than any other, similarly introduced, has been ; and we know of no subject likely to be so distinguished, on which it would be more easy to produce a volume that would be generally deemed respectable. We suppose, then, that the public, like ourselves, are beginning to feel weary of the system. And we rather think this, from observing that the sale of a new prize essay, however popular its subject may be, and however renowned its writer, has lately been much less than it was wont to be. It is possible that Dr. Hamilton well deserves his hundred guineas as compensation for pecuniary loss, occasioned by the publication of his work as a prize essay, rather than as a perfectly independent volume. The common history of all

bounties upon produce is, to be first applauded as a blessing, then decried and relinquished as a curse.

But our congratulation of the author is modified by another and a much graver consideration. We are not sure that his book, good as it is, is so good as it would have been, had he prepared it for examination before no other tribunal than the public; and we attribute the supposed inferiority, not to the author, but to the system. We would be very cautious in stating what, from its nature, is not susceptible of proof. We allow, then, that if there be no counteracting causes, emulation will produce upon any competing essayist its usual effects. We do not deny that the essayist writing on some subjects, may be free from the action of such counteracting causes. He may enjoy perfect freedom, too, on some parts of the subject; on the other parts of which he may feel this action the most sensibly. But we maintain, at the same time, that the force of emulation must necessarily be thwarted whenever the proposed subject is already one of public discussion, not to say disputation, and the opinions of the adjudicators, if not unknown, are yet matters for probable conjecture. Dr. Hamilton would be among the last men to yield to the influences now indicated. We believe that, alive to their action, he would intentionally resist them. And yet we feel, and cannot but feel, when reading many parts of his book, that the writer composed them in restraint. The book is not to us the effusion of a mind in unattempted liberty and conscious ease.

Our readers must not imagine that any latent insinuation is directed in the above remarks against the three adjudicators; or that we suppose Dr. Hamilton to have had a doubt of their adequacy to their task. In assigning the premium to the author of the volume before us, it is quite certain that two of them, at least, Mr. Farrar and Mr. Kelly, must have been prompted by a conviction of its general merits and its suggestive power, rather than by its exhibition of those thoughts on some controverted points which they have been known to express publicly, or might reasonably be supposed to entertain. We have not seen one of the rejected essays, and cannot, therefore, conjecture whether the judgment pronounced would have been our own. But this we confidently and cheerfully maintain; that the adjudicators, in declaring Dr. Hamilton's essay to be the 'most valuable,' could have been actuated by none but the most worthy motives. The evidence of this is the contrast between sentiments which they have been known to express, or which are almost without exception held by men in their position, and those which are distinctly and earnestly advocated in the volume before us. Had not Dr. Hamilton been assured of

their deciding according to the comprehensive principles which evidently regulated their decision, they would not have been troubled to peruse a work of his.

We propose, instead of laying before our readers a dissertation of our own, to subject this essay to a strict review. And we engage in the task with the more pleasure, as we know that by none will our remarks be received with more candour, than by Dr. Hamilton himself. We should not have felt at liberty to make any remarks upon the dedication of this book to Lord Fitzwilliam, had his 'personal kindnesses' to the author occasioned it. But as the dedication is made to his lordship, 'solely on the grounds of his high character and patriotism,' we are constrained to express a doubt whether '*every* augury of his opening career has been fulfilled.' He has disappointed our hopes less, perhaps, than any other of his early associates; but even Lord Fitzwilliam seems to us to sympathize with his order so as to degrade the people, and to care for the preservation of the exclusive privileges of a few, more than for the extension to the community of rights denied and advantages withheld.

After a brief 'advertisement,' explanatory of the title given to the essay, and introductory to the documents relating to the premium, the general plan of the work is exhibited; a most appropriate passage quoted from Plato, as a motto, together with another, less felicitous, from the late Samuel Whitbread, and the first chapter, containing 'Preliminary Thoughts on certain portions of our Population,' is then at once offered to our notice. The most important of these 'Thoughts' are—that increase of population is a blessing; that all men have equal right to sustenance; that this right implies, however, liability to labour; that common phrases betray us into forgetfulness of man's individuality; that communities often present peculiar phenomena to the statistic philosopher; that the population of Great Britain is at present in a very critical state; and that the removal at the same time of all restrictions upon trade in corn, and all special protections to labour, is consequently demanded. The chapter concludes with a table, showing the centesimal proportions of the population of the United Kingdom, at various ages, according to the census of 1841. The chapter is pervaded with a spirit of strong, healthy, and virtuous humanity. Its tone is English, yet cosmopolitan; patriotic, but not exclusive; natural, while christian. Speaking of the enlargement of the human family as in itself a blessing, according to the sacred volume,—

'God,' says our author, 'made the earth to be inhabited. 'He hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on *all* the face of the earth.' Is the parent described? 'As arrows are in the hand

of a mighty man, so are children of the youth. Happy is the man that hath his quiver full of them.' Is the might of Thebes, with its hundred gates, proclaimed? It is 'populous No.' Guarding with holy jealousy and fearful judgment every violation of purity, consecrating marriage as 'the true source of human offspring,' no man can be an intruder in the world. His birth gives right of place and provision in it. Parental sin may, in the opinion of society, throw a shame around him. It may be the wisdom of society to treat him differently from the home-born child. But what if no inheritance greet him? What, if yearning and high anticipation have not hailed him? The genial fount of maternal nourishment was not denied the babe; and the joyless mother, in the sense of its undeserved wrong, has sometimes entwined it in only a fonder embrace. We need not fret ourselves with fears of too many guests for the banquet of nature. The prolificness of our kind has its own limits, and wants not our checks. He, who bids the poorest, has spread the board. He has established the proportion between the numbers and the viands. There is bread enough and to spare. Want may exist in the destitution of the means by which a share of that provision can only be obtained. That is not the inquiry. Is there necessity for that privation? Except in the arid or frozen waste, there is not local dearth; even their rigours may be overcome. Cultivation finds new powers in the most unyielding soil; ocean has scarcely been skimmed for its wealth. . . . Let us welcome all who emerge among us into life, let us confess their equal title with our own, not daring to speak of anterior possession, not grudging one against another, nor charging God foolishly with a disparity which it is most profane to suppose. Justly and benevolently let us think of any imaginable addition of man as a happy consummation; as calling upon us for a more active and zealous discharge of the duties of philanthropy. O! precious is the life of man. Well may we hail him who now has begun to live for ever! . . . How should we honour all men! How unworthy is every contemptuous expression towards any on our tongues! Is he to be despised? Is 'he a vessel in which is no pleasure?' . . . Each man is the brother for whom Christ died. None may be indifferent nor displeasing to us. We are our brother's keeper. The most distressed is most proximately our neighbour. We are debtors to all. We owe love one to another. The christian charity courses each drop of our common blood through all the windings of the human heart, and identifies all its great principles with universal man. And at least our native country makes a noble investment, though not more than just, for the needy. It has no Apothetæ, like Sparta, for the deformed infant; it provides, unlike the ancient Massagetai, no living grave for age.'—pp. 3—6.

We feel, and we believe, with Dr. Hamilton, in regard to the increase of our kind. It is a blessing; and the man who hates it, or does aught tending to prevent it, shows the spirit of a murderer, and strives to limit his Creator's honours. If there

be an outlaw from the universe, it is he. It follows, that the earth, considered as a unit, is the property of the human race, considered as a family; and that no man is authorized to believe himself endowed with a natural right of sustenance superior to that possessed by any other man. We adopt all that can be said to this effect; and we glory in it. But we do not see that our author employs the principles he so strenuously asserts, either for the great object of his Essay, or for any other. Asserted, as they commonly are, by those who plead for the education of the people according to act of parliament, they should not have been asserted by an advocate on the opposite side, without care to vindicate them from perversion. They form one of the favourite themes of demagogues desirous of general and unintelligent discontent. They are the staple materials of all who labour for a revolutionary agrarian law. The upholders of 'poor laws' and of 'national education,' generally think them among their strongholds; and there are those who maintain them chiefly, if not altogether, that they may exert a moral power over the actual and expectant holders of property, humanizing their social feelings towards men less favoured than themselves, and thus preventing the abuses to which the recognition and the defence of the acquired rights of property are liable. We place ourselves in the last class; but whether Dr. Hamilton would choose to join us, rather than those who speak of *natural right* as the foundation of 'poor laws,' we are not quite sure. He is opposed to national education, at least to every form of it proposed for adoption in this country; and he himself proposes none superior. But he earnestly supports 'poor laws,' and, as we think, upon the ground of all men's natural right to sustenance. The reference to them in the foregoing extract is one only of many.

We are constrained to conclude, from the whole of his references to this subject, that, while tracing the poor man's actual right to sustenance proximately to the law of the land, he considers this law as declaring and enforcing the natural right. We differ from him as to the alleged fact, believing the legal right to have been conferred in lieu of the natural right of begging, of which the poor man was deprived because mendicancy was found the occasion of social nuisances and theft. While not allowed to practice mendicancy—at all events, while his labour is fettered and his bread is taxed—we think, too, that he ought to have a legal right to ample support. But to build this right upon his natural right to sustenance, or to confound the two, appears to us the very way to put a 'bounty upon idleness,' and thus to 'pauperise the feeling of the humbler class.' We are not quite sure that our author has thus treated these two distinct

rights; but if he has not, we do not see why he has mentioned the natural right at all. He states it, not in appeal to the moral feelings of the wealthier, but in close connexion with his unqualified and indiscriminating eulogy of a poor law system. It is possible that he may be prepared to avow and to defend the sentiments we think embodied in his words. In this case, it would have been better to anticipate criticism, if making any reference at all to the subject; and in these 'Preliminary Thoughts,' to contribute something towards the settlement of the many difficult questions relating to the connexion between natural and secondary rights. He should have said, either rather less upon the matter, or much more. No one knows better than himself what an important place it holds in political economy; and how much of the common people's irritability in regard to actual laws, might be allayed by just notions of the reasons for obedience.

The second chapter is, 'On the Poor as a Class;' and, its object, though not distinctly announced, appears to be the exhibition of them in such a light as shall prevent schemes of national education, or education of any kind, expressive of the humiliating pity of patronizing superiority, or tending to the destruction of self-respect, liberty of thought, or independence of feeling and action. The chapter is worthy of its object. It does not contain, perhaps, the finest writing in the book, but it furnishes many a delightful glimpse of our author's characteristic excellencies, and, which he will look upon as higher praise, — it cannot be read by any man without the consciousness of strengthening respect for the class of whom it treats. To much of the picturesque grouping and to the more brilliant colours we object, on many and grave accounts; and, as it is impossible to point out a fault, either in Dr. Hamilton's thoughts or his style, without, at the same time, bringing some of his rich and refreshing forms of genuine sentiment within our readers' range, we shall not, assuredly, be restrained by any sympathetic concern for him, from remarking most freely on what we think a serious error. After many just and well-arranged observations on the 'inevitable existence of the class which we call the poorer order,' and a few, not quite so luminous or well put, on the poor man's estimate of labour as his all, there follows a description of the condition of the poor, their mutual feelings, their domestic virtues, their freedom from envy, their independence, their patience, their susceptibility of improvement, their peculiar claims for honourable regard, their social importance, and their immortality, which occupies the remainder of the chapter, and is the chief object of our foregoing allusions, both laudatory and reprehensive. We

must quote much less than we wish ; but the following passages may be regarded as fair specimens of the whole description :

‘ We think of this class with grateful pride. And, were they more closely studied they would win our admiration ! Then should we see the kindness with which they help one another under every ill. Then should we observe the hourly submission with which they bear unimaginable sufferings and privations. Then should we discover their indomitable industry and endurance. Then would there be revealed to us, not all the comfort which we can vividly fancy, but the struggle against a squalor which no fancy can conceive. Then would there be revealed to us, not all the order which we might fondly desire, but a restraint of lawlessness, the temptation to which, only poverty can understand. The house-side woodbine, and the window-plant, declare the simple taste of elegance. The better suit of apparel indicates a sense of station, and the duty of appearance. When parental authority cannot be exercised, how cheerfully is it committed to more competent direction ! If the children be for a time placed under the government of those who seek their welfare, how docile do they commonly approve themselves ! Though their manner be distant and reserved, how soon does a true charity warm it into confidence and gratitude ! The sympathy of the poor with each other, their availing kindness, their true-hearted tenderness, towards all who are more needy and sorrowful than themselves, form their characteristic trait, as well as impress upon them a high nobility ! . . Shall poverty share its crust and divide its pallet ? Shall it gather the children of famine, the benighted and belated stranger, the tempest-driven wanderer, around its crumbs and embers ? Shall it attend on sickness ? Shall it give alms to the blind and decrepit ? Shall it pour its balm on the heart of helpless age ? These are not its excitements, they are its traditional usages, its holy superstitions, its very laws. And shall we despise those who thus bear one another’s burdens ? who, weeping themselves, still weep for them who weep ? Where else is this exalted philanthropy ? . . . We may especially applaud the commonalty for their domestic virtues. The prejudice, we know, is against this exemplification. General charges are alleged of unthriftiness and dissipation. The fact, however, demonstrates itself. The cottage is furnished, a weekly rent is paid, food is provided, clothing is obtained, medical attendance is required. The credit, if allowed at all, is short. . . . It is easy to complain that the poor labourer has funded nothing for the period of scarcity and age. He never could be but on the verge of want. Accusation of such a kind betrays and destroys itself. The absence of envy characterizes in a singular manner, our poorer fellow-countrymen. It can only astonish us, that they acquiesce in arrangements of society which do not seem to meditate their good. . . . Our poor delight in eminence of worth and goodness. They murmur not at the establishment of claims which they could never share. They do reverence to the monuments on which they know their name never can be engraved.

. . . It is difficult for us to imagine sufferings drawn through an entire life. The difficulty is on every hour. Yet they bear their load patiently and cheerfully. And it is also to be doubted, whether any class of society be so strictly moral. The statement may at first surprise. It is the lie to general prejudice. Look upon their industry, their love and pride of children, their conjugal fidelity, their longing after home, their truth, their simple welcome of hospitality, their keen anguish of bereavement, their patience in illness, their confiding and grateful susceptibility; think of these as enduring virtues, virtues transmitted through ages and generations, virtues inhering in their state; and the conclusion cannot be withstood, that the morals of no class have been more rigidly proved, more honourably sustained, more characteristically indicated.'—pp. 21—30.

There is in these statements, a large amount of most delightful truth. As much indeed, perhaps more, might have been added with equal fairness, in honour of the intellectual state of the poor, as the author has written in honour of the moral. He says, that their 'intellectual nature is feebly developed, though earnestly awake;' while he describes their moral condition in terms which remind us of his rising belief, 'that the principal leaders of pagan philosophy were morally inferior to the people which they despised.' Of this alleged inferiority of intellectual development to moral, we shall only say at present that we do not believe in it; our conviction being, that the minds of the poor are in a much better condition than their hearts. A full and accurate account of their moral state, we consider a great desideratum. We think that Dr. Hamilton is scarcely competent to meet the demand; we are thoroughly persuaded that his present effort is a failure. His description has filled us with sadness and melancholy; for, not only has it occasioned the deepening of our own previous and very different impressions, but it has lowered our hopes of an early mitigation of the evils from which our impressions have been derived. When the staunchest friends of the poor,—and to none of them is our author second,—so wrongly, as we think, estimate their case, it is impossible not to feel somewhat of sickening despondency in respect to its amendment. While reading this chapter, we have repeatedly closed the book, and compared its statements with the results of our own observations. We are well acquainted with a neighbourhood of sixty thousand poor, one half of whom are connected with factories. These have not been the only objects of our study. We have had sufficient opportunities to inform ourselves of the condition and character of the Lancashire artisans in general, as well as of many others in different parts of the kingdom. For the last fifteen years, we have been close observers, and thoughtful students, of the mental and moral phenomena presented by these labouring poor. We are no dis-

ciples of Ferrand ; nor are we intending to furnish in this article hints for him to work up into calumny. But Dr. Hamilton's account of the moral condition of the poor, seems the account of a very different world from that which we have seen, or supposed ourselves to see. Yet the poor of Leeds are not generally rated as of very much superior morals to the poor in general ; nor are the sixty thousand within a small radius from our quondam domicile, of proverbially inferior. The advantages possessed by some nine or ten thousand of them, a sort of suburban population, had long, indeed, been special and notorious ; and we are not aware that they had been remarkably unproductive. Nor are our opinions peculiar to ourselves. They are entertained by all the best qualified judges with whom we have conferred ; and we think we have consulted all within our reach whom Dr. Hamilton would have wished to be consulted. Yet the discrepancy between his conclusions and ours is so marked, as necessarily to indicate,—the data being substantially the same,—as marked a difference in the qualifications of the judges. And what is thus indicated, we believe to be the case ; at all events, it accounts satisfactorily for the discordant results severally reached. Dr. Hamilton is a poet, and his prose even is poetic ; we, as in duty bound, eschew all poetry. He is an orator ; apostrophe and hortation are his delight ; this very essay should rather be called an oration : but for us to practise declamation would be to desecrate both the function affected and our own. He is impassioned, raptured, vivid ; whereas no Eclectic reviewer ever sheds a tear, knows the meaning of such a word as 'thrill,' or looks at things through any medium save the white and perfect one of nature. Dr. Hamilton, too, is no less powerful as a friend than as a foe. Advocacy is his element. Adopt which side he may of any subject, he will gain the suffrages of all but recluses and reviewers. We would guarantee his producing any present general effect he might desire. No one can make an unsightly object look more interesting. Pope's 'Alley' done by him in Spenserian style and stanza, would supply all English artists of the picturesque in low life, with subjects for a twelvemonth. And having for his present object to interest the feelings of the wealthy on behalf of the poor, and to keep the powerful from tyrannizing over the powerless, he has availed himself, without due consideration, of the means commonly found most promptly, we do not say permanently, effective of such ends. Virtue to virtuous minds—and especially virtue in adversity—is so much more fascinating than vice ; and to oppress the virtuous seems so much more shocking than to oppress the vicious (if, indeed, the same measures would not, in common parlance, be termed *repression* when directed to the vicious,

and *oppression* only when directed to the virtuous), that a man of fervid temperament, like our author, is in danger, while pleading for the objects of his solicitude, of beautifying them till he altogether frustrates his own design: for who will presume to teach such perfect virtue? or who have boldness to oppress it? The Lenni Lenappe, or the Pawnees, of Cooper, are not recognizable when presented on the pages of those who, misled by his representations, have striven to enjoy a hunting season in their midst. Less disgusting, indeed, to the senses, though often sufficiently trying to them, but far more appalling to the moral sentiments, would be, we are persuaded, the contrast between the realities which a well-educated and morally-refined philanthropist, induced by our author's description to leave the glare of metropolitan vices for the retired shades of manufacturing poverty,—virtue's chosen dwelling-place 'through ages and generations',—would here encounter, and the elegancies and morals, 'rigidly proved and honourably sustained,' which he had been instructed to expect. We should not feel justified in presenting the counter-description which our impressions would supply: it would have, if introduced in this connexion, the aspect of a plea against the poor, though our only object would be to secure for them the more important aid. But without any fear of injuring them by chilling our readers' sympathies, we may state that we have looked in vain through the suburban, or rather rural, district, to which we have already adverted, for a single specimen of 'the house-side woodbine,' or of any other house-encircling plant, declarative of 'the simple taste of elegance.' Our search for 'window plants' has been rather more successful; one cottage, perhaps, in every twenty, boasting of such ornaments. But, on the other hand, out of many plots, easily convertible by their tenants into beds of something useful, sweet, and green, we find but one, which truthfully depicted upon canvass, would be called a garden; and very few, some six or seven only, which the authority of the artist even could represent as such. Meanwhile, of those necessities of life which much more significantly 'declare the simple taste of elegance,' such, for instance, as those of which it is said that the patient John Wesley declared to the good people of Dublin, that unless they provided themselves with a better supply, he would visit them no more, we have ocular proof of a distressing paucity. Pope's Alley could not have been worse adorned. Nor can we omit to notice a strange statement of our author's, on p. 48. When describing the last great turn-out, he says: 'Save in one spot, and nearly where the tumult began, there was no depredation on property.' Then all the newspapers of the time conspired to misinform the public; and the

ordinary private channels of communication, conveying innumerable reports of scandalous outrages, were equally polluted. That the outbreak was of much less turbulent and alarming a nature than any former one with which it could be compared, we cheerfully record; and also that the 'faction' failed through the 'christian principle' of a few, and the improved sense of many, 'on whom it sought to practise,' joined to the general conviction of the irresistible power of the law. The remembrance alone, however, of what we saw, and heard from the best authorities, throughout the week of riot, setting aside the more important acts of depredation reported in the newspapers, compels us to examine most cautiously the estimate of the morality of the poor formed by an advocate who asserts that: 'Save in one spot, there was no depredation on property.' Yet have we seen very many instances of distinguished excellence among the poor; we doubt if any one has seen superior. Acquaintance with them has been an augmentation of our happiness, and a stimulus to personal improvement. For all this, we are unable to think of a single family that corresponds to the idea which, we believe, an intelligent stranger would form of the families of the poor in general, if instructed by no one but our author. We fear that his assertions relative to their morality require modifications as important as those we have suggested of his hints concerning their 'simple taste of elegance,' and of his account of the 'turn-out.' The superior instances that we have known, have been of christian people, or, at least, of people subject from their childhood to the action of the gospel. Their intellectual nature has been developed, not 'feebly,' but with extraordinary power; some features of their moral character have been heroic; their general course has been dignified and respectable. Blemishes and deficiencies, more grievous, too, than mere readers of Dr. Hamilton's volume would think possible, we have candidly considered as their misfortune rather than their fault. They would serve us admirably for subjects, were we preparing 'Tales of the English Peasantry;' and they are of great use, though not of such as that to which our author applies them, when we turn our thoughts to popular education. But people of this kind, (and we fancy that it was of such favoured objects of his own ministry that our author was thinking, when he undertook a description of 'the Poor'), are not fair representatives of their crowded order. The larger part of what our author treats as the morality of the poor, we regard as conventionalisms and 'traditionary usages,' unworthy of the name of moral virtue. We have sometimes thought that he uses the word 'morals' as opposed to 'crimes in the judgment of the law,' or to such 'vices' as we predicate of animals, rather than as syno-

nymous with 'virtues that spring from moral principle;' but altogether, we are constrained to suppose that he employs it in the latter and more philosophical sense; the one, too, which is, to his readers, the ordinary sense. And supposing this, we are staggered, not so much by his comparative estimate of the moral character of the poor, as by his account of its own independent worth. With the comparison between it and the moral state of other classes, we have no present business; though certainly we are not prepared to assign its rank according to our author's apparent leaning. But when we read his description of their moral feelings, principles, and conduct, inquiries such as these burst from us in surprise: Can there be this moral culture, or this uncultivated but most beauteous moral nature, with merely a 'feeble' intellectual development? Can there be such a moral state as this, and yet the sluggishness so prevalent among them to employ the means of intellectual elevation already in their hand? Would a people with such morals, be in need of external provision for the formation of their minds? Are not the really moralized among them independent of such aid? Would the present loud outcry for the education of 'the people' have arisen among almost all the wealthier classes, had not appearances the reverse of moral awakened and alarmed them? In short, told of their industry, can we forget it is inevitable; of their love and pride of children, how generally the love is in proportion to the children's probable or actual earnings; of their conjugal fidelity, that, *we believe more frequently than not*, it has been preceded by the degradation of the maiden; of their longing after home, that it is usually a form of combined self-conceit, envy, and inertness; of their simple welcome of hospitality, that it is compatible with the most artful forms of dependency; of their truth, that it is associated with an almost savage cunning; of their keen anguish of bereavement, that the neglecters and abusers of the living are not the least distinguished for it; of their patience in illness, that mindless insensibility presents the same appearances; and of their confiding and grateful susceptibility, that moral gratitude can warm no heart but that which trusts, and that suspicion is the last vice we ever expect to see thoroughly eradicated from the heart of man?

We shall neither work up the few hints we thus communicate, nor proceed in the same strain. We would rather tell the class whose selfishness and despotism have forced the transmission of demoralized feelings and habits 'through ages and generations' of the poor, what crimes are chargeable on them, and what are the only accounts they have it in their power to render. But our chief motive to do either would be, desire to

contribute something towards furthering popular education of a much more thorough, emotional, pains-taking, and self-perpetuating kind, than what will ever be instituted if the poor are thought to be in the moral stage depicted by our author. We never blamed a poor man for his contracted, dim, and perverted moral views. If he is to be censured, God is the judge; and He will judge uprightly. But we hold it as a very obvious truth, that the poor of this country have not yet been placed in circumstances to obtain superior views; and the result of our observations coincides with our belief. We cannot, therefore, even seem to adopt and recommend such statements of their condition, however plausible and flattering, as can but, at the best, produce an immediate pleasurable excitement in their favour, at the loss of much painful but well-directed and sustained exertion to promote their highest good. They are already distinguished by as much moral beauty in proportion to the moral culture they have received, as any man, whether sanguine friend or captious foe, can reasonably expect. This, we do not deny, clothes them with some poetic interest; but their capabilities, their wrongs, their debasement, and their immortality, are fitter themes for the production of a strong, enduring, and efficacious sympathy on their behalf.

The third chapter, 'on the principal divisions of the labouring community,' is, in our esteem, both instructive and, because felicitous in doing justice, delightful. Its chief object is to redeem the employment of the manufacturing artizan from the reproaches so freely and so foully cast upon it by parliamentary and other aristocratagogues, as if it were eminently and designedly charged with unhealthful, stupifying, and demoralizing elements. We have already adverted to one instance contained in this chapter, of what we think the author's partial advocacy of his clients. More than one might, perhaps, be pointed out; but we have said enough upon this subject. The entire chapter is very valuable. It is inserted, we suppose, in order to efface the impression, that the education of the manufacturing poor is necessarily a hopeless task, and that they must be distributed in other occupations ere they will appreciate, or fructify under, educational advantages. We particularly direct attention to the comparison between the tendencies of the hind's circumstances in this country, and those of the artizan, to develop intellect, to injure health, to promote happiness, and to sustain an independent spirit. No man, with a judgment free to pronounce according to evidence, can read this chapter and not at once conclude, that it will be Britain's wisdom to improve, as much as may be, her manufacturers' condition, and at the same time to multiply their numbers. Let her only unfetter their

powers, and honour their vocation, and they will improve their own condition. Their freedom and their other dues enjoyed, they will become the glory of their race.

'The kind of education adapted to the poor,' is the important subject of the following chapter. The topics introduced are many; we could have wished for others, and also for a more thorough discussion of two or three. No reference is made to the large and pitiable class of 'pauper children,' the inmates of our workhouses, or to the practical difficulties in the way of their education. The case, too, of female children, is barely noticed. A page and a half only is devoted to them; and that is occupied with little except pleading that they be not despised or overlooked. The specialities of their condition and wants are only subjects of remote allusion; and no effort is made either to sketch the requisite provision, or to describe its action. Throughout the chapter, indeed, the opinions and recommendations are characterized by a vagueness and generality, not more unsatisfactory to a man ready to oppose, than to another desirous to adopt them. Thus, the fundamental inquiries relative to the necessity and the desirableness of direct religious instruction in the common day-school, are neither analysed so that all which they involve appears, nor answered so that the friends of the poor may know whether or not they have the weighty authority of Dr. Hamilton in sanction of their conduct. He says in one place, 'That all knowledge should be accompanied by christianity, is only saying, that christianity is so important that it should give temper to all our pursuits. To say that all knowledge should be based on christianity, is little short of absurd. Almost every province of science lies out of the field of Revelation. Both possess independent grounds.' (pp. 61, 62.) Almost immediately afterwards we read, 'Religion has been prominently placed and urged' in certain schemes of education. 'With this we can have no dissatisfaction. Christianity, the religion of salvation by the cross of Christ, cannot be made too public and disciplinary in moral training.' Of the same tendency is the following: 'Let the youngest scholar be taught the doctrines of the Trinity, the Divine Incarnation of the Eternal Son, the Atonement of the Cross,' &c. . . The hold of these blessed verities on the mind cannot be too early given.' That the author is not speaking of either domestic or Sunday-school instruction, but of the ordinary day-school, we are forced to suppose; not only because there is no limiting specification, but because he presently adds; 'Nor can it be unimportant in the present day to make the explanation and defence of protestantism a very prominent article in our schools.' He then writes; 'In this connexion we are the stout advocates

of catechetical methods and forms. Two thousand years have invented nothing wiser. Why should we surrender so well-contrived an instrument for teaching religion? Why compromise ourselves that we may receive a tribute to our liberalism?' On p. 79, too, we find, 'The education which is denounced, because wholly secular, requires some little notice. Does such exist in our country? . . . Is there the school in which is found no inspired verse? Is not morality infused into the reading-lesson and copy-book?' And yet, seemingly on the other side, in part at least, we are told on pp. 82, 83, 'And in stating the kind of information required by the working classes, the most sacred regard must be manifested towards conscience. It must be allowed that men have spoken of the poor as materials to be worked up into any religious profession. And education has been made to act this tyrannic part. It has been refused to all who would not subscribe to particular formulary, or bow in particular rite. . . . Is there not danger of demanding this compromise in the very extension of education? Distinct denominations of religionists are beginning to devise methods of meeting the wants of the people. The probability is, that numerous schools will shortly arise among us, more sectarian, (the epithet is not employed invidiously), than have hitherto existed. Every place of worship may set up one as its proper appendage. These will be indebted to their own communities. A corresponding impress will be stamped upon each. This is natural and unavoidable. The place of worship and the school will have one doctrine. But general education is a good. Should you fetter its possession by any pledge of religious conformity? Many may need that education, who are not of that religious enrolment: it may be that they cannot elsewhere obtain it. Will you deny it them? Teach them, over whom you have just control, or admitted influence, all you believe even to its particle: but refuse not to teach them, whom you cannot thus sway rightfully, as far as they will be taught, only because conscience declines the ulterior instruction.' This last passage contains the only approximation to a luminous and formal statement of our author's views. Till we read it, we were unable to divine them. While studying the preceding twenty pages, we had attributed to him first one opinion, then another. It would almost seem, that till he was engaged in writing he had not felt all the difficulties of his subject, and had not determined what *tertium quid* would best anticipate opposition. What appears his final choice, that religion should be always taught, and, of course, according to the convictions of those who have made themselves responsible for the maintenance of the school, but that children whose guardians disapprove of the religious dogmas

inculcated in any particular school, should be allowed to receive the secular instruction exclusively, lies open, we think, to two or three important objections. For in this country there will not be found very many instances of guardians hostile to the dogmatic instructions, but willing to subject children to the general religious 'temper' of the school. The 'good' of 'general education' would not, then, be obtained. Or if obtained to a wider extent than we expect, it would, in such circumstances, be connected with evils unavoidably resulting from the exemption of a few children from the routine of religious instruction understood to be given in the institution. And, after all, the desirableness of this routine is anything but a settled and unquestioned fact. We much lament that Dr. Hamilton has treated it as ascertained and generally allowed. None would have been more ready than ourselves, to examine with all possible candour any arguments from such a man, in favour of maintaining in all scholastic engagements a formal and visible connexion, or association, between the dogmas of revelation and the dicta of philosophy, the religious faith of the christian and the political faith of the citizen, the duty of reading and writing and the duty of believing. Our present opinions may be wrong: but they are formed from respectable data; they are strengthening; those who adopt them are multiplying; and it can hardly, therefore, be commended by us, that in such a work as that before us the opposite to them is gratuitously assumed. Our author evidently believes that in time, nearly every place of worship will have a day-school as its necessary appendage. We think so too; and if this plan be not what we should have devised as the fittest for popular education, we do not so object to it as to oppose its accomplishment. But we earnestly plead that all the education given may be 'general.' We should deem it a duty for each congregation to select a teacher of their own faith and 'temper.' Nor would we prevent, but rather encourage, scriptural instruction, if limited to its more secular elements, such as its historical and geographical matters. We have no conscientious objection to prayer, or the use of doctrinal catechisms, or the delivery of a sermon, didactic or hortative, as part of the usual proceedings of each school. If they could not be employed at other times, we should even plead for their frequent employment in the school, and reconcile ourselves as we could to the loss of the 'good' of 'general education.' But we should think this loss a great one. In making our schools partly 'sectarian,' by connecting them with our respective chapels, and adopting a few correspondent regulations, we shall unavoidably sustain it to a great extent; and we are sorry for it. We deprecate the loss of all the 'good,' however; and we

do not see that we are bound to suffer it. A day-school is not a boarding-school : and if it be a well understood arrangement, that day-schools, though kept on chapel premises, are not instituted for instruction in the chapel doctrine, but for 'general education,' they will have in time something of a 'general' aspect, and the national character will be correspondently invigorated. Meanwhile, those for whose sake they were, perhaps, originally opened, the children of the congregation and their near connexions, will have ample opportunity of acquiring religious knowledge. Scarcely one of them will be found, not in habitual attendance at the Sunday-school and chapel. Many of them will be the objects of christian solicitude at home. Every teacher, too, worthy of his office, will make it part of his system to instil by private efforts, wherever he can do it wisely, and with honour, those great principles, on the heart's reception of which he believes the salvation of his young disciples to depend. And inasmuch, moreover, as the teacher is supposed to be a man, whose 'temper' and general conduct will throw over his professional pursuits the consecrating atmosphere of the christian spirit ; while in innumerable poems and reading-lessons the christian morality will necessarily be exemplified and enforced ; we are sure that the school will bear quite enough of a religious character to refute the stupid insinuation, that because it has neither creed nor catechism it is infidel ; and we think that, considering the children will not attend for more than four hours a-day for three years, on an average, as much of that time will be spent in learning religion as ought to be so used.

We entirely concur with our author's recommendation of early instruction in dogmatic christianity and in the principles of protestantism, supposing the fire-side or the Sunday class the scene where the instruction is imparted. We must extend the recommendation, and in all its force, to the principles of dissent ; were we methodists, we should say of methodism. It surprises us a little that Dr. Hamilton should not have widened his recommendation thus ; but we refer to an earlier part of this article for the explanation. If we do not echo his eulogy of catechisms, it is not from disapprobation of 'catechetical methods and forms, among other means of religious education ;' but because what we think their chief value, their use as a text-book, depends so much upon the teacher's skill and power. Of his other recommendations, we must direct particular attention to the following ; that the etymology of the vernacular language be taught, and well taught ; that grammar learning, in the full sense of the phrase, be revived ; that facilities be multiplied for the 'refinement of taste ;' that the 'industrious classes receive

a political instruction ;' and that care be taken to 'imbue them with the taste, and to furnish them with the means, of self-education.' We wish that Dr. Hamilton had urged on his readers the importance of educating the domestic and social feelings of the poor. He has written on giving them 'a political instruction' much which is equally applicable to instruction in the more private relations of life. The rich springs of happiness and comfort which exist in the heart's feelings towards its kind, 'and especially towards those of its own house,' are not, we are persuaded, matters of vivid consciousness to the great majority of our people. To become such, moral education is needed ; quite as much as for the formation of a contented subject. To the remarks on 'a political instruction' we shall advert again when commenting on the next chapter. We merely add at present, that they, with all his remarks on the topics enumerated, and on others too, are no less forcible than of an aspect beautifully proper.

It was necessary for the completeness of the essay, that it should enumerate and discuss the benefits to be expected from general education. Perhaps, too, though 'the desirableness of education is not openly impugned,' nothing but 'shame seals the lips' of many, who would impugn it if they durst encounter the mingled indignation and ridicule they would certainly provoke. Besides, there are thousands who rank among the most liberal promoters of general education, but dread and deprecate the introduction of aught that can be called political into the working man's curriculum. Dr. Hamilton has, therefore, devoted his fifth chapter to the consideration of 'the advantages arising from the education of the people ;' and a very able and triumphant chapter it is. The arrogance of those who would monopolize knowledge is exposed ; their objections to the general circulation of it are destroyed ; and the ruinous loss to which they would subject their country, themselves as well as those whom they would hold fast bound in ignorance, is demonstrated. We have to regret here, as everywhere, that the outlines of the author's scheme of thought are not more definite. Where he speaks, too, of the 'justice of educating the poor,' of their 'claim upon us,' and of its being 'just to explain to them the fitness of certain arrangements embraced in our great constitutional polity,' we feel painfully that no answer is provided to the questions, Whose is the duty ? To what class of offences will neglect belong ? Where is the tribunal of appeal for redress ? A hundred and fifty pages afterwards, indeed, we find a distinction drawn between social duties and political ; and the assertion made, that 'many a social duty exists apart from the ruling power.' A little earlier, too, on p. 235, it is said, that 'the basis of much specious theory on this attributed duty,'

of states,' (the education of the people) 'has been the admixture of public and private obligations.' And we think it amply proved in the latter part of the volume, that 'this attributed duty' is both unwisely and unjustly attributed. But when we read, on p. 103, 'the mere justice of educating the poor is apparent from that equal obedience which is required from all by our laws, each subject being supposed to know them;' and, on p. 106, 'shortsighted is the policy that meets only present difficulties. . . . Government is properly a profound science, a generous guardianship, anticipating danger, grappling evil, guiding opinion, exploring futurity;' this last passage following immediately upon a paragraph descriptive of the 'indiscriminate and phrenzied ruin of the framework of society,' which popular ignorance must irresistibly effect; we are forced to believe that the writer of these remarks was not, while writing them, indisposed to recognize the education of the people, at least to some extent, as a duty of government, and to suggest modes for its performance. That it is not we who are hypercritical, but he who is morbidly distrustful of first principles, and fearful of definitions, is evident enough when different parts of his volume are collated.

But it is time for us to turn to one of the most important discussions on which Dr. Hamilton has entered, and which arise in relation to popular education. He had recommended, in the fourth chapter, that the people should receive a political instruction. He adds—

'If government be, in any sense, an arrangement for their benefit, and a trustee for their security, it ought to be shown in what manner it acts on their behalf; a foundation should be laid for their confidence. If apparent wrong be done them in any legislative measures, they have a right to be satisfied that it is not real, or that, if real, it is indispensable . . . A government has no arcana; it is a great social regulation—a strict convention. . . It is only a relative thing. Not a thought can it legitimately bestow upon itself. Its strength, firmness, revenue, are of the people, and for the people. . . Throw all light over its frame and working; make the people parties to it; let them appreciate the use of every principle, and every adjunct; invest them with a beneficial interest in all; while they 'sit by the fire,' let them know 'what's done in the Capitol,' and your commonwealth is imperishable.'—pp. 76, 77.

'What was Socialism,' he had asked too, on p. 32, 'but the loud want of the multitude excluded from great social advantages? What is Chartism, but the importunate resentment of the multitude proscribed as politically nought? It is far better, in all such crises, even in popular commotions, to heal the wrong than to punish the remonstrance.'

He now adds, on pp. 90, 91—

'That the tuition of the labouring orders must produce its effect

upon the whole structure of society, is not denied. . . Any suddenness of movement, however, need not be feared; it is impossible. But the question occurs—is society rightly based? and would not this pressure upon it, which can be only intellectual and moral, be advantageous? . . . The depression of any is to the benefit of none.'

Again, on pp. 93, 94, 95, he says—

'Graver judgments are pronounced. It is foreseen that the growing intelligence of the workers will constrain organic changes in the polity of the empire. The word ought to be defined. New distributions of the same power cannot constitute organic change. Popular suffrage is an element in our constitution. It may be enlarged, just as the peerage has been increased, without any vital revolution. . . . A free government, will reflect, of necessity, the opinions and refinements of its people. It is not an unnatural inference, that those classes which are not now deemed sufficiently enlightened to bear a part, and exercise a responsibility, in the management of the state, will, when thus prepared, find their way, and it is hoped, their welcome, to political immunities. . . . There would be no organic or vital revolution. The strict principle of our constitution would only be more emphatically declared. It is true, that pecuniary qualification now exists for the enjoyment of certain rights. But it is simply thus assigned, because property is supposed to be a pledge of information. There is no partial right given to any class of society, which is not a trust intended to be executed for the whole. Property was thus, again, considered the index of a moral ability to undertake such trust. We need not blame our ancestors for this appointment; it was not only the best, but we have not found out a better. . . . But if knowledge and virtue, which humbler circumstances have been thought to discourage, and almost to preclude, can establish their existence in those circumstances, or in spite of them, then, surely they may claim equal respect, though unclothed with their ordinary ensigns. It is then, also, that the question may arise which we are not called to settle—whether these attributes, apart from other secular investitures, should or should not, give a potential voice in the direction of public affairs. It may be fitting, or it may not. However it may be determined, the poor are in a better frame of mind to receive the decision. The alternative must rest upon the unreasonableness of any political change, as deducible from their intellectual and moral change. Then, if unreasonable, the more reasonable the parties contemplated in it, the more readily will they see that unreasonableness. But if contrariwise, then the reasonable change must be yielded. Can it be safely or honestly refused, an instant beyond the evidence that it has become desirable and just?'

Lastly, we find on p. 267—

'A literate qualification for electoral rights in the commonwealth must be condemned. The man has not sinned, but his parents. The stimulus comes too late for personal improvement.'

And just before—

‘The encouragement to education by any penal disabilities on its neglect, is the civil proscription of those who never enjoyed its means. Men are treated as responsible, who were not free agents. Calamity is condemned for guilt. It is still more unrighteous. It visits the grievance on a mental state as crime.’

We rejoice that Dr. Hamilton is beyond the reach of false brethren. His position is too secure to be shaken by charges of Chartism. No assurance that he belongs to the more vulgar and illiterate Dissenters will keep his voice from being heard. The men who have done their utmost to ‘keep down’ and ruin some of his juniors, for the utterance of such sentiments as these, will hail him as a hero brave and worthy. His reputation will rise through the support of those who have changed the bright prospects of some of his pioneers into a dreary blank. Radicalism, heterodoxy, ignorance, ambition; such are the crimes attributed by too many of the leaders of orthodox dissent to brethren of whom they are not worthy, but whom Dr. Hamilton would have magnanimity enough to honour, though they were earlier than himself in this good work, and though it was their misfortune to form their creed when young, and believing it, to speak. We reflect with melancholy feelings on many a youth of hope and promise, whose course of gallant service has been interrupted thus; the calumnious whisperers prevailing to excite his people’s fears, or else to crush the heart that had confided in them. Flushed with success, they turned their efforts against us, their veteran seniors. Had they still succeeded, we doubt if even Dr. Hamilton would have escaped their malice on the publication of passages such as those we have just copied, or of others relative to the anti-state church question. And we have other kindred doubts; but we forbear. We are glad enough, however, that Dr. Hamilton can be quoted as authority for such sentiments and language concerning some of the most stirring questions of our times, as those which are contained in this volume; sentiments and language almost always as decided as our own, and, occasionally, even stronger than any we have published.

But we return to our review. And charmed as we are with the foregoing extracts, we are obliged to say that they deserve the application of many of our former strictures. Our readers, however, must apply these for themselves; we have only space for a few additional remarks and questions. We are not about to argue out the subject of the suffrage; but it is too momentous, especially in connexion with popular education, for the opinions expressed on it by any man, however great, to pass

without rigid scrutiny. We think, now, that Dr. Hamilton might most consistently avow himself 'an advocate of complete, or universal, suffrage. We wonder, indeed, that he has not made the avowal. He says, on p. 30, 'that the morals of no class have been more rigidly proved,' than those of the poor. On p. 267, he tells us that 'a literary qualification for electoral rights in the commonwealth, must be condemned.' Yet we find, on p. 96, 'that knowledge and virtue are the only guides of liberty, and the only guarantees of right;' and we have already quoted from p. 94, 'that pecuniary qualification exists for the enjoyment of certain rights, simply because property is supposed to be a pledge of information:—an appointment the best when made, and than which we have not found a better.' Yet he allows on the same page, that 'knowledge and virtue, if their existence be established in those humbler circumstances which have been thought almost to preclude them, may, surely, claim equal respect, though unclothed with their ordinary ensigns.' Knowledge and virtue, then, are what he requires in electors; and property he thinks their best index. Yet, as he maintains, on p. 19, that 'the existence of the class, which we call the poorer order, is inevitable,' some better index is, of course, demanded. Besides; to inflict a penalty on poverty is as objectionable as on illiteracy. Yet he indignantly refuses an educational qualification; though, after all, he proposes no other. And we can think of none of which for a moment he would approve, except the general conviction of the present body of electors, that the non-electors have obtained sufficient knowledge and virtue. Yet of a part of the electors he says, on p. 268, 'that the power of voting for the legislature, the true sovereignty of the land, is often associated with the rudest ignorance! What country can be safe, whose freedom is thus entrusted to the custody of vulgar stolidity and prejudice!' And of another part, we might almost say *the* other, he asserts, on p. 92, that 'the equidistances' between the knowledge of the richer portions of the people and that of the poorer 'might be easily maintained. We feel a strong persuasion that they generally are.' The present electors, then, are, we suppose, to be the judges of the people's fitness to possess the suffrage. The judges are self-constituted, it must be remembered; and the people protest against the assumption. Of them, however, such as they are, one part denies the fitness, because the knowledge of the poor is not equal to their own. Yet, whatever this knowledge may become, it will always necessarily be at equi-distance from their judges, and will never, therefore, qualify its possessors. Meanwhile, the other part in their 'stolidity and prejudice' are

altother unable to recognize knowledge when they see it. The poor, then, because they are poor, must always be disqualified; though their Redeemer is mighty, and their Maker is reproached when they are mocked. Are they, then, to rise up, take their right by violence, and in the exercise of it manifest their fitness? Neither our author nor we can come into such counsel; though he inquires whether the right can be 'safely refused,' when evidence has been furnished by the claimants that it is 'desirable and just?' We see but one obvious alternative; we regret that Dr. Hamilton has not advocated it; we question if it has yet obtained his approbation.

And we must further inquire how, if the suffrage be denied to the people, they are to be satisfied that apparent wrongs, this denial for instance, 'are not real, or, if not real, are indispensable.' If they suspect the integrity of the government, their 'trustee,' or distrust its wisdom, to whom are they to appeal? What foundation can be laid for their confidence, when the people are *no* parties to the government, when it acts as an *absolute* thing, when it persists in excluding them from *great social rights*, and, when they are pertinaciously and insultingly proscribed as *politically nought*? When will they attain the fitness enjoined? Who shall be the umpires? What is the standard? And when will the examination be allowed? We cannot leave the subject without again recording our conviction, that, as the certain possession of a title to the heavenly citizenship is the chief means to incite its possessor to seek qualifications for its enjoyment; so will the certain possession of a title to earthly citizenship act as the strongest inducement to a man to qualify himself for the just and profitable exercise of its important rights.

Our task is nearly done: for the remaining chapters, though constituting two-thirds of the book, contain little that calls for animadversion. We shall have but to describe and praise. The sixth chapter is 'on Sabbath Schools;' and it contains all the defence which, as either a necessary evil, or a positive good, developing 'a principle,' they can require. We particularly recommend for attentive perusal, the forcible remarks on a sound biblical education, and the dissertation on 'the use of religious formulæ in the Sabbath instruction of young persons.' The whole chapter, however, is a well sustained and singularly effective harangue.

The next chapter, is 'on Foreign Systems and Means of Education.' It opens with some enlightened remarks on the ignorance of France, as causing the failure in her revolution. The way is thus prepared for the present educational statistics of that country, whose 'second revolution opened with a prospect, bright and auspicious, for national education.' Then follows a

sufficiently ample amount of the state of education throughout Germany: and a slight sketch of it in Denmark, Switzerland, Bavaria, Austria, and other parts of Europe. Speaking of the literary establishments of these countries, our author says: 'All these great educatory engines are national, legislative, and, with scarcely an exception, compulsive. They are accomplishing great results: in another part of these enquiries, it may be our duty to decide whether these features ought to characterize popular education, and whether these external succours do not retard and vitiate it.' (p. 160.) Dr. Hamilton then conducts us to the New World, where, that is in the United States, 'the principle of education seems to be this.—'Each state requires, that there shall be an organization of schools, proportioned to the inhabitants of any region.' (p. 163.) 'State vies with state. The old have legislated to secure education; and the federal government receives no new one without providing for it.' (p. 161.) 'No territory can be received into the Union, without a formal partition of certain lands on behalf of schools.' (p. 172.) 'The manner of raising the revenue for the support of the schools, seems various. Sometimes it is in the form of a direct capitation tax under government collectors; sometimes it is of a more local levy. Where there is no literary fund,' (from a lien on the profits of the banks or on their capital, from bequests, or from other sources,) 'it would appear that it is often doubly paid, first to the general exchequer of the state from which grants are issued, and secondly, towards the district disbursement.' (p. 170.) For further particulars, we must refer to our author's account. Full as it is, it should have been enriched by statements of the kind of education given to the children of the artisans, and of the popular feeling towards the system.

'The Statistics of Domestic Education,' is the subject of the eighth chapter. Our author has resorted to the best authorities for the class of facts he has adduced. We wish that he had spent more pains in obtaining, if possible, fuller illustrations of the things taught, and the discipline employed. His sentence on p. 293, that 'The quantity of instruction in the country, is not so much an occasion for reproach, as its character,' is, we have no doubt, according to truth. The negative implication he has sustained; it would have been well if he had equally confirmed the positive. Opportunity would thus have been given for enlarged discussion on Normal Schools. The topic is a difficult one; much more difficult than is supposed by those who have not endeavoured to frame a scheme for their formation and maintenance. It was worthy of an elaborate chapter. To the question, 'Whether the provisions of education are more ample in municipal, or in rural districts?' our author gives his best attention. He justly

discriminates between manufacturing towns, and others; the 'great abodes of the oppidan population,' as he calls them, and 'the vast theatres of skilled and artistic labour.' In reference to these last, he quotes Mr. Edward Baines, whose 'tables have acquired the authority of a standard,' and 'are a noble and dispassionate vindication of a people traduced beyond measure and example.' Neither the 'agrestian population,' nor the 'oppidan,' can bear comparison with the 'technic labourers,' those 'most perfect specimens of industry, of enduring patience, of strict order, sufferers to a heroic dint, disciples of most self-denying truth, enthusiasts of hope in each convulsion of traffic and extremity of want, the men of clear spirit and stout heart, the humble patriots, true to their country, whose principles gold has been tried in vain to debauch; servants loyal and devoted, but who cannot be made slaves,—it sickens us to think how they have been reviled!' (p. 183.) Our readers will remember, that Dr. Hamilton is a poet. But, though we cannot altogether adopt his absolute estimate of the heroes of his song, we fully agree with his comparative.

Those of our readers who have been directed by the upholders of national education to Scotland, as a country where intelligence, liberty, and morality have been produced by its means, to an unparalleled extent, may profitably consider the following extract:—

'The private schools are two thousand two hundred and twenty-two, and three-fourths of the people are instructed in them; at least, not in the national public schools. What a lesson is this upon the true educational liberty! What a spectacle of the certain defectibility of all institutions, which depend not upon the principle of self-government and the support of the people.'—p. 192.

From Scotland we are conducted to Ireland; where we become witnesses of a righteous vindication of its character from the charge of 'contentedness of ignorance.' Justice is done, also, to its great educational institutions; the vice in any being 'government money, and government inspection.' When the operations of all, and of other more denominational societies, 'are put into one sum, a superiority may be shown to Great Britain. The shamrock triumphs over the thistle and the rose.'—pp. 194—196.

The ninth and tenth chapters are, however, the glory of the book. They are long, but not too long for either the magnitude of their subjects, or the power of the essayist. 'The parties responsible for the education of the people,' and 'the educational means and resources of this country,' are the ample themes exhibited; and the exhibition is magnificent. We

scarcely regret that we have not space for many quotations ; for we should be sorry to prevent any of our readers from feeling the full power of these two chapters read in close succession. Nor do we care to reperuse them, in order to detect aught censurable. If we have not pronounced sufficient censure on our author when examining his former chapters, at all events we have none to speak on these. They may have faults ; and some few, perhaps, we have anticipated. We do not know of any more ; nor have we heart to see them, if there be.

After some just remarks on the unsettled state of opinion concerning 'the proper agency in popular education,' Dr. Hamilton introduces the consideration of the parental responsibility. 'The parent's knee,' he says, 'is the proper place of moral training. This is the true school.' He reverts again to the subject at the conclusion of the chapter ; turning 'with humble submission and grateful delight from the institutes of man to the ordinances of God.' Meanwhile he has examined these institutes ; and commencing with the deeds of those who have 'boldly urged the prior rights of the state,' he has first exposed the much vaunted Spartan institutions. To the horror and disgrace of modern worshippers of Plato, he has then produced the principles of 'the divine dreamer, the celestial seer ;' and most righteously he adds, 'all invective, and not undeserved, is heaped upon the systems of modern infidelity ; it is forgotten that their foulest dogmas first fell from his honeyed lips, that the metempsychosis of his spirit is still among us in the most execrable licentiousness, and disorganization, and that were he on the earth, he would be the high-priest of the orgies which every virtuous mind abhors and loathes. But the hideousness of the idol is lost to the votary in the marvel of its legend, the nimbus of its glory, and the distance of its shrine,' pp. 207, 208. We are sorry to be forced to believe that this instructive rebuke is needed by some among ourselves. If any think it gothic or envenomed, let them read our author's preceding three pages. The educational laws of the Persians, as reported by Xenophon ; the opinions of Aristotle ; the systems of Greece and of Rome, so far as apparent ; in later times, Harrington's thoughts ; those, too, of Hobbes, Sir Thomas More, and Lord Bacon ; all are sketched, and, we think, not more impressively than truly. 'Lord Bacon alone, of this class of theorists, requires not the parent to forego his right in his offspring.' The wisdom of the others would 'put youth' more or less 'at the disposal of the state. They are not, however, without living sanction,' says our author ; for 'we must not omit that infidelity ranges itself upon the side of parental irresponsibility ;' and Robert Owen's doctrines are cited in proof.

The right which the state has in the children of a country, is then freely considered. The political economist would here, perhaps, demand definitions, principles, distinctions, and other things of that kind, which find but little favour with our author. But we have engaged to say nothing in dispraise; and are bound to declare that, popularly, Dr. Hamilton has accomplished his design, and vindicated the parent's entire and inalienable right from the usurping claims of governments. The discussion is a stream of glowing thought through twelve consecutive pages. We cannot, however, allow ourselves to give its outline even; or any part of it, except its most significant conclusion.

'What, then, it may be asked, should a monarch do? We answer, what any other man ought to do; be himself religious, and preserve a domestic discipline of religion. Let him maintain a pious, holy court. Let his example, and even his counsel, recommend religion to his subjects. But we have a precedent, and this we enforce. Would that all leaders and governors of nations might speak the language, and act upon the decision, of Joshua; 'If it seem evil unto you to serve the Lord, choose you this day whom ye will serve; but as for me and my house, we will serve the Lord.'

The claims of the church to be the 'instructress of the people,' are then brought up for judgment; and after the destruction of the 'indefeasible claims of any church, apart from political establishment, as only of itself,' 'special reasons are found against the docent authority and right of any established church.' Under this head our author takes occasion to remark, p. 233; 'In every country, the education which is forcible may not appear equally a wrong. . . . It may be the will of the present people. There is not the sense of force in the collection of tax, or in the surrender of the children. But all this favouring circumstance does not make the principle right. It but wards off an actual inconvenience and collision. Another generation may think otherwise. It is of our country, however, that we restrict ourselves to speak.' And we are sorry that he put this restriction on himself. His splendid violation of it soon afterwards, when exposing, 'by facts' in the condition of France and Prussia, 'the reasoning which he had assailed in abstractions,' makes us the more lament that he has not attempted to foretell the evil consequences of America's adoption of a form, however comparatively faint, of the compulsive principle. A sagacious man of principle and observation need not shrink from the function of the seer. As our author says, in the midst of one of his noblest passages on pp. 270, 271,—'Posse and Esse are to us but one. . . . Consequences do not unfold themselves at

once. It is folly to wait for them. Tendencies are consequences. Crush the egg; uproot the seed. Utter bold denouncement against the principle. Else shall we be miserably deceived. Men are plausible. Concessions are liberal. None begin tyrants. . . . We must, therefore, resolutely stand upon this preparatory ground; whither do the principles incline, and the circumstances tend?

From consideration of church-claims, our author proceeds to a re-consideration of the claims of governments. And after a well-deserved apology for Sir James Graham's undertaking to legislate concerning education, implying a sarcastic and a well-deserved rebuke of the vast majority of dissenters, he gives a brief but extraordinary description of the results of national education in France and Prussia. It mainly occupies the remainder of the chapter, some twenty pages; and is, perhaps, the finest writing in the book. We shall quote a few sentences only, in reference to Prussia; selecting not the best, but those which are directed against what, of all things, we most dread, an evil principle in the hand of the tender-hearted and humane, Satan transformed into an angel of light.

‘ ‘ Poor, and to be accursed, are the virtues which undo a country.’ The private excellence and domestic goodness of the despot are not uncommon. His nature must have some vent of tenderness. . . . Who commends the lion, as it devours its prey, that it is loving to its mate, and playful with its cubs? No more dire misfortune has fallen on man, than this amiableness of tyrants. . . . A Nero and a Caligula could not do half the mischief of a William and a Nicholas. What is the country of which we speak? this kingdom of boasted light? this land of universal education? A camp of manœuvres, an arsenal of weapons, a barrack of troops. All are trained to military service. Upon this martial regulation is founded the system of instruction. . . . The drum and the drill are the notices and exercises. An elementary education, very complete as far as it goes, is confessedly afforded. But what is the national character which it can shape? It severs the proper sympathies of parent and child. It extinguishes the proud consciousness of free agency and personal accountability. It raises mind to one level; it as often sinks it to the same. A dull monotony succeeds. To this is a noble people made slave and victim. What high deeds can such discipline provoke? What are the excellencies which this culture can inspire? They who anticipate the reign of mind and religion, can see, in all this mechanism, no preparatory process, no encouraging earnest, no prophetic hope!’

The last chapter treats of many matters not comprised in its nominal subject. Government interference with education is again and again examined, and as frequently denounced. The

rejection of it is convincingly proved to be a 'necessary conclusion of protestant nonconformity.' The general conduct of dissenters in regard to the British and Foreign School Society is justified; and all said that can be said in excuse of those who applaud the *Regium Donum*. The lofty character which a nation such as ours should possess, is ardently described; and no little is most eloquently advanced in refutation of the odious outpourings of ignorance and malice to the dishonour of our present state. An affecting picture is drawn of the outcast poor; appeals and suggestions are presented on their behalf; and their future education is unvauntingly but confidently fore-shown. The moral power of Britain, her religious vitality, the evident and mighty works of God within her, these, too, are topics of joyous expatiation; and connected with the proper subjects of the chapter, the endowed institutions, the unfettered wealth, the opportunities for economic retrenchment, the 'liberality of even deep poverty' for the sake of education, and the power of association, all so characteristic of our country; they constitute the ground of eager and triumphant hope. Many inferior themes, moreover, are incidentally introduced. The unsystematic arrangement of these heterogeneous materials prevents much of the effect they would otherwise perhaps produce. But the chapter, as a whole, worthily succeeds the previous one; and the two together draw forth our deliberate sentence, that the book containing them is such for intellectual vigour, sound humanity, and enlightened godliness, not to speak of secondary but most estimable qualities, as it has rarely been our happiness to find among the productions of our time. We quote the following for the refreshment of our readers in general, and for the particular benefit of all those officials and other worthies who still circulate stale taunting mockeries of northern lights.

'If dissenters accept the pay of government, if they do not firmly and inflexibly abjure it in all shapes and pretexts, their prevarication will cover them with infamy. . . . They cannot touch stipend or gift, and their hands be clean. The moment they take it, the most important grounds of private judgment and uprightness are abandoned. . . . They will deserve to be reviled for hypocrisy; the mummets of principle, the swashers of conscience. They will be indeed abased. They will have yielded to a bribe, while their fathers shrank not from the death. The mark of servitude will be burnt deep into their brow. They will have stooped their neck to the yoke. They will have passed beneath the Caudine Forks. It is surely a little strange that this elementary principle and necessary conclusion of protestant nonconformity should have been, not without some pains at wit, though with a sparing abstinence of argument,

described as altogether new. . . . Why should the sneer of a new and sudden illumination be indulged? The support of religion by the state is the objection of the dissenter. Without recanting that objection, how could he accept aid in support of religious education? . . . Nonconformists,' in the repudiation of all state aid, 'follow no new light. The error has been to quote as their prototypes, Howe, Baxter, and Owen, rather than Robinson and Ainsworth, Thacker and Penny, Barrow and Greenwood, Rough, and Simpson, those earlier confessors, exiles, and martyrs, those original standard-bearers against this principle. The antiquity of their opinion proves nothing for it; but it purges them of any innovation.'—pp. 282—285.

Art. III. *Richard the Third. A Poem.* By Sharon Turner, F. A. S., and R. A. S. L. 1 vol., 8vo. London: Longman and Co.

THE venerable historian of the Anglo-Saxons deserves so well of his countrymen that the critic will receive anything which proceeds from his pen with a feeling of respect, though it may surprise him by issuing in a form that he had not expected. We certainly did not anticipate the historian re-appearing in his old age as a poet; but the character of Richard the Third, as all who have read Mr. Turner's 'History of England' are aware, has always been a subject of peculiar interest to him. He has endeavoured to show that Richard was not from nature the monster that Shakspeare has drawn him. Mr. Turner, on the contrary, thinks, and has endeavoured to prove, that though Richard *was* a monster, he was not made so by nature, but by his own ambition; still, beyond the accuracy of an historical fact, we do not see much that is gained by the labour and research which he has spent upon the subject. Richard, even by Mr. Turner's own showing, was a villain of no ordinary dye; and we are quite willing to grant him that few men are from nature such; but we should have been well content to have seen this argued by him in the form of history. In poetry it lacks the grace of originality, which can alone secure a lively attention. At the same time we cannot but bear testimony to the amiable spirit and good sense that belong so peculiarly to Sharon Turner, and are conspicuous in this poem. There is something very interesting, too, in the description of the manner in which this subject first laid hold on his imagi-

nation, and that with a force which gave it the impressiveness of poetry to his mind, and has kept its hold there through all the labours of a long and active life.

'It is now fifty-three years ago since the first idea of the following work occurred to me. In 1792 I made an excursion, during the summer vacation from legal business, in the counties of Hampshire and Dorset. I had been studying in my temple chambers the ancient periods of our English history, and was desirous of seeing some of the places where its more striking incidents had taken place. Amongst these, Stonehenge, with its druidical stones, and Corfe Castle, at the gate of which our Anglo-Saxon king, Edward, called the martyr, had been stabbed by the assassin employed by his mother-in-law, Elfrida, deeply interested me. I was then twenty-five years of age, and with all the strength and spirits of that happy period of our varying life.

'In my road to Weymouth, where his Majesty George III. was residing, whom I wished to see there in his simple privacy, and more like his real self, as the individual king divested of his state, and of the needful appendages of his royal station, I reached Abbey Cerve, and finding some ruins of the ancient monastery there, I amused myself with examining them, and determined to pass the night at the comfortable little village inn of that place.

'As I was taking my tea alone in its retired room, the crimes and violences of our earlier history, and the characters of our kings during the feudal period, became the subject of my solitary meditations; and in musing over these, the popular history of our Richard III. strongly arrested my attention.

'When I considered all the circumstances of his life and position; brother of the most accomplished royal gentleman then in Europe; sprung from one of the noblest lines in England; son of the late Lord Protector; educated or brought up, during his brother's reign, in the improving spirit and manners of that day, and performing every thing, which he had done, except the destruction of his nephews, with the concurrence and cooperation of some of the elder nobility of the kingdom; and long a subject of popular regret, especially in the northern counties; it appeared to me that he could not have been that mere cruel, malignant, and odious ruffian which the genius of our Shakspeare has impressively represented.'—*Preface.*

We should not do justice to our venerable author if we did not give a specimen of his poetry. It possesses, with just and generous sentiments, considerable ease and harmony of versification. The learned men of the day advise Richard against war. They could not have used better arguments had they lived now, with all the motives created by railroads, commerce, and the Peace Society.

'My liege, we err whene'er we think that arms
 Alone will shed the glory which so charms.
 Wisdom and peace, arts, trade, the poet's lays,
 Will form your richest coronet of praise;
 The cherished scholar, educated mind;
 Learning and genius with heaven's faith combined;
 From these a stream of fame and blessing spread
 Around a nation and its regal head;
 Exalting both the sovereign and the land,
 And bringing plenty with her bounteous hand.
 In peace, the virtues, Truth and Science, find
 Their happiest home, and smile with kindred mind.
 When will the memory of Augustus die?
 Rich genius flourished from his fostering eye.
 Honoured beyond all potentates on earth,
 That then the SAVIOUR OF MANKIND had birth;
 It was because through him the world had rest,
 The PRINCE OF PEACE appeared, by angels blest.
 What name like Solomon's has all the East,
 From age to age with marvellous fame increased?
 Still David's Son in glory shines supreme,
 And points to kings renown's most fertile theme.
 Magnificence of wealth from arts and trade,
 And general happiness his rule conveyed.
 The king of wisdom was the king of peace;
 Hence Time's undying praise will never cease.
 Pursue like him the real golden mines
 Of national welfare which such fame assigns.
 Then will your life, your name, your reign be classed,
 With man's great benefactors that have passed.'

—pp. 222-3.

Art. IV. *The Land of Israel, according to the Covenant with Abraham, with Isaac, and with Jacob.* By Alexander Keith, D.D., author of the *Evidence of Prophecy*. Edinburgh: White and Co. 1843. pp. xix. 500.

THIS portly volume has lain much longer upon our table than we desired; but having by a cursory glance obtained a notion of its contents, we shrunk from the task of examining it more minutely, and when that was done, shrunk from the further duty of declaring our opinion of the manifestly pains-taking performance of a good man, whose past labours have rendered the church of Christ some service.

We must now, however, say that we fear this volume will add nothing to the reputation of Dr. Keith. It has disappointed us

most completely. The argument on which it is based appears to us not only untenable in itself, but much more feebly urged than it might have been; and the practical illustrations, referring to the past and present as compared with the supposed future aspect of the country, have all the appearance of a second wash of the materials originally collected for the Evidence from Prophecy. In fact, the book is in this respect most illusive. Most of our readers know that Dr. Keith has, since the publication of his first work, actually visited Palestine; and the title of this book would lead to the expectation of its containing an embodiment of the results of his travel and observation. We might not have expected from Dr. Keith a work comparable to that of Dr. Robinson; but still the country beyond Jordan, which Dr. Robinson did not visit, offered a fair field for him; and from the attention he had formerly paid to this region, we might suppose that he would have been anxious to verify his previous conclusions, and enlarge his previous observations. This expectation is altogether unsatisfied. Dr. Keith does indeed write much of the country beyond Jordan; but both there and in Palestine Proper, all his accounts are from the books of travellers, and mostly of the same travellers, whom he had well drained in his former publications. In fact there is scarcely any indication in the work that the author had actually traversed the country to which his book relates; and for all that appears it might have been written quite as well, and have contained all the same matter, if the excellent author had never quitted his comfortable study—we hope it is still comfortable—in St. Cyrus.

Having described the materials as chiefly collected from the books of travellers, we are bound to add that Dr. Keith, appears to assign too equal a value to all kinds of authority bearing on the subject. This is a failing which pervades the works of this author, which all equally exhibit the absence of that fine literary tact, which readily distinguishes the relative value of different authorities. We might, however, expect this fault to have been corrected by his having actually seen many of the places and things to which the statements he produces refer: but in this, also, we have been sorely disappointed. Perhaps we shall make this point the more intelligible by reference to the engravings with which the work is embellished and its cost enhanced. We may do this the rather, as the author calls particular attention to them by the conspicuous thanks which he tenders in the preface to sundry persons who allowed him to copy their drawings or engravings. There are no less than twenty-one subjects engraved on steel plates, very indifferently executed. A considerable number of them are from Cassas, (erroneously called Las Casas, in this work) and have been en-

graved and re-engraved almost a hundred times. They are good so far as they go, but it was scarcely worth while to copy them once more. The merit of the twenty-one illustrations is concentrated in the view of Mount Casius from Ainsworth, and in those of Cæsarea and Zahle, from drawings by Col. M'Nevin. These are really good, or rather would have been so, had not Cæsarea and Zahle been spoiled by the engraver. Of the remainder, the greater part are from Buckingham's travels, which are known by every engraver in London to be of home manufacture and utterly worthless, unless so far as copied from Cassas. The largest plate in the present work is from Fisher's Views, and it makes a very pretty picture. We would rather not say anything about it, as it may, for aught we know, be correct; but as we are only considering Dr. Keith's appreciation of authorities bearing upon what he has actually seen, or might have seen—we will venture to quote a very high authority (Dr. Robinson) who assured us that he could not recognise the places represented in the work from which this view is taken. If Dr. Keith was so hard driven for pictures, why did he not make use of the ample and very good materials to be found in Laborde's *Voyage en Orient*.

The design of the work is thus described by the author:—

'The following treatise was commenced with the intention on the part of the author of drawing out a few retrospective and prospective sketches of Judea and Jerusalem. On his return from Palestine, he was urged by the esteemed friend to whom it is inscribed (John Abercrombie, M.D.), to publish the substance of an evening's conversation in his hospitable house. He naturally reverted to the covenant with Abraham as the groundwork of such an essay. That subject alone, in connection with kindred themes, called for a more full illustration than he at first anticipated. And as the subsequent essay, which thus originated, may be considered as in part, a sequel to his treatise on the Evidence from Prophecy, it may also form the introduction to other scriptural topics of momentous import to Gentiles as well as Jews.'—Preface, p. iv.

There are so many Doctors of the name of Abercrombie that here we do not know whether Dr. Keith's friend is a man of experience in literature or not. Judging from the advice he gave our author, we should think he is not; for no person of literary experience could have advised this undertaking. Writers never commit greater mistakes than in allowing themselves to be guided or influenced by the advice or admiration of non-literary friends, who are very apt to fall into the grave error of supposing, that the materials of an interesting evening's conversation ought to be put into a book. Friends are but too ready to tender such advice, knowing it to be acceptable to

divines and other writers; and divines and other writers are in general but too ready to follow it, because it is acceptable.

Then what shall we say to a book of five-hundred pages, which is at the same time a *sequel* to a book of four-hundred pages, and an *introduction* to other books to come hereafter—probably of five-hundred pages each. We should be reluctant to pain so good a man as Dr. Keith; but we must take leave to direct his attention to Eccles. xii. 12, where he will find the assurance of a very wise man that ‘of making many books there is no end;’ and if we durst offer advice to him—which would be as sincere as any advice he ever received—it would be to refrain from drawing out into such fine threads the golden wire of his first researches. Sequels are said to be usually failures; and we fear the present will be no exception to this well-founded observation. But a sequel to one thing that is at the same time an introduction to another thing which is to follow, is a little too hard for the digestion of the most ardent admirers of Dr. Keith’s services and talents. The instance is one of many which go to show how difficult it is for authors to understand when to have done. ‘A book was writ’ called ‘Evidence from Prophecy.’ We will not say that it was

‘Woven close, both matter, form, and style.’

On the contrary, it was of rather loose texture, but

‘The subject new, it walked the town a while,
Numbering good intellects.’

But this book being written, and in everybody’s hands, the subject ceased to be a new one: and Dr. Keith, like many other authors, misinterprets the strong satisfaction which the public expressed with what it then received, into a craving for more of the same. But it is because the public appetite was satisfied with the viands then offered, that we fear a second course of the like will somewhat ‘pall upon the sense.’ The host is no doubt very hospitable; his intention is excellent; and the public will perhaps thank him all the same—but the public is rather a fastidious guest, not over grateful for old favours, and somewhat difficult to entertain.

The argument of the book is in brief this:—the covenant of God with the patriarchs was, that their descendants should possess the country from the river of Egypt to the Euphrates.—That the country defined in this extent never was possessed by the Israelites; and that, consequently, seeing the covenant of God is unchangeable, the Israelites *are yet* to possess the country defined by the boundaries laid down in that covenant. On this theory is based a somewhat unsatisfactory description of

the regions included within those limits, which is what Dr. Keith understands by the 'land of Israel.' This account is prepared in the way we have already characterized, the best portion of the whole being a chapter on 'the State of Syria, in the Middle Ages,' which, although not exhibiting much research, is worth all the rest of the book taken together.

A suspicion has more than once crossed our minds, that the author was—insensibly to himself, we are assured—drawn into the line of argument he has taken, by the desire of extending his peculiar line of illustration to countries and places not usually recognized as possessing a scriptural interest. There is more in this than the personal friends of Dr. Keith may be ready to admit, or than those who are not conversant with the delusions arising out of, or connected with, a favourite pursuit may be prepared to recognize: but to indifferent observers, like ourselves, the convulsive and not very successful efforts made by the writer to thrust in his props under the weak points of his theory—can scarcely fail to suggest ideas of this nature.

As to the argument itself, Dr. Keith is not ignorant that it has been and may be met by two answers; the first, that the Israelites did actually, in the time of David and Solomon, possess the country to the utmost limits defined by the ancient covenants. And the other, that such covenants, although stated in absolute terms, implied certain conditions, the infraction of which may account for the fact, that the Israelites did not, if they did not possess in the full extent, the country intended for them. These answers meet both conditions of the question; and, if one be true, the other is not required. The latter answer is scouted by Dr. Keith; and as we have already given to the work all the space to which it is entitled, we shall not here dwell upon it. With respect to the other, the writer has clearly his misgivings on the subject, seeing that he introduces a new condition, which we will venture to say has no sufficient scriptural warrant. This is, that the covenant, in giving these countries to the seed of Abraham, intended that they should be wholly possessed *and peopled* by them; and that seeing the other countries were in the time of David and Solomon only held in subjection and partly occupied by the Jews, and were not *wholly peopled* by them, the covenant was not then fulfilled. This is very ingenious; but is it true? We fear not, and that it is rather a violent stretch to make the theory of the book seem more needful.

The Jewish people have doubtless been preserved distinct and separate among the nations from some great purpose of love and mercy—after the purposes of punishment and *evidence*

have been accomplished. They then may or may not be restored to their own land: the necessity or the use of their restoration is not very apparent; and we are not now called upon to give our opinion on this subject, although we should not be reluctant to do so on any fitting occasion. If they are so restored, it will probably be to the territory in the full extent promised in the Abrahamic covenant. We have no pre-disposition which would induce us to combat these ideas; but we are bound to question that the restoration of the Jews to the land of their fathers rests upon the argument which Dr. Keith has made the foundation stone of his book—namely, that the *patriarchal* covenant has not been fulfilled in the past history of the Hebrew nation.

We have done. Yet lest our view of this book should be misapprehended, we will in one word restate the gist of the matter. Dr. Keith wrote a book on Prophecy, to shew how literally the *present* condition of certain places and countries corresponds with the prophetic predictions. In the course of the researches connected with that work, he noted other places concerning which the prophetic intimations did not appear to him to be fulfilled. For these he has now provided, by shewing how, under his theory, these prophecies are to be fulfilled in *future*. Hence, as the former work was retrospective and circumspective, so the present seems to complete the whole by being retrospective and prospective. It, perhaps, never occurred to the writer that deficient information might account for much for which his special theory provides. Half the mistakes in the history of the world have arisen in this process of supplying, by ingenious speculations, the gaps in our positive information. The mind of man is impatient for positive and connected conclusions, and in search of them, either makes most perilous leaps over the deep waters, from one ascertained fact to another, or else seeks to connect them by airy and perhaps beautiful structures, which are sure to give way under those who seek to pass over. The present writer takes both these courses. Giving here an agile leap, and throwing out there a gossamer bridge, he gets at length—to the end of five hundred pages. And now, having settled the past, the present, and the future, what more has Dr. Keith to do? Unless he can turn his active mind into new fields of useful labour, we hope he will be satisfied with what he has done, and spare us those future volumes which lurk in the preface of the present.

- Art. V.—1. *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation.* London : 8vo. Churchill. 1844.
2. *A Lecture on the Arguments for Christian Theism from Organized Life and Fossil Osteology ; containing Remarks on a Work, entitled ' Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation.' By John Sheppard.* London : Jackson and Walford.

WE have frequently recommended to our readers those interesting works which, by detailing the facts of physical science, increase the illustrations of the natural theologian, and furnish new proofs of the harmony of revealed religion with universal truth. It was our expectation, when we first glanced over the '*Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation*,' that we were about to make acquaintance with one of this class of books; and we were fully prepared, had truth and justice permitted, to give the unknown writer all the honour due to those who have successfully laboured for the promotion of intelligent piety. It was not until we had made considerable way in his company that our pleasant prospects became obscured, and we were reluctantly compelled to abandon the hopes we had formed. We looked for aid to the cause of truth, but we found opposition, or rather that species of aid which is worse than opposition; we hoped that we had met with a guide to whose charge we might safely commit the young traveller, but we found instead one whose counsel led astray; and whose numerous and interesting facts were used in a manner calculated greatly to injure the unformed mind by wild and extravagant theories.

The conclusion of the volume expounds the author's design, and furnishes a strange combination of pride and modesty; it claims for the writer the shade of anonymous authorship, and at the same time the honour due to an attempt to do that which the most advanced philosophy had not yet contemplated.

The 'note conclusory' says:—

'Thus ends a book, composed in solitude, and almost without the cognizance of a single human being, for the sole purpose (or as nearly so as may be) of improving the knowledge of mankind, and through that medium their happiness. For reasons which need not be specified the author's name is retained in its original obscurity, and in all probability will never be generally known The book, as far as I am aware, is *the first attempt* to connect the natural sciences into a history of creation. The *idea is a bold one*, and there are many circumstances of time and place to render its boldness more than usually conspicuous.'—pp. 387, 388.

Conscious, as the writer evidently is, of the tendency of his theory to oppose the narrations of the book of God and the

concurrent opinions of learned and soundly thinking men on the numerous points he discusses, he employs the following language, whether by way of boast or apology we are rather at a loss to tell,—it has the advantage of being equally adapted for both.

‘My sincere desire in the composition of the book was to give the true view of the history of nature with as *little disturbance as possible to existing beliefs*, whether philosophical or religious. I have made little reference to any doctrines of the latter kind, which may be thought inconsistent with mine, because to do so would have been to enter upon questions for the settlement of which our knowledge is not yet ripe.’—p. 388.

Those unphilosophic persons whose minds are influenced by any ‘existing beliefs’ must feel deeply obliged for the forbearance which has been shown by the author of the ‘*Vestiges*.’ Whether we have to deal, in his case, with an injudicious friend or a masked adversary, is an inquiry which is scarcely necessary, and is not likely to be very successful. It is quite evident that we have before us a man, who for the purpose of establishing a whimsical theory, has ventured to throw discredit on the established and fundamental truths of natural and revealed theology. We have seen in other writers something of rash speculation and recklessness in the invention of theories, but we imagine that in all future time it will be difficult to discover a writer, who for boldness in framing hypotheses in order to reach a favourite conclusion, shall exceed the author of the strange volume before us.

Let us not be supposed, however, to withhold from the author the due acknowledgment of the claims he may fairly establish. He is evidently an extensive reader of books and reviews on physical science; the facts of which he diligently collects and records, but with various degrees of accuracy; he is also the master of a style of writing to which we do not deny the attributes of clearness and occasionally of beauty; so that, to minds which have to learn the truths exhibited by the mixed sciences, ‘*The Vestiges*’ will appear a very pleasing and instructive book. But it is a most material deduction from the merits of this volume, that it collects facts only for the purpose of building up a theory, and that *it makes no new contribution to science* in any department. The writer gives us nothing as the result of his own investigations, he records no original observations, and all that he has collected may be read in the numerous volumes with which those who are addicted to physical science are familiar. The man who gives us a new fact, or the register of a few carefully made observations, is a valuable contributor to science, and

aids the higher labours of the philosopher by whom facts are classified and the laws of nature discovered; but to neither of these classes does the author of the 'Vestiges' belong. He has loaded his pages with the greatest crudities that the excited brain ever hatched, compared with which the great laws of science are as 'Hyperion to a Satyr.'

But we must let the theorist propound for himself, as he does in the following passage:—

'The sum of all we have seen of the physical constitution of man is, that its Almighty Author has destined it, like every thing else, to be developed from inherent qualities, and to have a mode of action depending solely on its own organization. Thus the whole is complete on one principle. The masses of space are formed *by law*; *law makes them* in due time theatres of existence for plants and animals; sensation, disposition, intellect, are all in like manner developed and sustained in action by law. It is most interesting to observe, into how small a field, the whole of the mysteries of nature thus ultimately resolve themselves. The inorganic has one final comprehensive law, GRAVITATION. The organic, the other great department of mundane things, rests in like manner on one law, and that is DEVELOPEMENT.'—pp. 359—360.

Such is the golden calf which this hierophant sets up as the god of his idolatry, before which he invites us to bow in profound adoration. To this idol all science is made tributary; and, at its behest, common sense, and the truthful narratives of scripture, are sacrificed with unhesitating devotion. We are somewhat apprehensive that the claims urged in behalf of this intellectual idol will impose on the weak and uninformed, and on those fanciful spirits for whom nothing can be too strange, as long as it possesses the charm of seeming novelty. It should be known, however, that the *development* hypothesis, in its varied forms, is old enough. As Mr. Sheppard has observed: 'There is a theory—very ancient (since its principles appeared in the Greek philosophy nearly twenty-four centuries ago), but often revived with different modifications—concerning the formation of worlds, and evolutions, or *developments*, of living organisms.'—(p. 7.) We have already heard in various quarters, certain indications of a purpose to go over to the new heresy, and worship at the new shrine. We shall take the liberty, for our parts, of dissenting, until the claims of the new deity receive far greater recommendations than their author has been enabled to furnish.

As far as our space will permit, we shall now proceed to track this writer through his course, readily conceding to him whatever of praise he deserves, but faithfully indicating what we regard as his serious departures from truth.

We have already stated that the facts of this volume are of an interesting character, being selected from all the most recent sources of information; and as the first eleven chapters (extending to one hundred and forty-four pages) are a simple collection of the facts and generally-received theories of astronomy and geology, we feel it scarcely necessary to render them the subject of comment. They contain a statement of the nebular hypothesis, and of the leading phenomena of geological history. It may be well to remark, in passing, that the nebular hypothesis, whatever may be its merits, is too much controverted among scientific men, to render it worthy of the place which this writer has assigned it. It is, to say the least, very rash and premature to build on ground so debateable; and as respects the author's geology, we must not withhold the remark, that there is, throughout his epitome of this science, an evident purpose to plead specially for the theory of progress in organization, and to throw into the shade the numerous opposing facts which palæontology exhibits, and of which a very great number will be found in Dr. Buckland's 'Bridgewater Treatise.' When we perused these sketches, without knowing the purpose they were intended to serve, we were at a loss to account for the apparently superfluous work of writing a book with the simple object of telling what had before been told by a variety of excellent writers; but when we proceeded a little further, our perplexity resolved itself into surprise and regret. The 'General considerations respecting the Origin of the Animated Tribes,' present a revival, with some modifications, of the Epicurean theory of the withdrawal of God from the superintendence of creation; and which theory the author is anxious to establish as auxiliary to his own 'Development' hypothesis. Here, again, we must let him speak for himself:—

'It may now be inquired, In what way was the creation of animated beings effected? The ordinary notion may, I think, be not unjustly described as this—that the Almighty Author produced the progenitors of all existing species by some sort of personal or immediate exertion. But how does this notion comport with what we have seen of the gradual advance of species, from the humblest to the highest? Now, can we suppose an exertion of this creative power, at one time to produce zoophytes, another time to add a few marine mollusks, another to bring in two or three conchifers, again to produce crustaceous fishes, again to perfect fishes, and so on to the end? This would surely be to take a very mean view of creative power; to, in short, anthropomorphise it, or reduce it to some such character as that borne by the ordinary proceedings of mankind. And yet this would be unavoidable; for that the organic creation was thus progressive through a long space of time, rests on evidence.

which nothing can overturn or gainsay. Some other idea must, then, be come to, with regard to *the mode* in which the Divine Author proceeded in the organic creation. Let us seek in the history of the earth's formation, for a new suggestion on this point. We have seen powerful evidence, that the construction of this globe and its associates—and, inferentially, that of all other globes of space—was the result, not of any immediate or personal exertion on the part of the Deity, but of natural laws, which are expressions of his will. What is to hinder our supposing that the *organic creation is also the result of natural laws*, which are, in like manner, an expression of his will? More than this, the fact of the cosmical arrangements being an effect of natural law, is a powerful argument for the organic arrangements being so likewise; for how can we suppose that the august Being who brought all these countless worlds into form by the simple establishment of a natural principle, flowing from his mind, was to *interfere* personally and specially on every occasion when a new shell-fish or reptile was to be ushered into existence on *one* of these worlds. *Surely this idea is too ridiculous to be for a moment entertained.*—pp. 153, 154.

Our readers can scarcely have perused this paragraph without observing the strangeness of the inquiry on which the author has ventured. '*In what way was the creation of animate beings effected?*' That any one who is presumptuous enough to expect to ascertain the *modus operandi* of creative power, should fall into the most extravagant notions, ought to create no surprise. Our author proceeds by representing 'the ordinary notion' as this: 'that the Almighty author produced the progenitors of all existing species by *some sort* of personal or immediate exertion.' This is only a partial statement of 'the ordinary notion,' which is, that the Almighty produces all the individuals of all existing species by a personal exercise of His power; the *modus operandi* of which is past our finding out. We like philosophy well enough, but we deprecate the intrusive stare of those who—

'Rush in, where angels fear to tread.'

Our author has settled the point that it would be 'a very mean view of creative power,' to 'suppose an immediate exertion of it, one time to produce zoophytes, another time to add a few (?) marine mollusks, at another to bring in one or two conchifers, again to produce crustaceous fishes, again to perfect fishes, and so on.' Has it, then, been discovered, that those forms of animated being so varied, so abounding with marks of design, so vast in number, which the natural theologian adduces in proof of the Divine power, skill, and goodness, are to be regarded as such no longer?

We must confess our very deep regret at finding this writer

employing his pen to undermine our faith in the great doctrine, that the universal Lord sustains the relation of creator to every individual existence, and that He has not devolved the formation and superintendence of His works on any intermediate agents. To our thinking, it is rational and pleasant to regard every living thing as the direct creation of God, and the object of his care. Indeed, were there but an individual in each species,—one peacock, with ‘his goodly wings;’ one fish, with his scaly armour; one mollusk, dwelling in his porcelain palace,—we should not feel disposed to regard them as giving ‘a very mean view of creative power,’ or as unworthy results of the Divine interposition.

We have termed the theory of our author Epicurean; and such, indeed, it is. Instead of acknowledging ‘the *immediate* exertion of Divine power’ in the creation of every living thing, he dismisses God from the care of creating and superintending his works, and substitutes what he terms ‘the hypothesis of a creation by the intervention of law’ (p. 157), which ‘law’ is a contrivance to separate God from his creation. We really hope the author, when he started his favourite hypothesis, was not aware of its mischievous tendency; and that when he once perceives its direct opposition to the most interesting and consolatory doctrine of a particular providence, he will also discover the fallacy of the arguments by which he has been deceived.

It cannot be superfluous, before taking leave of the theory of ‘creation by law,’ as distinguished from ‘the doctrine of special exercise,’ that we should notice the gross error on which it is based. The writer has not ventured to define the term to which he attaches such importance, and to which he recurs with such frequency; but he employs it as if it were something possessed of mysterious power and authority, a sort of intermediate agent between God and his works. He speaks of the cosmical arrangement, being ‘an *effect of natural law*,’ (p. 154), thus making law a cause: he then speaks of ‘creation by the *intervention of law*,’ (p. 157), again assigning to law the intermediate place of which we have spoken: he next informs us, that, mysterious as is this vicegerent of heaven, it is a creature still, for he speaks of the ‘creation of a law,’ which he tells us, is ‘an act of intelligence above all else that we can conceive,’ (p. 157); and then he instructs us, that law is a sort of instrument in the divine hand which supersedes the necessity of resorting to divine power, for he solemnly assures us, that those works which would furnish ‘the most inconceivably paltry excuse for an immediately creative power, are sufficiently worthy of one operating by laws.’ (p. 160.) What these ‘laws’ are to which such mysterious efficacy is attributed, our author leaves us to discover; and, until

he and those who are accustomed to use this term in the same manner, are pleased to favour us with some further illumination, we must confess that to us the term 'law' stands for literally nothing. In the absence of a definition from the author of the 'Vestiges,' we shall content ourselves with the very accurate statement of Archbishop Whateley, that 'Law is, in the most appropriate sense, some general injunction, command or regulation, addressed to certain persons who are called upon to conform to it.' It is obviously not in this sense that our author wishes the term to be understood. There is then a 'transferred sense' in which the word is used, 'to denote the statement of some *general fact*, the several individual instances of which, exhibit a conformity to that statement, analogous to the conduct of persons in respect to a law which they obey. It is in this sense that we speak of the 'laws of nature,' and in this sense it is 'the conformity of individual cases to the general rule which *constitutes* a law of nature.'

Our author having demonstrated to his own satisfaction, the doctrine of 'creation by law,' and having shown that, for the 'August Being' to interfere personally in the creation of new races of creatures, is an idea too ridiculous to be for a moment entertained, proceeds 'to inquire if science has any facts tending to bring the assumption more nearly home to nature.' In pursuing this enquiry, he offers some 'particular considerations respecting the origin of the animated tribes.' (p. 165.)

The instances adduced to support the doctrine of 'creation by law' are admitted to be 'few and scattered,' although we imagine that the man who comes forward to propound a doctrine which is to overturn the almost universal belief, should be prepared with evidence somewhat superior to that which is furnished by a 'comparatively few and scattered facts.' But let us examine the facts. Crystallization in *some of its forms* resembles a shrub, electric fluid sometimes discharges itself in the form of plants, *ergo*, 'We can thus suppose the various forms of plants, as immediately the result of a law in electricity.' Chemists can produce two of the proximate principles of the animal body by certain combinations of carbon, oxygen, hydrogen, and nitrogen; chemists, therefore, '*may be said*, to have it in their power to realize the first step in organization.' Whereby, it will be perceived, that chemists come in for their share of that creative power which he had before assigned to 'law.' True, 'no satisfactory answer can be given as yet' to the question, how are the chemical elements combined in the structure of living bodies, 'so that the chemist is hardly as yet qualified to create a perfect mollusk, but science is progressing and there is no telling what may yet be done. For 'it is ascertained, that the basis of all

vegetable and animal substances consists of nucleated cells; that is cells having granules within them,' (p. 170), and 'it was given out some years ago, that globules could be produced in albumen by electricity,' and 'if, therefore, *these globules be identical with the cells*, which are now held to be reproductive, it might be said, that the production of albumen by artificial means, is *the only step* in the process wanting.' (p. 173.) Is it worth the chemist's while to try and make this only step or leap after the manner of our author, for if he can but produce the soft bodied mollusk, the shell can be made afterwards, as our author tells us, of an artificial process by which it can be easily produced. Real first rate mother of pearl as good as any oyster could wish to wear for a Sunday coat, can be made by the dash wheel of the bleaching establishment, at Catrine in Ayrshire. (pp. 173—4.)

Great indeed would be the triumph of human skill, if we could bring into operation all those agencies which would result in the formation of organic being. The hopes which our author entertains on this sufficiently ambitious project are very sanguine, but they are based on a strange mistake into which his presumption has hurried him. Alluding to the interesting researches of Schwann, and other physiologists, the writer speaks of the nucleated cells, which are said to be the basis of vegetable and animal substances, which cells he most inaccurately calls *globules*; and, having created this confusion, he tells us, that a certain French philosopher gave out some years ago, that *globules* could be produced in albumen by electricity; whence, he deduces the inference that, putting all these things together, man may some day become a creator. But who needs that we should point out the fallacy of this reasoning. It is assumed, that the globules in the albumen are nucleated cells; at least the hypothesis is given out. To give any force to the author's argument he should have satisfied his readers, that the globule of unorganized matter was endowed with the powers of 'absorbing, respiring, secreting, and reproducing its kind,' which belong to the 'cell' of Schwann. But this he does not even attempt; he takes it for granted that a mere hint will satisfy our minds, as a mere hint appears to have satisfied his own, and that we should hurry with him to the welcome conclusion, so gratifying to the pride of science.

If these facts, and this reasoning, should fail to produce conviction, the like failure will result from the enquiry, into what 'experience says, respecting the origination of life.' (p. 175.) 'Are there,' enquires the writer, 'any *authentic instances* of either plants or animals, of however humble and simple a kind, having come into existence, otherwise than in the way of ordinary generation, since the time of which geology forms the record.'

(p. 175.) For the purpose of giving an affirmative reply to this very natural enquiry, the writer adduces the case of infusory animalcules, of entozoa, creatures which live within the bodies of others, two or three parasitic animals, the *oinopota cellaris*, which lives no where but in wine or beer, the *pimelodes cylopis*, and, as a sort of dessert, a dish of Mr. Crosse's *acari*.

Now, to our thinking, it shows either a very bad taste, or the consciousness of a very indifferent cause, for the writer to carry us for proofs of his hypothesis into the region of the *infusoriæ*. Microscopic observation has of late years been carefully directed to this interesting region, but still it is one in which the operations of nature are not traced without difficulty, and 'natural history,' is studied under many disadvantages. To fly for the proof of a disputed hypothesis into infusions, is something like the practice of those superficial theologians, who undertake to establish a disputed point of doctrine by a difficult passage in the book of the Revelation.

However, let us take the microscope and examine the *infusoriæ*, for some 'actual experience of the origination of life' by spontaneous generation. Here our author, apparently distrusting his own powers, calls to his aid Dr. Allen Thompson in the article *generation*, in Todd's Cyclopædia. 'One' consideration put forth by this writer, and which our author regards as 'of great force,' is—

'That animalcules which are supposed (altogether hypothetically) to be produced by ova, are afterwards found increasing their numbers not by that mode at all, but by the division of their bodies. If these creatures propagate in this splitting or fissiparous manner, how could they be communicated to a vegetable infusion?' (p. 179.)

On this passage we may remark that it asserts what is only partially correct, assuming, as it does, that all the *infusoriæ* are propagated by fissiparous generation, whereas, some classes are propagated by germs, and some appear to be viviparous. But if they were all fissiparous, we have yet to learn 'the great force' of the enquiry 'how could they, in that case, be communicated to a vegetable infusion?' For there is nothing in the received doctrine as to the mode in which these animalculæ are conveyed to particular infusions, which renders their conveyance dependant on their shape, or modes of increase. These minute creatures could be conveyed to the infusion as easily in one shape, as in the other, as easily if they were intended to multiply by the separation of their bodies into parts, or by the escape of their progeny from their sides, as if they multiplied by the deposition of their ova. 'Another fact of very high importance' is said to be presented in the following terms:—'The nature of the animalculæ or vegetable production bears a constant relation to the state of

the infusion.' But *giving* the theorist this fact, it simply illustrates the great law of natural history, that all creatures are exactly adapted to the *habitat* in which they are placed, while it furnishes a presumption that like the other races with which we are familiar, they obey the ordinary law of generation.

Before we take leave of the infusoriæ, to which our author has directed us for some 'actual experience' of the spontaneous 'origination of life,' we must remind him that they afford a perfect refutation of the theory which he wishes them to support. Under the microscope it has been frequently seen that these tiny creatures multiply in various ways. 'The monads, which are naturally of a globular shape, exhibit at a certain period of their development a slight circular groove round the middle of their bodies, which, by degrees, becoming deeper, change their form to that of an hour-glass; and the middle part becoming still more contracted, they present the appearance of two balls, united by a mere point. The monads in this state are seen swimming irregularly in the fluid, as if animated by two different volitions; and apparently for the purpose of tearing asunder the last connecting fibres, darting through the thickest of the crowd of surrounding animalculæ; and the moment this slender ligament is broken, each is seen moving away from the other, and beginning its independent existence'* This kind of generation has been observed, and so have other kinds, but we have yet to learn from the author of the 'Vestiges,' that the microscopist has ever seen the animalculæ forming out of the surrounding fluid, and coming spontaneously into being. There is confessedly a difficulty, perhaps an impossibility, from their minuteness, in tracing the progress of such diminutive forms to the localities in which we find them, but to argue hence for the doctrine of spontaneous generation, is sheer folly. To such necessity, however, is our author reduced, in his efforts to establish a theory.

These remarks and the following intelligent observations, will apply to all the cases which are adduced in favour of equivocal generation:—"The doctrine of equivocal generation has received no support from any recent investigations. All that is *known* decidedly leads to the opposite conclusion; and if certain mysterious or unaccountable phenomena have perplexed the physiologist, the only legitimate deduction is, that he has met with *something which he cannot comprehend*; for those aberrations (if such they are) from the usual laws of nature, are not so much exceptions from the general rule, as additional instances of effects in nature, the regulating causes of which we are not yet capable

* Roget's Bridgwater Treatise, v. ii. pp. 584, 585.

of demonstrating. The rules of philosophising lead us to reject the admission of more causes than are sufficient for the explanation of phenomena; if, for example, 'mites and such small deer' derived their origin solely from the caseous, and other substances in which they are generally found, the sexual distinctions which prevail among other animals would in them be unnecessary, and would not in them be observable.*

On the subject of the alleged production of insects from silicate of potass, by Mr. Crosse, it may be sufficient to remind our readers, first, that scientific men have not directed their attention to Mr. Crosse's experiments with sufficient care to enable them to indicate the particulars in which those experiments have been defective, but that all analogy and all the received facts of physiology, render it certain that the whole theory of equivocal generation is an illusion. Secondly, our author has evidently mistaken, in one important point, the experiments he undertakes to detail, assuming that the gelatinous *appearance* round the negative wire indicated the presence of gelatinous *matter*. And thirdly, that even if there were no error in the experiments, and the perfect insect were produced, the fact would be quite irrelevant to the theory of gradual development; for in this case, instead of beginning, as that theory teaches, with the lowest forms of organization, the inorganic matter at once leaps into life among the *articulata*.

But let us further trace the progress of our author; for he now takes another step, and one that leads him to an hypothesis which he seems to contemplate with paternal fondness as the progeny of his own brain.

'The idea,' he says, 'which I form of the progress of organic life upon the globe is, that the simplest and most primitive type, under a law to which that of like production is subordinate, gave birth to the type next above it, that this again produced the next higher, and so on to the very highest, the stages in advance being in all cases very small—namely, from one species only to another; so that the phenomenon has always been of a simple and *modest* character.'—p. 222.

Our natural wish to obtain a little more light on the nature of this theory, is very considerably anticipated by the writer, who says,—

'Whether the whole of any species was at once translated forward, or only a few parents were employed to give birth to the new type, must remain undetermined; but supposing that the former was the case, we must presume that the move or moves along the line or lines were simultaneous, so that the place vacated by one species was immediately taken by the next in succession, and so on back to

* Encyclop. Britannica, 7th ed. v. iii. p. 162.

the first, for the supply of which a new germinal vesicle out of inorganic matter was alone necessary.'—*ibid.*

We do not think we shall do our author any injustice if we refrain from giving him the honour of being the originator of the theory which he has thus propounded. Those reasoners who estimate arguments by *number*, will, perhaps, find themselves almost overwhelmed by the arguments adduced by the author of the 'Vestiges;' but those who are accustomed to *weigh* them will, we imagine, pause for something more ponderous than he has presented before they adopt his amended edition of 'the follies of the wise.' The whole extent of the animal and vegetable kingdom, and the debatable theories of physiology, have been ransacked for the means of establishing the hypothesis; that one species passes into another, —in other words, that the oyster is gradually working its way along the path of vitality towards perfect manhood; and as the result we have plenty of facts, not one of which gives the least colour of probability to the notion which it is supposed to establish. In the chapter containing the 'hypothesis of the development of the vegetable and animal kingdoms,' we have an instance of the zeal with which an enthusiast will labour to collect materials for the establishment of a favourite notion, and as good an illustration as we remember ever to have seen of the difference between accumulating facts and adducing proofs. To follow the theorist step by step in his irrelevant facts, is a work for which we have neither space nor inclination. If we were presented with one solitary instance in which a species or an individual could be proved to have come up from an inferior species, we should feel that the author had an irresistible claim to our most serious consideration; but when, instead of such solitary instance, we are told that '*perhaps* the transition from species to species does *still* take place, though science professes to have *no such facts* to record,' (p. 219); we suppose we may be excused if we deem it unnecessary to follow the surmises which are so destitute of sanction. Next to the folly of trying to establish a theory by a number of vague guesses and surmises, is the folly of treating such an effort with a serious refutation. The really absurd tendency of our author's theory will be readily perceived from the fact, that it throws him into the company of Lord Monboddo, and makes him the defender of the very elegant compliment which that noble theorist passes on his species, when he deliberately assures them that they have sprung from a race of monkeys.

'Man, again, has no tail; (quantum mutatus!) but the notion of a much ridiculed philosopher of the last century is not altogether as it

happens, without foundation, for the bones of a caudal extremity exist in an undeveloped state in the *os coccygis* of the human subject.' p. 195.

The tail is gone, but the *os coccygis* remains. Such are the consolations of (our author's) philosophy !

The principal source of his arguments is in 'the most interesting facts connected with the laws of organic development.' 'It is only in recent times that physiologists have observed that each animal passes in the course of its germinal history, through a series of changes resembling the *permanent form* of the various orders of animals inferior to it,' (p. 158). If this very curious and interesting hypothesis be admitted, and although it has not yet received the unanimous support of physiologists, we are not disposed to treat it with opposition, it leaves our author still minus the facts on which he is dependent for the support of his argument. Admitting, that man, for example, 'in his foetal career gradually passes through conditions *generally* resembling a fish, a reptile, a bird, and the lower mammalia, before he attains specific maturity,' still this 'general resemblance,' as our author terms it, is not so specific as to authorize the notion that man, in the successive stages of his foetal history, is a fish, a reptile, a bird, or an inferior mammal. The solitary fact, which is the first step to induction, is wanting still.

We have, however, to consider another argument which is adduced in support of the doctrine of 'creation by law,' and which is remarkably in keeping with the theory it is employed to establish. With the strange industry which is frequently displayed by the theorist, our author labours to multiply the number of his arguments, and, *more suad*, he passes into the forbidden ground of disputed systems. There is very little in the whole compass of the speculations of zoology more absurd, and more severely ridiculed by sensible and intelligent naturalists, than the artificial system of Macleay, known as the 'quinary system,' and of which Mr. Swainson has been the principal expositor and defender.

'The Macleay system, as it may be called in honour of its principal author, announces, that whether we take the whole animal kingdom, or any definite division of it, we shall find that we are examining a group of beings arranged along a series of close affinities *in a circular form*; that is to say, starting from any portion of the group, when it is properly arranged, we can proceed from one to another by minute gradations, till at length, having run through the whole, we return to the point whence we set out. All natural groups are, therefore, in the language of Mr. Macleay, *circular*; and the possibility of throwing any supposed group into a circular arrangement, is held as a decisive test of its being a real or natural one. It is of course to be

understood, that each circle is composed of a set of inferior circles, for example, a set of tribe circles composes an order; a set of order circles, again, forms a class; and so on. Of each group the component circles are *invariably five in number*.'—p. 239.

Such in brief, and in our author's own words, is the quinary system, which, as is most natural, has obtained his patronage. It is one of the numerous fancies in which speculators are accustomed to indulge, and which seems peculiarly agreeable to this writer, on account of the very ample space it affords to the revels of imagination, of which the following passage may be taken as a specimen:—

'The sub-typical circles do not comprise the largest individuals in bulk, but always those which are most powerfully armed, either for inflicting injury on their own class, for exciting terror, producing injury, or creating annoyance to man. Their dispositions are often sanguinary, since the forms most conspicuous among them live by rapine, and subsist on the blood of other animals. *They are, in short, symbolical types of evil*.'—p. 243.

This system, of whose universality our author feels satisfied that 'hardly a doubt can exist,' affords him 'a powerful additional proof of the hypothesis of organic process by the virtue of law.' It enables him to find out, that man 'holds a place among the mammalia, corresponding to that of the crow among birds,' but as far superior to a crow, as the mammalia are superior to the aves, (birds); and all this dignity has been acquired by the author's own beautiful theory of development.

This 'quinary system,' however, has one slight defect. It is not supported, as it should be, by five classes of the genus homo. 'There is *no* other family approaching to this in importance, which presents but one species. The corvidæ (crows), our parallel in aves, consist of several distinct genera and sub-genera. It is startling to find such an appearance of imperfection in the *circle* to which man belongs, and the ideas which rise in consequence are not less startling.' (p. 276.) This passage is characteristic of the whole book, indicating as it does, the consciousness which the author has of the deficiency of his facts, and the ingenuity with which he supplies the want of them. His theory is *not supported* by five classes in the genus homo; then, 'it is startling to find such an appearance of imperfection;' but then, aid is readily obtained from the writer's fruitful and hopeful mind, who, rather than give up his theory, calls upon his readers to anticipate its confirmation by the accession, at some future day, of all the evidence which it requires. Thus, four new species of men are necessary to the establishment of the quinary system, and that system is necessary to the 'development' hypothesis; and, therefore, sooner than abandon the one and the other, the

theorist seriously expects, that new species of men will arise to confirm his dreams.

Hence, we have the following 'startling' idea :

'Is our race but the initial of the grand crowning type? Are there yet to be species superior to us in organization, purer in feeling, more powerful in device and act, and who shall take a rule over us?

'There is in this nothing improbable, on other grounds. The *present* race, rude and repulsive as it is, is perhaps best adapted to the present state of things in the world; but the external world goes through slow and gradual changes, which may leave it in time a much serener field of existence. There may then be occasion for a nobler type of humanity, which shall complete the zoological circle on this planet, and realize some of the *dreams* of the purest spirits of the present race.'—p. 276.

In this unscrupulous manner does this maker of systems raise the crude guesses of his own brain in opposition to the clear announcements of revelation. The Bible teaches that God made man in his own image; that human nature in its present form is associated with the divine; and that our race shall inhabit this planet as long as it exists. But all these great truths are pushed aside, without apology, to make way for the quinary system and the hypothesis of organic development by law.

We have given far more attention to this anonymous book than its intrinsic merits demand; but we have done so from the fact, that it has excited very general attention, and in many quarters appears to be erroneously estimated. We have wished in some degree to counteract the evil influence it is likely to exercise over the minds of the young, and to warn our friends generally against the erroneous impression which a passing glance is likely to produce. Those who love to behold science announcing her high and noble truths, ascertained by rigid induction, and uninjured by the addition of ridiculous theories; science, truly so called, and appearing as the handmaid of religion, will find numerous excellent books, admirably fitted to their purpose; but they will commit a most egregious error, if they place in that class the 'Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation.'

Mr. Sheppard's Lecture was delivered before the Froome Literary and Scientific Institution, to whose members it has afforded a very seasonable antidote of the follies it was intended to reprove. Its more general publication was, for many reasons, highly desirable. It is true that the lecturer does not track his unseen opponent from step to step, throughout his whole course; but he is careful to furnish a number of valuable con-

siderations, which must convince every unprejudiced reader, of the fallacy of the theories against which they are directed.

We regret that the great length of this article—written before we had seen Mr. Sheppard's Lecture—leaves us without the space requisite for its further notice; but we cordially recommend its general perusal: and in doing so, are influenced partly by the desire of recommending to our readers a greater acquaintance with those most valuable standard works with which the author is so familiar, and which will always open to the combatant, a rich armory, furnished with weapons of proof, the power of which no writer of the present, or any other age, can withstand.

Art. VI.—1. *The Novel Times*. Weekly Numbers and Monthly Parts. London: 'Novel Times' Office, Wellington Street, North, Strand.

2. *The Edinburgh Tales*. Conducted by Mrs. Johnstone, Author of 'Clan Albyn,' &c. &c. In Weekly Numbers and Monthly Parts. Edinburgh: William Tait. London: Chapman and Hall.

3. *Chapman and Hall's Monthly Series*. A Collection of Original Works of Fiction and Biography. London.

THESE are three almost simultaneous attacks upon the old system of three-volume novels at their fixed and high price of £1 11s. 6d. That system is sufficiently absurd, and in no ordinary degree pernicious. To have the quantity of trash with which the novel-reading world has long been deluged, put at a price which should tend to prevent its circulation, would be an advantage, if we could suppose the dealers in this article such indifferent tradesmen as to fall into any such error. But of this there was no hope: high as the price of the three-volume wares was, yet by means of the circulating libraries, the wares themselves were made accessible to the largest class of readers at the cost of a few pence. Thus, the very extravagance of the price, so far from diminishing the number of readers, was made the very means of increasing them; and especially among those classes who, without the intervention of the circulating libraries, would find a difficulty in obtaining the mischievous excitement of indiscriminate novel-reading at all. Few, indeed, would be likely to make a purchase of the mass of ever-issuing novels under any circumstances, be their resources what they might. Few are the works of fiction, as long and wearisome experience teaches, that you wish to select and purchase, and place upon

your shelves, as deserving of a second and a third perusal. A Walter Scott, a Miss Edgeworth, or a Miss Bremer, appear only now and then ; and even they, with all their merits and excellencies, could scarcely repay you for the waste of money and of still more valuable time expended on novels, if you were obliged to purchase in order to read them. Thus, the circulating libraries and book societies became necessary for carrying out the possibility of an extensive reading of works of fiction. The clerk, the milliner's apprentice, the shop-boy, and all that enormous tribe of young people whom the extension of education and the circumstances of social life have of late years made readers, would, without the circulating libraries, have been completely cut off from this species of intellectual dram-drinking. The circulating libraries, therefore, became an absolute necessity in this system. Without them, the reading of the most trashy, meretricious, high-flown, and maudling class of novels could have found no circulation ; by them, it was flung open to the widest extent, and has had its great day, and will long leave behind it its effects. To fix a high price, and to make each work consist of a certain large quantity, was, on this system, necessary. It cut off all but the wealthiest purchasers, while it threw all such works into the hands of the libraries. It enabled the publishers to obtain a good and certain profit, by the sale of 750 or 1,000 copies to the libraries and book societies. It enabled them to do more : it emboldened them to issue fearlessly an immensely greater mass of trash than they would have dared to do under any other circumstances. The most devoted devourers of novel and romance, had they had to purchase all the books of this kind they read, would soon have been brought to a pause by its very expense, had the books been published at a moderate price even : it would have required a fortune to supply the necessary pabulum of heroes and heroines, love matches, and concluding marriages, in anything like a continuous and sufficing degree. This would check the spirit of enterprise in the publishers, and the trade of fiction must have languished. But by the happy invention of circulating libraries, all this difficulty was at once done away with. The publisher, secure of a certain sale of a certain number of copies, went more fearlessly to work : he could venture to supply a constant stream of fiction for the ever-thirsty shoal of readers ; it did not require him to study and select only what was excellent, as he must have done had he catered for moneyed and immediate purchasers. The libraries were his customers, and theirs were all sorts of customers ; but in a countless majority, of that very class who were ready to devour anything, however false, bad, or ridiculous, that came within the reach of their weekly pence. Quality be-

came of far less consequence than quantity. The keepers of circulating libraries—these gin palaces of the reading world—were willing, nay, they preferred, to pay a large price for a novel, and to have it confined steadily to three volumes in quantity, because this cut off all chance of much individual purchase, and threw the whole mass of readers into their hands. Thus, both publishers and library-keepers soon saw their mutual interests, and have maintained the three-volume and £1 11s. 6d. system boldly and profitably, for at least a century, against all assaults and innovations. To the publisher it was a particularly safe system. The ‘large family of fools,’ the ignorant, the ill-educated, the young and enthusiastic, whose daily occupations did not allow of the cultivation of a pure and fastidious taste, took off his ordinary circulating-library edition, and made fresh issues of such works as periodically necessary for the supply of the sharp and not over-nice literary hunger of the crowd, as that of the supply of the kitchen by the butcher, baker, and green-grocer, while it was easy to calculate on an extra number of an addition of a superior author for the demand of the better-informed or the wealthy. In short, this system secured not only a famous trade to publisher and library-keeper; but what was worse, it secured, too, the certain flow and overflow of the worst and most perverting and corrupting nonsense throughout the country, and poured it in torrents on the heads of those in whom it was likely to produce the most ruinous and calamitous effects. This was its inevitable consequence; and for its fruits we may look amongst the crimes and miseries of a numerous class in all ranks of society, but more fearfully and especially amongst those of the lower orders. To what an extent of corrupted views, impracticable notions, impossible wishes, and miserable regrets and disappointments in life; of seduction, of lazy and unsettled habits, of dishonesty, robbery, and even murder, the habit of reading the ever-pouring stream of high-flown and sentimental fiction from the circulating library has been the origin—especially amongst females of the lower orders—it would be difficult to calculate; but it is awfully great. Those who have made it a Samaritan duty to visit the obscure dwellings of the poor, must often have detected in the miserable mother of better days, now surrounded by squalor and wretched children, the desolating effects of the spirituous dram, and the fascination of circulating-library reading. How often have the stern realities of real life burst with the startling terror of a thunder-storm on the young mind dazzled and seduced by the false glories and exaggerated sympathies of the world of romance.

To put a salutary check upon this species of literature is a meritorious object. To break up a system which not only patro-

nizes but requires a much larger supply of fiction than can by any possibility be healthful and good, and to put productions of sound, superior, and moral writers into a cheap and accessible form, is a thing much to be desired. It is not to be denied, that the productions of our many brilliant writers of fiction of late years have given a far better tone to the literature of the circulating library. Such pens as those of Scott, Edgeworth, James, Miss Martineau, Miss Austen, Miss Bremer, of Dickens, Leaver, &c., have poured such a mass of genius, sense, and real matter of life, as well as of high and healthy moral feeling, into the circulating library as has, to all strong and better minds, made the most glowing and piquant fictions of the last age, with some few splendid exceptions, too flat to our taste, in their dreams of romance, or too coarse in their delineations of life. But it is still incredible what an amount of nonsense yet finds refuge there, and especially in the endless swarms of fashionable novels. To check the torrent of these, you must root up the system that generates them. You must dissolve the spell which has attached to the three-volume novel. You must put fiction into its natural size and shape; a story must not be compelled to be drawn out, spite of its own internal substance, to nine hundred and ninety pages. It must not, if but of a slim shape, be stuffed and padded out with words to the bulky bigness of three volumes. It must be suffered to run on, or to end, just as nature and sense, and not as the circulating library dictates. This would, of itself, be a most brilliant improvement in fiction writing; and what a relief in fiction reading! Instead of a writer saying to himself, 'How in the world am I to spin this little story out into a great one?' he could have only to think of the subject-matter itself. And what a change should we then have in these compositions! What a simple, true, natural and energetic eloquence; for the writer would live in his subject, embody his spirit in it, and become, instead of prosy and prolix, clear, vivid, and vigorous. This would be the direct consequence of breaking up this most absurd of systems; and the next measure would be to put these writings into such a cheap and popular form, as should bring them within the reach of all classes, and make them independent of a passage through the circulating library.

It would seem as if these ideas had been simultaneously lodged in the heads of the publishers of the three series of works of fiction, the titles of which we have placed at the head of this article, no doubt conveyed thither by the same sagacious and busy spirit—the spirit of the times. Each has its peculiar fashion and character; but all aim at the same grand object, the conveyance of a fresh and superior literature, 'directly and

cheaply to the reading public.' In 'The Novel Times,' which commenced its career a month or so in advance of the others, we have no less than sixteen pages of a large 8vo, printed in a good, clear, sufficiently large type, and on good paper, for *three-pence*. By this arrangement you get, considering the quantity of matter in a page, the ordinary novel of three volumes, not for £1 11s. 6d., but for six shillings! Mr. Tait's 'Edinburgh Tales,' go still further, and give you sixteen pages of not much less size for three half-pence! This series is also very neatly printed, and on an excellent paper. Messrs. Chapman and Hall's 'Monthly Series,' does not descend to this extreme cheapness, or take this more periodical-like and double-column form. It seems intended to loosen the spell of the three-volume system in the minds of those who, while they consult cheapness in a certain degree, still desire to retain such works in an elegant and distinct form. Their series is therefore issued in separate and distinct works. Four monthly parts are equal to a three-volume novel, and are presented to you in a foreign-looking and elegant shape, not again for £1 11s. 6d., but for twelve shillings!

Before we examine how far the matter of the different series, so far as they are published, appears likely to realize the desirable object of these enterprizes, it may not be amiss to present the reader with an extract or two from the brief prospectuses which the publishers of each have put forth:—

' PROSPECTUS OF THE NOVEL TIMES.

' The objects which this publication is designed to effect are two-fold. First, to gratify all classes of educated persons, by placing within their reach, at a moderate price, works of standard value; and next, to please both writers and readers by looking through the custom which has hitherto prevented works of fiction from making their appearance, except in 'three volumes, post 8vo;' and at the enormous cost of a guinea and a half. The Novel Times will consist, in each of its numbers, of parts of two distinct works; the former, on all occasions, an Original Tale; the latter, either a portion of a second original tale, or of a Translation from the most approved of the novels that appear in France, Germany, and Italy. Both portions will be executed by the hands of masters. But as each particular work, whether original or translated, will be complete in itself, so it is distinctly to be understood that authors are in no wise answerable for anything that may appear in articles to which their names or titles are not appended.

' The pages of the Novel Times will be open to writers of all classes of opinions. One restriction, however, and only one, they have imposed on themselves, namely, that the columns of the work to which they contribute, shall not be stained by the admission of a

single sentence or line that might tend to vitiate the taste, or corrupt the morals of the public. As authors will write in the *Novel Times* perfectly free from the shackles of old custom, so readers will be spared the pain of seeing subjects worn threadbare. Each tale will continue only so long as the interest continues fresh, and will end when the author feels that his ideas have exhausted themselves.'

To similar proposals, the publishers of the other two series add, that theirs shall also include biographies; and Messrs. Chapman and Hall's also state, that their 'series will be found to differ in some very important respects from any other hitherto presented to the public:—

'It will exclusively consist of new and original works, chiefly of the class of novels and romances.

'2. The price of each work will be less than one half the sum charged for an equal amount of matter in the ordinary system of publication.

'3. The means by which the saving of cost will be effected, will involve no sacrifice of literary or typographical excellence.

'4. The quantity of matter given in each part will be found to obviate a very general objection made to several works on the ground of a too-frequent suspension of the interest.'

Thus we have at once three formidable antagonists pitted against the old system. In point of cheapness, they offer most tempting advantages. In one point, the old system, nevertheless, it seems to us, still retains the preference—it is in that of giving us the entire work at once. A work of imagination, of all others, according to our fancy, requires to be read with a rapid and continuous interest. We are impatient of waiting from week to week for a fresh fragment; and this Messrs. Chapman and Hall confess to being 'a very general objection to serial works.'

In all other points, however, these series offer great advantages over the old circulating library system. The rapid spread of education of late years, has brought into the reading field an immense mass of the shop and working classes. These must be supplied with books, and supplied at a cheap rate. To meet the demands of this great and daily-growing class, many of late have been the plans and enterprises. At one time, it was through reprints of our standard works, and we had multitudes of new editions on a cheap scale, of our best poets, divines, historians, and miscellaneous writers. We have thus, Thomsons, Miltons, Shakesperes, Bunyans, Baxters, Jeremy Taylors, Sam Johnsons, Goldsmiths, and, in short, authors of all kinds condensed into miniature shapes, of one shilling, and even sixpence each. Then we had libraries, libraries of history and philo-

sophy, like Lardner's; of romance and novel, like Bentley's. Miscellanies, like Constable's, and at the present hour we have two successors to these, in Murray's Colonial Library, and Knight's Weekly Volume.

These, however, did not meet the great demand of the age. Those in all ages who have sought amusement rather than solid information, have had infinitely the preponderance in numbers. To suit the taste of this multitudinous class the circulating library offered its legion of heroes and heroines of all periods and stamps, from the knight-errant of the romantic ages and the distressed ladies of high degree, to whose rescue they were always an horseback, down to the freebooters of Scott, and thence to the Sam Wellers and Jack Sheppards of Dickens and Ainsworth. The first attempts to disturb the monopoly of the circulating library came, however, from the introducers of the latter highway and London heroes, to the public notice. They were issued into the world in the pages of monthly periodicals. 'Bentley's Miscellany, under the editorship of Dickens and Ainsworth successively, became, strangely enough, the very wedge originally inserted into the old still unsplit log of the circulating library system, of which Mr. Bentley himself was one of the most prolific suppliers. Little could this great bibliopole of romance have foreseen the tendency of the work he set himself about. But the plan took. Novels became a staple article of the monthly magazine. Bentley had his *Oliver Twist* or his 'Jack Sheppard,' Blackwood its 'Ten Thousand a Year,' the Dublin its 'Harry Lorrequer,' and so on. But this movement was only the precursor of others in this ever-moving age. Dickens stepped out of the 'Miscellany,' and under the auspices of Messrs. Chapman and Hall, appeared at first in monthly, and then in *weekly* portions, totally unaccompanied by any other matter. The novel was for the first time sent out as a periodical, on its own independent basis. Messrs. Chapman and Hall state this fact themselves: 'Messrs. Chapman and Hall,' say they, in the prospectus of their *Monthly Series*, 'acted on this belief nine years ago, when they announced the publication of the works of a distinguished writer, in monthly parts.'

The success of this measure was so extraordinary, that the plan may be considered to have become at once an established one, and besides a variety of minor, and no few very mischievous imitations, has resulted in the form of issue now under consideration. There have been and are still attempts to make our romance literature a *newspaper literature*, but this does not afford any symptoms of permanence. The 'Sunday Times' has given a series of such things, and has of late, presented a novel

from the pen of Lady Blessington, and has one now in course by Mr. James. We do not hear, however, that the success has been so decided as to warrant the payment of any £4,000 for such productions, as the proprietors of the French newspapers do. Here, it is regarded rather as an evidence of the lack of interest in the political matter of a newspaper, than as a legitimate source of newspaper attraction. There can be no doubt that the issue of novels and tales will take a separate, a periodical and peculiar form. Whether the series now under consideration present that permanent form, or whether the needs and ingenuity of the age will suggest some still more applicable one, has yet to be seen. But the great spirit manifested in these is one which is a real subject of congratulation—that of a high moral tone.

Whether the literature of fiction is the best for the multitude, is a question fairly open for discussion, but as one thing appears quite certain, that such a literature a very multitudinous class of readers will have, it is a matter of the most vital importance that it shall issue from quarters and from writers, who guarantee by their characters, a virtuous and an elevating, instead of a contrary influence from it. We have long seen, and in our May number we have earnestly uttered our condemnation of the character of the newspaper novel literature of France. Writers of a certain brilliant, but corruptive genius, have there made it the engine of an incalculably extensive agency, destructive to everything like moral principle and purity. Like wildfire it has spread through every civilized nation. In Germany, in England, Holland, Italy, nay, even the farthest north of Sweden, Norway, and Russia, in America, India, and Australia; wherever a European language penetrates, there also penetrate with it, the 'Wandering Jew,' and the 'Mysteries of Paris,' with all their extravagances and contagious enthusiasm. We have Mysteries of Hamburg, Mysteries of Vienna, Mysteries of Berlin, Mysteries of London, and no doubt shall soon have Mysteries of New York. We have lamented this French inoculation of immorality and false sentiment in this country, but we have a firm faith that its effects here will be merely temporary. There has been no want of a zealous desire, shown by certain parts of our newspaper press, to make a profit of the worst passions and propensities of the worst part of the public. The Jack Sheppard school has had its zealous advocates; the obscure and infidel productions of Hollywell Street, have been most widely and industriously circulated. The unhealthy appetite for murder, and for the ghastly spectacle of the gallows, has within these few months been pandered to, and promoted, with a diabolical fervour of sordid assiduity, that has been most revolting—but, every one must have seen that their spirit is not the genuine spirit of England; and, that, though

the base efforts of basest desire of dirty gain have been gigantic, yet the effect has been by no means correspondent—nothing like that which the infernal fire of Parisian genius has produced amid the volatile and inflammable materials of French social life. The Jack Sheppard school soon gave way to the healthier novel tone of the Dickens school. Hollywell Street has received a severe check by the avidity with which the works of Miss Bremer, and others, have been received ; and, of every one of these spirited series of novel and romance, the character is of the purest and noblest kind, and issued from publishers and writers that insure their continuance of this character.

This, we repeat, is a subject of true congratulation, for it is good fiction that we must pit against the bad. If we would learn the secret of the vast avidity for light reading, we shall find it in the necessity which a great portion of the people of this very country has for an agreeable and amusing relaxation, from the ever-pressing weight of business. After the twelve hours of strenuous attention to serious business in the shop, the warehouse, or the office, the mind is not always able to seize on grave and solid matters of research. It requires to be soothed, to be entertained and refreshed by light, joyous and vivid imagery. Under these circumstances, fictions that describe actual life, or that give to actual life and character new hues, and draw from them without any didactic assumption, new lessons, become, not only our entertainers, but our friends and instructors. They may be made, indeed, beneficial and efficient moral agents, as well as agents of pleasure. To the works of Scott, of Miss Austen, Miss Edgeworth, of James, of Dickens, of Miss Martineau, Miss Bremer, and a score of others ; for what teachings of virtue, of fortitude, of patience, for what purified feelings, and refreshed sympathies with our kind, in its sorrows and its struggles, are we not indebted, as well as for virtuous delight itself, in itself no small or trivially refreshing boon ?

Regarding, therefore, fiction, as a great moral agent, capable of becoming one of the highest ministers of truth and human happiness, we feel bound to wish all success to those who come forward, like the publishers of these series, to place it on a more popular and sound foundation.

We cannot here go into any extended analysis of the stories already issued ; but we may show what they are likely to be, by naming the writers already engaged upon them. Those on the cover of the 'Novel Times' stand thus : 'Mrs. Mary Howitt ; G. P. R. James, Esq. ; Captain Marryatt ; the Hon. Mrs. Norton ; Miss Pardoe ; the Author of the 'Subaltern,' &c.

Mr. Tait announces as writers for the 'Edinburgh Tales,' Mrs. Johnstone, as editor and chief contributor ; Mrs. Fraser ;

William and Mary Howitt; Mrs. Gore; Edward Sullivan, Esq.; Thomas Carlyle; John Mills; Mrs. Crowe, author of 'Susan Hopley'; Bon Gaultier; Mrs. Fraser Tytler, author of 'Tales of the Great and Brave,' &c.

The 'Novel Times' has published a considerable portion of the Oriental Letters of the Countess Hahn-Hahn, as a translation from the German; and of a novel, by Mr. Gleig, the author of the 'Subaltern,' called 'Things New and Old.' So far as this novel goes, it is admirably adapted to the spirit of the times: it is a tale of English country life at the present day. In it the Puseyite, the Evangelical, the working of the new poor-law, the game law, and of other engines and parties in church and state, figure most effectively. We see what are the influences and the topics that at this moment are alive all over the country, in every class of society; which are agitating the present, and preparing the future of England. Mr. Gleig, though a clergyman of the church in which such antagonistic principles are in violent action, appears to have weighed their relative forces and value very impartially. On all subjects, he is, on the whole, very liberal, and seems to have the good of society at large really at heart. It is a work that may be read with the greatest advantage, and will give a new view of English life in the country to most city readers.

Mr. Tait, in his 'Edinburgh Tales,' has hitherto chiefly reprinted stories by that clever and moral writer, Mrs. Johnstone, which appeared sometime ago in 'Tait's Magazine,' &c. It may not be without its uses thus to bring again before a new class of readers what is lost to them in the columns of by-gone numbers of a periodical; but Mr. Tait, very wisely, does not mean to rest much on this resource alone. We have shown by what hands he has tales in preparation,—one being expressly announced as of considerable extent, 'The Author's Daughter,' by Mrs. Howitt. In translation he has given us 'The Elves,' one of the most delightful novellets in any language, from Tieck, translated by Thomas Carlyle; and a very charming story from the Swedish of Nicander, by William Howitt.

Messrs. Chapman and Hall have launched their 'Monthly Series' with peculiar *eclat*. They have a novel by Mrs. S. C. Hall, of great promise, of which two parts only are yet issued; but the entire work, with which they have commenced, 'Mount Sorel,' by the author of the 'Two Old Men's Tales,' is a story of singular brilliancy and effect. It is, in all respects, worthy of the writer of the thrilling and able 'Two Old Men's Tales.' It brings into juxtaposition, and into family connexion, an old proud aristocrat and a new man, one of the creations of our manufacturing system: a man full of all new and revolutionary

doctrines; and the clashing, the heart-burnings, the fire and trouble that are naturally struck out of two such hostile spirits and positions are admirably worked into life, and by the perfect skill and tact of the gifted authoress, are made to produce a never-ceasing and intense interest. It would be difficult to determine whether the vigorous splendour of the style, or the beautiful and philosophical sentiment of the writer predominates.

If these Series go on to give us such works as this, and as the high names announced, promise, they will be deserving of all support, and will establish their form of issue as a new feature in the imaginative literature of the age.

Art. VII.—*A Grammar of the Latin Language*, by C. G. Zumpt, Ph. D., Professor in the University and Member of the Royal Academy of Berlin. Translated from the ninth edition of the original by Leonhard Schmitz, Ph. D. London: Longman and Co.

THIS grammar has long been favourably known to the English public, by Kenrick's translation, and by the exercise books founded upon it. The author's preface to the present translation shows, that he is displeased that his successive corrections were not introduced into the new editions by Mr. Kenrick; and this, we apprehend, is the true cause of the new translation before us. From private inquiries we learn, that English booksellers have a great dislike to alterations in the successive editions of a school book, in consequence of remonstrances from schoolmasters who are generally inconvenienced by it: and, that this alone was Mr. Kenrick's reason for lagging behind the German editions. We are led to believe, that that gentleman himself is not sorry that circumstances have led a younger, though experienced and zealous hand, to undertake the task of bringing forth in an English dress the ninth edition of so useful a work.

To compare it in detail with the earlier translation, would of course be laborious, nor could any general results be here denoted. We had hoped to find, that the learned professor had adopted the division of the declensions and conjugations according to the ending of the crude forms, in A E I O U, or a consonant; which gives so much elegance and completeness to the Latin system, and of itself allures the student into sound etymological speculation. We cannot see that the old division, to which he adheres, has even the lower merit of being easier to

learners; for, the heap of dissimilar nouns thrown together under the third declension, is very confusing. But in a work of this bulk, which mere beginners cannot possibly use, philosophical reasons, we think, should take the lead of all others; and so, indeed, the author must think, or he would not begin with so many details concerning orthography and pronunciation. Even in detailing the irregularities of the perfect tense of verbs, not a hint is dropped which could relieve the tedium of details, by generalization, or by comparison with other languages. How very superior is Dr. Allen on the Latin verb, or Professor Key; or, we may add, Mr. Jacob in his small Bromsgrove Grammar! Altogether, while we give all credit to the author for the elaborate learning and minuteness of verbal criticism with which the book abounds;—while we regard it as at present the standard Latin Grammar;—we are surprised to think how few marks it carries on it of the nineteenth century. It is an excellent work for assisting a student to write in petty details as Cicero, or to know how Cicero differed from Livy and Tacitus; for explaining the archaisms of Plautus, or the poetical liberties of Horace: but it is a work which, as far as we can see, might have been written by a Muretus or a Lipsius. It is thoroughly *oldfashioned* in its fundamental ideas, and in its execution; neither adding to the student, by the way, etymological tact for philology in general, nor giving the least insight into the relation of Latin to other languages. Even the learning of Professor Zumpt, verges on the overcurious nicety of a past age. His extreme caution, 'not to recommend' modern Latinists to this or that, which has nothing to do with real excellence of style; (for instance, not to use cases of words which cannot be positively quoted from the best authors, as the genitive *plerorumque*;) is almost amusing; as though it were not manifest that, *if* Cicero's Latin has no genitive of this word, we are improving his language by following out its undoubted analogy. To catch the style and genius of the classical writers, is an admirable exercise of mind; to cramp ourselves to the arbitrary minutiae of their idiom, has no living object to repay us, and is rather enslaving than improving to the intellect in general. It is quite right indeed to register such minutiae, (though we do not give so much weight to arguments from *omission* as Professor Zumpt,) but we do trust that our scholars will not again set up the aping of Cicero as a grand attainment. From nothing do we so much dread a sweeping re-action of mind against classical study, as from an undue exaltation of mere verbal accomplishments.

The present age has something else to do than to doat on the *words* of antiquity. Our aim must be to enter more deeply into its thoughts and feelings, in order to understand ourselves

better, improve our faculties, and become abler and wiser for modern investigation, and modern accomplishment. If the student will use the elaborate grammar before us, as a repertory of *information*, he will often have reason to thank both author and translator; but he must not adopt the classical spirit of the work itself, or he will sink into a mere bookworm.

Occasionally the translator seems to have encountered difficulty from the non-agreement of German with English. '*Imperfect*' is, we apprehend, a very wrong title for the English tense, 'He wrote, which is, in the strictest sense, *perfect*, as much as any tense can be. It might be called *the historical tense*, or, *the Aorist*, in conformity with the usage of Greek and Latin Grammars; but our 'imperfect' tenses are all formed by composition,—'I am writing,' 'I was writing,' 'I shall be writing,' &c., &c.: of which the *præter* imperfect alone has any thing to correspond with it in Latin. Again, we may closely render, *scriptum est*, 'it is written;' *scriptum fuit*, 'it was written:' agreeing with the Latin more nearly, it seems, than the German can; so that *præliatum fuit*, *oblitus fui*, *miratus fui*, (in p. 147) are not exceptions, but confirmations of the rule, since they all express historical time. In p. 146, *scripta fuit* should not be rendered '*has existed* as a written one,' but '*did exist*,' as the context clearly shows. On the whole, the learned translator has been highly successful in avoiding difficulties from this cause, which nevertheless recur in the explanations of *aliquis*, *quispiam*, *quisquam*, &c. In regard to the adverbs, conjunctions, and all other particles, so abundant in the Latin tongue, the information accumulated by Professor Zumpt is exceedingly full, and admirably adapted to give precision to the conceptions of one who has already made progress in the language.

Art. VIII.—*Views of the Voluntary Principle*. In Four Series. By Edward Miall. pp. 242. Aylott and Jones.

NEVER was so plain a distinction so much lost sight of as that between the episcopal church and the established church, in this country. It is perpetually forgotten, both by friends and foes, that though they are one in fact, there is no necessary identity between them. The episcopal church may be a voluntary church, and the churches most democratic in their government may be established churches. Some kinds of church government have doubtless a stronger tendency towards, and a warmer

sympathy with, state alliances than others ; and episcopacy will not be supposed to like and to look for them least of all : but still, it is manifestly unjust and impolitic to confound together the church which is established with the establishment of the church. The evil of this confusion, on the part of dissenters, is, that it gives an unnecessary and offensive sectarian character to the controversy, securing the indifference or disgust of many, on the one hand, who might be got to protest, on large general principles of citizenship, against the interference of religion with the state ; and of many, on the other hand, who might be got to protest, on large general principles of godliness, against the interference of the state with religion.

Time was, and it is not long ago, when the main objections of dissenters had respect to things belonging to the state church as a church, and things which it might retain in all their integrity, if entirely and for ever separated from the civil power. Its clergy were too many, and of the wrong kinds ; its catechism was unsound ; its orders and services were heretical ; there was inserted into its creeds something that should have been left out, and there was left out of them something that should have been put in ; some prayers occurred too often, and some ought not to have occurred at all. These, and such as these, were the great grounds of protestant dissent. We would not disesteem them, much more would we not laugh at the consciences that urged them. 'To him that esteemeth anything to be unclean, to him it is unclean.' For ourselves, it is scarcely necessary to say, that for some of these reasons—not to mention others—if the church now established were separated from the state, our adhesion to it would be utterly impossible : it would only lose, in our view, one of many and mighty evils and errors.

But if we could not belong to the church established, however free and voluntary, we could not belong to it while established, however pure and true. Its connexion with the state is an unanswerable argument for dissent. No change in its creeds and customs, in its offices or proceedings, could reconcile us to its communion. If all its doctrines were scriptural, if all its prayers were pious, if all its ministers were men of God, dissent would still remain a duty. Its political alliance is an evil of so comprehensive and severe a nature, as to justify separation from any forms of faith and institutions with which it may be associated : for it is an evil affecting not some aspect and operations of a church possessing it, but all ; it permeates the entire body. There is nothing which it does not touch, and it touches nothing which it does not disfigure and impair. It tends to the concealment of the true character of a church, and imparts to it a false one. It brings forward a new foundation

for religious obligation, which, to the extent of its appearance and operation, displaces the divine. It diverts, in a great degree, spiritual power into an inferior channel. It weakens all that is religiously strong, pollutes all that is religiously pure, and enslaves all that is religiously free. Human nature and divine grace have both grounds of bitter complaint against it. The heavenly and the earthly suffer from its influence; for it 'covers' the one 'with sackcloth,' and 'makes the rivers' of the other 'a wilderness.' The *man*, the *citizen*, and the *saint* owe it a grudge. The man has a right to be offended that a church, which is meant for his soul, should show so great a disrespect to some of its most important powers of feeling and of action. The citizen may be properly indignant that a church, which ought to embody the highest philosophy should be so little able to detect, or so little disposed to heed, the difference between the civil and the spiritual. And the saint may 'do well to be angry,' that a church, which, if it be anything, is the form and instrument of all that is just and generous, should trample so proudly on the clear and sacred rights of conscience and of charity.

Entertaining these views, we have, of course, noticed with sincere pleasure the progress of the voluntary principle within the last few years. That progress has been real, obvious, and great. Whether, or how much, dissent, as a form and organization, has spread, we do not now inquire. The principle, that religion should be left to the acts and gifts of individual minds, in opposition to all constraint, has, beyond doubt, made a large and satisfactory advance. Many causes have united to secure this result. The progress of true political science could not fail to illustrate a doctrine which has so vitally to do with the real ends and functions of civil government. The ridiculous figure which the opposite principle has been obliged to cut; the absurdities and inconsistencies without end that recent occurrences have shown to be inseparable from it; the destruction—arising out of events—of many of the favourite pleas and plausibilities in which it was upheld, have all tended to excite attention to, and reveal the excellencies of the truth. Nor must the efforts of voluntaries themselves be forgotten. They have been more wise and earnest in the exposition of their views, and have reaped the natural consequences of wisdom and earnestness. The work at the head of this article gives us an opportunity, which we gladly embrace, of mentioning, as it deserves, the name of one who has laboured more abundantly than they all. Mr. Miall possesses all the qualifications needful to constitute an efficient missionary of a great truth. He *has* a principle; he knows what he believes: he has thoroughly mastered it; he honours it; he feels it a privilege to serve it; he has devoted himself to

it with an energy of will that but few could surpass, and has brought to its illustration and furtherance faculties and endowments but seldom exceeded in one man. A perception at once keen and comprehensive, a judgment calm and cool, an imagination ever prompt to exhibit and beautify the severest deductions of reason, and a style of singular precision and force, have secured for the 'Nonconformist' a place in public favour, and have given to it an influence over the public mind, which, considering its recent date, and the character of the opinions to which it is devoted, are as important to truth as they must be gratifying to himself. The work before us consists of a series of articles which originally appeared in that journal; and we deem it no exaggeration to say, that no other existing journal has furnished a series containing so much lofty principle, sustained thought, and effective writing. It is one of the books that make the reader wish he were the author. Brief as the papers necessarily are, they seldom fail to go to the very root of the matter. Common topics are treated in an uncommon way. The old argument is frequently made to possess new virtue. The objection is often, by a deeper philosophy, proved to involve a positive praise. And the whole is full of life. The apt anecdote, the racy illustration, the expressive phrase, fitting the idea as it would seem incapable of ever fitting any other, painting as well as indicating it; all these impart a charm to discussions of the graver sort, which even those who take no interest in the sentiments advanced can scarcely fail to feel. It has so much vivacity, that the dullest mind must relish it; and so much force, that the most decided opponent must feel, that if voluntarism be a mistake, reason has much to answer for.

These 'Views' supply what has long been wanted, and the lack of which is not a little condemnatory of the philosophy and religion of the age. There has been enough of writing, and more than enough, unless it were better, in opposition to state-churchism. It has been exposed as a theory and a fact; its natural tendencies and actual results have been fully pointed out; and it has been made to appear destitute of just grounds, and abundant in pernicious consequences. We take it, that no more can be done, or needs to be done, to expose its principles or workings. As far as the matter of this argument is concerned, it may be said, 'If any man will be ignorant, let him be ignorant.' But there is another thing that has not been done, and which must have a great effect on the controversy. The excellencies of the opposite system have not been developed. The best way, generally speaking, to expose error, is to exhibit and establish truth. There is often no other way of doing it effectually, and in the fullest possible measure. Negations will

not suffice for human faith or actions: the mind craves something positive. Besides, things are very much, in our present state, matters of comparison; the imperfection of our nature attaches imperfection to all the systems that are worked by it. Allowing the inconveniences and mischiefs arising from one principle, the question may occur, 'Is the opposite principle free from them, or from similar, or from dissimilar ones? If it have the advantage in this particular direction, would it suffer nothing from being contemplated in another? You must not select the point of view in which to look at it. It is unfair to choose only those bearings of one which are admitted to be evil, when perhaps there are more, and more evil bearings, of a different kind in the opposite principle.' No one can be unaware what a prominent position such remarks as these occupy in the controversy between state-churchmen and voluntaries. Little hesitation is felt to admit the difficulties and dangers of compulsion in religion, by many who deem them few and small, compared with the difficulties and dangers of voluntaryism. Indeed their admission is deemed singularly felicitous, having all the grace, with none of the disadvantages, of concessions in general. 'State-churchism, in so far as it is evil, is a necessary evil. No candid man would maintain it to be quite perfect, but then no sane man would think of anything else. Suppose it done away, where is the substitute? Voluntaryism is the only thing left when compulsion ceases. But who can rely on that capricious thing? Who can work that feeble tool? To attempt the great purposes of christianity by leaving every man to himself, can be compared to nothing so well as the efforts of an infant to grasp the rainbow, or blow out the moon.' Nine-tenths at least of what is advanced in opposition to voluntaryism, is, in one shape or other, unbelief in its efficacy. And the only way of evincing its efficacy satisfactorily and completely is to establish its harmony with the laws of individual mind, social life, and christian principle. Statistics, whose worth on most subjects is in great danger of being overrated in the present day, will do but little towards this result. The case involves too deeply the question of moral influences to be settled by their means. Even as to the provision of institutional and official religion, there lies at the outset of the examination, the great difficulty, not to say absolute impossibility, of obtaining an equally fair and full exhibition of the operation of the two antagonist principles—an exhibition that shall be open to no objection from friends or foes. But the question is *very much more than one of ministers and buildings*—of how many of the first can be supported, how many of the second can be erected, on either system. It has to do with some of the most subtle

and delicate susceptibilities of our moral nature, and some of the most ethereal influences of christianity. Preaching may be a concealment, as well as an expression, of the truth; churches may be sanctuaries for the vile, as well as temples for the holy; organizations may be the tomb of a dead faith, as well as the homes of a living faith. No one has a clearer perception, or deeper sense of this, than Mr. Miall, and he has therefore come to his task with the right temper and the right tools, and discussed the subject with a breadth of view, and a generosity of argument, which impart to his volumes a value that will be as permanent as it is great.

In considering the excellence of different religious systems, immense importance must be attached to the design of christianity, in relation to man. That which may be eminently good for one end, may be eminently bad for another. They whose chief conception of religious excellence is that of subjection to ecclesiastical power and rule; who think of the church as a governing, rather than a teaching body; who account more highly of keeping souls in order, than of making them grow; who prize outward acts above inward principles, may look with complacency on a system which affords little reason for approval to such as have adopted another, and widely different, idea. Force may appear to them the best, because the easiest, and shortest, method of arriving at their ends. But they who regard all outward acts and institutions as valueless, and worse than valueless, except as they fitly represent, and embody, the spiritual sentiments of religion; who have more faith in men than in means; who draw a broad distinction between objective and subjective truth; who think that forms should always be subordinate to life; will look upon it with distrust and dread. We are perfectly willing that the decision as to which is the right idea of christianity, should be settled by the only book that contains an authoritative exhibition of its principles and spirit. Few, we should imagine, did not the facts forbid us, could carefully consult the New Testament without being struck by the comparative indifference which it displays to the externals of religion in comparison with its holy action upon the heart. Offices and services were secondary matters with Christ and the apostles. They laid the axe to the root of the tree of evil, they applied the nutriment to the root of the tree of good. Their great object was ever to make men right, not to arrange the forms in which their rightness should be manifested. As to the church, they did not fill their teachings with rules of organization, but living and quickening truths, laying down only a few general principles for the guidance of the force which they were intended to create; and as to individuals, they did not define

the particular applications of moral obligations, but established and enforced their prime elements. They went direct to the human heart, aimed at building up the inner man, and while paying a profound respect to the powers and wants belonging to men in common, paying a respect just as profound to the varieties of individual character, and social life, they treated men not as beings to be schooled, objects rather of dread than confidence, not to be trusted out of sight, but as beings possessing 'wisdom,' able to 'judge,' capable of indefinite improvement, with whom the gospel could be put in trust, and who could be intelligent agents in working out its designs, as well as passive recipients of its blessed influences. When Boswell quoted to Dr. Johnson from one of Lord Mansfield's speeches, 'My lords, severity is not the way to govern either boys or men;' the sage replied, 'Nay, it is the way to *govern* them. I know not whether it be the way to *mend* them.' This distinction, between governing and mending men, involves the pith of all that can be said for force and freedom, compulsion and voluntarism, in religion. State churches may answer the one end, after a fashion, but the largest measure of the other is beyond their reach. The christian process is an amending process. The carrying on of this supposes much which the timid and the short-sighted naturally dislike. It is of necessity slow, as are all the processes of that Being 'with whom a thousand years are as one day, and one day is as a thousand years;' it requires the incidental development of much evil, in order to its destruction,—the 'revelation' of many a 'mystery of iniquity,' with a view to its 'consumption;' and can only be worthily promoted by a faith which can read the glorious destiny of man, in his very weaknesses and wants. That the voluntary principle does sometimes lead to accidental mischief, that it is attended occasionally with inconveniences that compulsion may seem to be without, that in the way to 'mend' human nature it has the effect of making it *appear*, in particular instances, worse than it might appear but for it, we are not concerned to deny. It cannot be otherwise. It is to us a mark of excellence. Christianity itself does the same. We must not anticipate nature. That is done quickly, which is done well. 'He is a fool,' says Hesiod, 'who does not know how much better the half is than the whole.' We must take men as we find them. No system can work perfectly, in all respects, except in perfect beings, and the most perfect system is that which, in imperfect beings, first developes evils, and then kills them. The very light of heaven reveals things unpleasant and disgusting, ere it purges them away.

We have kept our readers too long from the work before us, in dwelling on some of the topics which it suggests. We should

not accomplish our design without giving them a fuller and more particular view of its contents. After a 'card of invitation,' the author places the subject of his essays in the following clear and striking light :—

'Our readers, therefore, we trust, will pardon us if we diverge a little from the usual routine, and resort to illustration in preference to definition. We shall not need to tax fancy to any unwarrantable extent. We propose to put before them a case with which they must be tolerably familiar. In our own country, minors are by law subject to their parents. At the age of twenty-one years they pass the limits of legal restraint. In respect to all filial duties—submission, respect, gratitude, they become voluntaries. They are released from no obligation, it is important to observe, which heretofore was justly binding upon them. The determination of their will is yet open to numberless influences, more or less operative, besides that of real affection. They are released, it is true, from legal bonds; but the stronger bonds of moral principle still hold them. Duty suffers no change, but only the means of enforcing it. They are no longer under law, but they are under a higher and far more potent authority. Such obedience as they render after the period of homage, must be taken as the representative of the will. It may be paid or withheld as they list; but when paid it is a tribute, not to command, but to choice—a thing done, not because they who do it must do it, but because they will.

'The voluntary principle puts men, in respect to the support of religious institutions, precisely in a similar position as that in which men who have attained their majority are placed by law in respect of their parents. It is not, as many seem to imagine, a charter ceded to spiritual indifference. It relaxes no obligation. It annuls no duty. It destroys no legitimate motive. It excludes from the sphere of its influence no class. It simply asserts, that the apparatus of means by which religion should be maintained, where it exists, and planted where it exists not, should be constructed and worked by the free choice of men. Upon the influences which go to determine their choice, it pronounces no opinion. All that it declares is, that what men do for the support of public worship, and for the ministration of spiritual instruction, whether for themselves or others, is a matter which should be left to something higher than law to regulate—should represent, not the efficiency of a command from without, but the power of a principle within—should grow up out of living motives, rather than stand as the lifeless result of legal authority—and that in all which affects the maintenance of Christianity, government should treat its subjects not as minors but as men—release them from its own restraints, and leave them to that weightier responsibility, and these higher and more stringent claims, which may avail, not merely to govern actions, but to determine the choice. This is the general idea wrapped up in the term, 'the voluntary principle.' It involves nothing less, it implies nothing more.'—pp. 8—10.

After this lucid exhibition of the voluntary principle, which

itself must be a sufficient answer to many common objections, having more of ingenious quibbling in them than solid argument, the author proceeds to 'beget for the question a respectful consideration' by a reference to the doctrine of 'Invisible Agencies,' shewing by apposite instances that 'there are some things in this world of ours, very nearly affecting, too, our largest interests, which are not the product of legislative contrivance—things which root themselves in the will of the Creator, and which can exist and flourish, not only without, but in spite of, human governments'—asserts and illustrates the 'Vitality of Truth' as a reproof of human fears and human dependence—maintains the superiority of 'Natural' to 'Artificial' 'Mechanism'—and, under the heads of 'Economy of Spiritual Power,' 'Assimilation,' 'Self-Adjustment,' 'Fermentation,' 'Permanency of Progress,' 'Reproduction,' and 'Universality,' represents the 'Nature and Intrinsic Excellence of the Voluntary Principle.'

The second series of 'Views' exhibits the adaptation of this principle to 'Man as an Individual.' The titles of the papers forming this portion of the volume are—'How does it agree with you?' 'The Precise Object of Religious Institutions,' 'Elbow-Room for the Will,' 'The Proprietary Passion,' 'Sense of Responsibility,' 'The Susceptibilities of Individuality,' 'Arm in Arm with Reason,' 'The Power of Faith,' 'The Reverential Appeal,' 'The Fatal Crack Examined,' 'Dependence no Degradation,' 'A Working Clergy.' The high and healthy views expressed in these papers would lead us, had we room, to give lengthened quotations, but we must content ourselves with a short passage from the one styled 'Dependence no Degradation.'

'It may be allowed us then to hint, that there is a deference to the world's judgment, in this and kindred matters, which mimics self-respect, but which is, in reality, a totally different thing. The one differs as much from the other, as seringa leaves do from cucumbers, or burnt quills from roast beef, which, in taste, they somewhat resemble. Because, in this aristocratic country, pecuniary independence is made the test of respectability, and men are estimated, not by what they are, but what they are worth; it does not follow, that, the pride which sensitively shrinks from the imputation of poverty, or of dependence, is entitled to take rank with true self-respect. The deference in such case is paid, not to the dignity of one's own nature, but to the force of the world's opinion—and the more profound the deference, the more alien is the feeling from what religion approves. We may take the liberty of adding, moreover, that this impeachment of the voluntary principle is not without an aspect of reckless hardihood, that tells but little in favour of its justice. The 'successors of the apostles,' who are so forward to prefer it, might surely pause a moment to reflect, that the men from whom they profess to derive

their claims, seemed to live and to labour in happy unconsciousness of the degradation to which they willingly submitted; and, that He, whose self-respect was never trenched upon, discerned nothing unbecoming in receiving, at the hands of a few females in the lower walks of life, a scanty and precarious subsistence. The pride of a *gentleman*, is very far from being the dignity of a *man*.—pp. 117, 118.

The third series of 'Views,' illustrating the harmony of the voluntary principle, with the 'Social Nature and Position of Man,' comprises the following subjects:—'The Social State,' 'Ascendancy,' 'Division,' 'It's no Business of Mine,' 'Brush Up, and Look Alive!' 'Pressure on the Brain,' 'Enterprize,' 'The Cement of Nations.'

The fourth and last series, shews the agreement of the voluntary system, with the 'Genius of Christianity.' We regard this as a fine specimen of the right mode of treating christianity, in this and kindred subjects. Here is no forgetfulness of its true character as a spirit and not a letter—no morbid anxiety for verbal law. The foundation is broad in the very essence of the gospel, and the mere hunter out of texts, is as little needed as the worldly and self-sufficient politician. 'The Unique System,' 'The Response of the Oracle,' 'Involuntary Voluntaryism,' 'A Genial Atmosphere,' 'Mental and Spiritual Vegetation,' 'Dignity,' 'Do thy Spiriting Gently,' 'Temporal Rewards and Punishments,' 'The School for Adults,' 'Twice Blessed,' 'The Sole Ruler,' 'The Adieu,' are the pithy and picturesque titles of these views. One extract only can we give.

'As it teaches its disciples to give—to give freely—so the blessings christianity assures to man, are such as can *only be given*. The moral changes which it effects, and which constitute its noblest results, can only be introduced to man through the porch of his own will. He—the inhabitant within—must, after all, unbar the door to the truth we set down before it. But if, overlooking all the laws of human nature, we rudely seize his cart, and break down his gates, or gap his hedges, under pretence that we cannot get truth to his door, without thus setting social morality aside, is it likely that we shall succeed in obtaining for our *protégé* a favourable admission? Is it by such means we can hope to gain the ear of conscience? Are such methods the most likely to disarm prejudice? Does not the first process go far to render all that should follow obscure, if not unintelligible? In dispensing a system of suasion, ought our first step to be one which admits of no choice? The compulsory principle is an invading army which advances under colour of a benevolent concern for human civilization—an army whose professions are first heard from the lips of the foraging party which has preceded it in search of subsistence. If the good intended by establishments, be the good of the irreligious, we might sooner prevail with them to accept it as the gift of our own benevolent sympathies, than as the fruit of a forced bargain in which we have played the lion's part. It is not esteemed

a gracious act to spoil our neighbour, that, with the proceeds of our violence, we may pay the doctor for attempting a cure of his disease.'—pp. 229, 230.

We need not say how cordially we thank Mr. Miall for his book, or how earnestly we recommend it to our readers.

Art. IX. *Christian Humility; Elementary Education: Poem on Providence; Piety and Intellect*, Third Edition; *Our Female Servants; Poem on Marriage*, Third Edition. By Henry Edwards, Ph. D., D.D., F.R.S., F.A.S., F.S.A., &c., &c. London: Longman and Co.; Simpkin and Marshall; Whittaker and Co.; Clarke and Co. Various dates.

OUR duty, as the servants of the public, in subordination to the claims of truth and fidelity, is important and solemn. The functions of our Review are to sift the barn-floor, to separate the chaff from the wheat, to honour that which is worthy of honour in letters and in moral principle, and to protest against errors in science, bad taste in literature, and whatever is unscriptural in religious doctrine, or unholy with respect to practice; to point out and to recommend works of real excellence, which are always distinguished by unaffected modesty, and to strip off the veil from assuming ignorance and unblushing imposture.

We feel that we lie under a weighty responsibility to man and to God. The giving of commendations, or censures, to books and their authors, is a case of morals, to which the rule, repeatedly laid down in the word of God, forcibly applies: 'Ye shall do no unrighteousness in judgment.—He that justifieth the wicked, and he that condemneth the just, even they both are abomination to the Lord.'

While it is our desire to maintain a conscientious obedience to this divine command, we cannot but feel ourselves aroused from any temptation to remissness when titles of books are laid before us with such announcements as the following:—

'Dr. Edwards's excellent volume is likely to become one of our standard religious publications: it will still further extend his already high reputation. His style is forcible, elegant, and highly axiomatic:—one of the best treatises on humility we ever remember to have read:—eloquently and impressively written,—and emanates from a mind at once highly cultivated and thoroughly evangelical. We think the volume one of the most practical and worthy of attention that has lately appeared in England on the subject. The author is evidently imbued with a deep spirit of piety. There is nothing *ad captandum vulgus* about him. Dr. E. is the author of other admirable works.'

These flowers we have culled from nearly two pages of similar matter, subjoined to the name and the books at the head of this article. In these *fifteen recommendations*, purporting to be from various newspapers, there is a similarity of matter and manner, a fulsome ridiculousness of praise, and characteristic idiotisms of expression, so marked, as to make it almost impossible to avoid believing that one person is both the *object* and the *author* of them all. The purchase to which we are thus coaxed would amount to twenty-six shillings. But we think that our readers will not very severely condemn our hesitating to lay out our money in this way, when we give them a little further information.

Here is a man, exhibiting himself to the astonished world, blowing his own trumpet, and proclaiming his wondrous merits as '*the pure moralist,—the pious doctor*,'—for the inculcation—'in a manner—every way worthy of his theme,'—of humility, piety, and of all other moral excellence;—and yet, at the same moment, *branding his own forehead* with FALSEHOOD and FORGERY. We shudder to write it! We could not have thought it possible! But here is the printed evidence before our eyes.

We suppose it probable that he obtained from some minor German university the degree of *Doctor of Philosophy*, which is equivalent to a British or American *Mastership in Arts*; for we remember his complaining, in the columns of an honourable newspaper, of the offence to his modesty in its having announced that conferring of a doctorate, and that the newspaper's reply was, that the announcement was by *his own assiduous procuring*. On account of that fact, and the disclosures which we have here to make, we may be excused for entertaining some doubt whether any university has *honoured* itself by making this Henry Edwards a *Doctor Sacrosanctæ Theologiæ*, till we have better evidence than his own advertisements.

We now have the painful duty of informing our readers that in the opening of these pompous proclamations there are at least three, for which no authority whatever can be pleaded. But our readers shall judge for themselves.

'Henry Edwards,—F.R.S.' *He is not a Fellow of the Royal Society.*

'——, —F.A.S.' What does he mean by these three letters? We conjecture that he designed them to signify *Fellow of the Antiquarian Society*. But here he betrays himself. The style of that learned body is *The Society of Antiquaries*; and the designation of its Fellows is F.S.A.,—and *he is not a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries.*

'——, —F.S.A.' The piece of ignorance, as well as assumption, just mentioned, leads us to conjecture that, by this third designation, the person intended to represent himself as one of the

Society, founded near a century ago, for the *Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce*; and which is, in common parlance, called *The Society of Arts*. But that splendid and useful institution has not *Fellows*; its associates are styled *Members*: and *Henry Edwards is not a Member of the Society of Arts*.

It is with extreme pain that we expose this shameful delinquency. But we are compelled to do so by duty to our readers, and to the sacred cause of RELIGION, thus insulted and betrayed. What a triumph is here provided for the foes of Evangelical Faith and Practice, of which this man pretends to be the advocate! Never have we met with such an instance of *deliberate fraud*, combined with the profession of being a teacher and a model (!) of 'Piety,' and 'Christian Humility,' and a preacher of *Morals* to our children and servants.

If, as we have heard it suggested, some foreign titles have been purchased at a small cost, the dishonesty and the falsehood are not the less glaring and contemptible. The titles assumed are intended to be understood in their general acceptance, and the plea therefore, if raised, would only add mean trickery to the other bad qualities displayed.

After the preceding part of this notice had been set up in type, we received the number for June of *The Scottish Congregational Magazine*; in which we find a review of 'The Nature, Grounds, and Claims of Christian Humility: by the Rev. Henry Edwards, Ph.D., D.D.' The reviewer begins by saying,— 'There are two ways in which we may 'lift up the head' of a man. They are illustrated by the fate of Pharaoh's chief butler and chief baker; the one was lifted up to be honoured, the other to be *hanged*. We avow, that the place which we give to this volume, ycleped 'The Nature,' &c. has a much closer alliance to the *gibbet* than to the other mode of exaltation.' Citations from the book, which consists of 318 pages, are given; and we must declare that we could scarcely have imagined an equal display of silliness and emptiness in thought, affectation and pomposity in the stringing together of words, (for we cannot call it *style*,) bad taste, and bad grammar. Our Scottish brother complains of the 'endurance' to which he has been 'subjected, in trying to read and understand a book in which there is very little worth reading; certainly nothing that may not be got, in incomparably better style, in any half-penny or penny religious tract that we have ever happened to handle.' We do trust the time is coming when the religious world will be spared the infliction to which it is now doomed, by the perpetual publication of so much trash. On the arrival of this period, Dr. Henry Edwards will certainly cease to engage any portion of its notice.

Art. X. *Report from her Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry into the state of the Law and Practice in respect to the Occupation of Land in Ireland.*

THE late Dr. Arnold once said in a letter to a friend, referring to Ireland—‘There is more to be done there than in any corner of the world. I had at one time a notion of going over there, and taking Irish pupils, to try what one man could do towards civilizing the people, by trying to civilize and christianize the *gentry*.’ Had that noble-minded philanthropist gone on such a mission, he would undoubtedly have done much good, provided only he could have caught the wild Irish pupils—quite as necessary and as difficult a preliminary, as catching the hare in order to cook it. If Archbishop Whateley found it impossible to establish a much needed school of theology, in connexion with the university, and if ‘the chair of St. Lawrence’ could not save *him* from showers of calumny, how could Dr. Arnold have stood the tempest of bigotry which would have beaten fiercely against any educational establishment based on liberal principles? He would have been denounced either as a Socinian or a Jesuit.

The sentence, however, as a contemporary remarks,* ‘is happily suggestive of the real evils in the condition of Ireland.’ The cautious report of the Land Commission supplies ample proof of this to any one who takes the trouble of reflecting on its contents. The commissioners, though themselves Irish landlords, are obliged to admit that ‘*the foundation of almost all the evils by which the social condition of Ireland is affected is to be traced to those feelings of mutual distrust, which separate the classes of landlord and tenant, and prevent all united exertion for the common benefit.*’ They say, truly enough, that ‘there are faults on both sides;’ but contend that ‘there has been much of exaggeration and mis-statement in the sweeping charges that have been made against the Irish landlords,’ declaring that they ‘find no reason to believe that they are usually prompted by feelings of a religious or political character.’

That such a commission should come out with an apology for the landlords—that they should be tremblingly anxious that no sentence should escape them capable of being turned to the purposes of agitation, is quite as natural as a verdict against O’Connell from an Orange jury. Considering the essentially hostile and distrustful character of the relations between landlord and tenant, a commission formed solely out of one of the

* North British Review.

parties—and that the party specially arraigned—could hardly be impartial, however well-intentioned. If her Majesty had selected tenants for the purpose, would the landlords be satisfied? Of course not; and yet respectable and independent farmers would be far less alive to the miseries of the people than the lords of the soil are to what they call ‘the just rights of property.’ All landed property begets strong conservative tendencies; but in Ireland such property has ever been surrounded by circumstances fitted to make the holders suspicious, and to keep them in perpetual alarm. In the present case the confidence of the public is not increased by the fact, that the judges were in the habit of enjoying the hospitality of those against whom they were employed to investigate serious charges of oppression. A tribunal altogether unobjectionable might have been composed of merchants and bankers; men interested in the prosperity of the country, free from bias, and qualified by their practical intelligence to take a comprehensive view of all the interests involved.

The ‘mutual distrust’ between landlord and tenant in Ireland, so fatal to the interests of the country, and so full of danger to the peace of the empire, has been acknowledged as a fact. How are we to account for it? Who is to blame? In answering these questions it is necessary to bear in mind, that to the landlord class Providence committed the destiny of that country. In their hands were all kinds of power by which a people might be elevated or degraded; civilized or brutalized. They were not only proprietors and employers, but legislators, sheriffs, grand-jurors, magistrates, and military officers. The lords of a most fertile soil, of a country teeming with varied resources, whose inhabitants were made, by the law of conquest, their creatures and dependants, to be moulded by their masters at will. If the vessel, then, is vile, it may well ask the aristocracy—‘Why hast thou made me thus?’

It cannot, we presume, be seriously contended that the Irish,—a people of mixed blood, are incapable of civilization, and incurably vicious. We cannot ascribe their misfortune to their ‘nature,’ as some are apt to do. Sorely tried by calamity as they have been, they are not a criminal people. In 1840, there was not a single execution in Ireland, out of nine millions of population. For several years, the number has not exceeded four or five. Murder for the sake of robbery is almost unknown. The number of convictions in 1843, was as 1 to 948 of the population; while in England, it was as 1 to 750;—and, we believe, far the larger proportion of serious offences were in the latter country. Now, considering the circumstances of both, one should think the proportions ought to be reversed. If

poverty be the mother of crime, in no country should person and property be so unsafe as in Ireland. On this subject the statements of the commissioners are important. Speaking of cottiers and agricultural labourers, they say—‘It would be impossible to describe adequately the privations which they and their families *habitually and patiently endure*. It will be seen from the evidence, that in many districts their only food is the potato, their only beverage water; that their cabins are seldom a protection against the weather, that a bed or a blanket is a rare luxury, and that nearly in all, their pig and manure-heap constitute their only property. When we consider this state of things, and the *large proportion* of the population which comes under the designation of agricultural labourers, we have to repeat that the *patient endurance* which they exhibit is deserving of high commendation, and entitles them to the best attention of government and parliament.’

Elsewhere they say that, while the country is fast improving of late years, ‘in spite of many embarrassing and counteracting circumstances,’—‘there seems to be no corresponding advance in the condition and comforts of the labouring classes. . . The agricultural labourer continues to suffer the greatest privations and hardships; . . he is badly fed, badly clothed, and badly paid for his labour. Our personal experience and observations, during our inquiry, have afforded us a melancholy confirmation of the statements; and we cannot forbear expressing our strong sense of the patient endurance which the labouring classes have generally exhibited ‘*under sufferings greater, we believe, than the people of any other country in Europe have to sustain.*’

And yet, of late years, the Irish calendars have been almost empty. Even in the southern and western counties, the judges have had little or nothing to do; and have, consequently, been at leisure to perambulate the country on foot, admiring the scenery, and chatting familiarly with the peasantry. In the good old Orange times it was, certainly, different. The judge was then accompanied in all his movements by a strong military force, and his coming was dreaded as the harbinger not only of death to some imprisoned wretches, but of foul and furious weather to the whole county.

But this much-enduring people, so submissive to authority, so strenuous in resisting ordinary temptations, so humane and compassionate to one another, so respectful and hospitable to strangers,—this virtuous and patient people suffer their country’s character to be stained with a crime of the most revolting nature. Among them there are men who do not hesitate to commit murder in cold blood—in open day—without a pang of remorse—almost without any dread of punishment, conscious

that they shall be approved and sheltered by the surrounding population. The commissioners say truly—

‘The whole nature of Christian men appears in such case to be changed, and the one absorbing feeling as to the possession of LAND, stifles all others, and extinguishes the plainest principles of humanity.’

How shall we account for this dreadful phenomenon—this fearful perversion of moral feeling? How comes it that if you touch an Irishman’s land, you touch his life, and rouse within him, in many cases, a savage thirst for vengeance which nothing but blood can quench? Why is it that he rushes upon the aggressive landlord or his agent, (or other instrument, such as the incoming tenant,) with a hatred which he feels towards no other human being, kindled often at the shrine of the tenderest domestic affection? How is it that no *honest* man in the country will swear against this murderer, though some worthless person of no character may do so for a reward? And how is it that if convicted, the assassin will die as a martyr, exulting in the deed of blood, like Brutus or Virginius, while sympathizing and applauding thousands deem the gallows honoured by his heroism?

Let it not be supposed, however, that this hatred of landlords is a blind indiscriminating passion. On the contrary, a good landlord, or even one who willingly abstains from doing mischief, is almost idolized by the Irish peasant. When he returns from England, or the continent, after some years of absence, the horses are taken from his carriage, and he is drawn by men under triumphal arches, amidst loud and joyful acclamations to the home of his ancestors. When he comes of age, or brings home his bride, or has an heir born to his house, the rejoicings are, if possible, greater; and bonfires blaze on the surrounding hills. When he passes along the roads, especially if he condescend to utter a civil word to the people, every head is uncovered, every mouth utters blessings on him and his.

What is the conclusion to be drawn from all this? One, we are disposed to think, very like that which the emperor Charles the Fifth drew when he learned from others, and witnessed with his own eyes the fact, that a dog, otherwise uniformly harmless and inoffensive, rushed upon a certain gentleman, the former companion of his murdered master, and would have killed him if not prevented, namely, that the faithful dog had good reasons for his animosity, and that the said obnoxious gentleman had a hand in the murder, which proved to be correct, and he suffered accordingly. For, surely, this tremendous mystery is not cleared up by the common place remark, that there are ‘faults on both sides.’ The *system* of landlordism, which has generated such a

moral monstrosity, must have something in it radically vicious. It must involve some glaring violation of equity, some standing outrage on human rights, something from which the natural conscience revolts. If not, how could he who resists it, even by the shedding of innocent blood, stand unabashed in the light of the sun, feeling as if he had done a deed of justice, in obedience to a law stronger than any Act of Parliament.

It is impossible to point out the causes of this horrible anomaly without going back, as the commissioners have done, to the conquest of the country. We must go to the fountain head of the stream of Irish outrage, not only to account for that outrage, but to understand why all attempts hitherto made to give Ireland solid peace have miserably failed, and why British justice has been regarded as nothing better than legalized oppression and plunder.

Those who have read the history of Ireland, (alas how few !) are aware that the conquest of that country was not complete till the time of Queen Elizabeth. A few counties along the eastern coast constituted what was called the English pale ; the rest of the country being still governed by its native chiefs, and its ancient laws. The antipathies of the two races, thus placed side by side in a deadly struggle for the soil, were not at all mitigated by their common creed. The Norman and Anglo-Saxon clergy hated the Irish priests, as cordially as ever the Protestant successors have done since. There were laws made to exclude the 'mere Irish' from the English monasteries and nunneries, from all church livings, and from St. Patrick's cathedral in Dublin ; and this exclusion had the express sanction of the pope who, for bright and solid reasons, was thoroughly devoted to the 'English interest.'

In the reign of Elizabeth, civil war reigned a long time between the invaders and the natives. It was at length terminated by a famine, deliberately planned and 'got up' for the purpose, and so effectual that the sovereign had nothing to reign over but 'carcasses and ashes.' When the inhabitants were thus almost extirpated, and a fruitful land, abounding in corn fields, flocks and herds, and happy homes, was burned up into a desert, and left desolate, Sir George Carew sat down amid the smoking ruins and wrote his '*Hibernia Pacata*.' Never was it said more truly, 'They made a solitude and called it peace.' Confiscation followed of course ; and this led, says the Report, 'In many instances to the possession of large tracts by individuals, whose more extensive estates in England made them regardless and neglectful of their properties in Ireland.'

Desmond's revolt, provoked by the subtle malignity of Ormond and others, gave occasion for the war which issued in the Munster plantation. Proclamation was made in England, offering

the forfeited lands to all who would take them on certain conditions ; the first of which was, that not a single Irish farmer or labourer should be allowed to live on them ! About 200,000 acres were thus disposed of, the old proprietors having been either massacred, starved to death, or driven into the woods or the recesses of the mountains. Sir W. Ralieggh and Richard Boyle, (afterwards Earl of Cork,) were the chief ‘undertakers’ in this district.

In the reign of James the First, six counties in the north were forfeited and ‘cleared.’ More than half a million of acres were thus placed at the king’s disposal. Ages of civil war and confusion naturally involved many Irish titles in uncertainty and irregularity. This was a happy thought to James ! He instituted a ‘Commission for the discovery of defective titles,’ not to restore usurped estates to their right owners, but to seize all himself, and to bestow them on his creatures. Here was a glorious harvest for hungry and speculative attorneys. They pounced like harpies on old records ; and earnestly hunted for flaws, in the hope of sharing the plunder. The head of this infamous commission was Sir James Parsons, an unprincipled man, whose ample share of plunder in the King’s County, is now enjoyed by the Earl of Rosse, the distinguished astronomer.

Charles the First was advised to work out James’s plan, and he had a fit instrument in Wentworth, Earl Strafford, whom the Irish still curse under the name of *Black Tom*. The whole Province of Connaught, it was now determined, should fall to the crown. But all was to be done in due form of law. Defects of title were to be established by the verdict of a jury, and the sentence of a judge. In order to secure the judges, Strafford himself tells a correspondent, he ‘obtained a grant of four shillings in the pound out of the first year’s rent of every estate, vested in the crown by these inquisitions, to the judges, who presided at ‘the trial.’’ An admirable plan, no doubt. He also says, that he took with him ‘to each town where an inquisition was held, 500 horsemen as *good lookers-on*.’ These precautions would have failed, if he had not ‘inquired out *fit* men to serve on juries.’ But when they proved refractory, he had his remedy. They were ‘severely fined, sometimes exposed in the pillory, have had their ears cut off, their tongues pierced, their foreheads branded, &c.’ The Galway jurors were arrested by his authority, and sentenced by the Star Chamber in Dublin to pay each a fine of £4,000, and to acknowledge himself guilty of perjury on his knees. Darcy, the sheriff, was fined £1,000, and died of hard treatment in prison. Concerning him the tyrant wrote thus : ‘I hope that I shall not be refused the life of Sheriff Darcy ; my arrows are cruel that wound so mortally, but it is necessary that the king should keep his rights.’

But this king had actually received £100,000. from the Irish catholics for the concession of certain 'graces,' of which security of property was the most important. He kept the money, but not his promise.

The rebellion of 1641 brought on another *merciless* war. It was ordained by the English parliament that 'no quarter should be given to any Irishman or papist born in Ireland, that should be taken in hostility against the Parliament, either upon the sea or in England.' So determined was Cromwell to conquer and confiscate, that 2,500,000 acres of Irish ground were pledged to those in England who lent money to meet the expenses of the war. In order that this pledge might be redeemed, Ormond, the commander of the Anglo-Irish army, received strict orders 'to burn, waste, consume, and demolish all the places, towns and houses where they (the rebels) had been relieved and harboured, with all the corn and hay there, and also to kill and destroy all the male inhabitants capable of bearing arms.' Sir William Petty calculates that more than half a million of Irish perished by the sword, pestilence, famine, or exile, between 1641 and 1652. Even the *towns* were cleared of the *English* catholics. Sir Charles Coote allowed a few old sickly persons to remain in Galway, on account of the severity of the season, but the council of state directed him to take care that they should be removed as soon as the season would permit.

Three-fourths of the country were now nearly vacant. 'This,' says Beaumont, 'was the hideous moment of the civil war, when the division of the confiscated lands was made; it was the moment when cupidity showed itself more odious than even the sanguinary excesses of fanaticism; it was the moment when virtues hitherto unassailable, were corrupted by the chance of wealth. Two classes of people especially profited by the rich spoils: Cromwell's soldiers, that is, those who had served in the army since his landing in 1649, and the speculators and adventurers, who had advanced money to the English government, on the security of the soil of this unhappy country devoted to destruction.'

The following was the distribution among the English:—

	<i>Acres.</i>
Adventurers	787,326
Soldiers	2,385,915
Forty-nine officers	450,380
The Duke of York	169,431
Provisors	477,873
Duke of Ormond and Col. Butler	257,716
Bishops' Augmentations	81,596
Total	4,560,037

Again, when James II. was defeated on the banks of the Boyne, 4,000 catholics, for their royalty to him, were, by the Irish Parliament, declared rebels and traitors, and their property, amounting to 60,000 acres, was confiscated. The result of all these confiscations was, that the Roman catholics were left only the eleventh part of the arable soil of Ireland, and this small portion was concentrated in the hands of five or six catholic families of English descent, 'who, from private considerations, found favour when justice was refused.'

The Cromwellian settlers, constituting the mass of the resident proprietors, and the staple of the Irish Parliament, exercised great influence over the destinies of the country. Their purely religious zeal did not long survive the possession of property and power. They soon forgot their independency and presbyterianism, and conformed to the episcopalian church, as best adapted to the tastes of gentlemen. Many of the soldiers had no religion at all; and no doubt most of them were greatly demoralised by the barbarous license of war. But their zeal for what they called 'the protestant interest' did not abate. Their hatred of popery was as intense and as lasting as their love of property. Their descendents were thoroughly anti-Irish. At once fanatical and profane, fiercely anti-popish, and recklessly licentious, mingling the cruel intolerance of the age, with the passions and vices, which every where and at all times follow in the train of conquest, with them the 'protestant interest' covered a multitude of sins, and became the tyrant's plea for every atrocity. The vast estates of the great English proprietors, disregarded and neglected, were abandoned to middlemen, and managed in the true spirit of protestant ascendancy. Such was the origin of Irish landlordism! Rooted in spoliation, nourished by bigotry and oppression, and protected by British power, its leaves have been, not for the healing, but the poisoning of the nation: no upas ever shed round a deadlier influence.

But what had become of the Irish people, or the remnant of them that escaped the sword and the pestilence? The ancient nobility were nearly annihilated; the most exalted families having been either banished or beggared. The rightful possessors of the soil were driven to the bogs and mountains, or to the most barren wilds of Connaught; for even there they were excluded from the towns, the sea coasts, and the rich banks of the Shannon. Some, indeed, took shelter in the forests, where they lived on the milk of their cows and goats, wallowing in idleness, multiplying prodigiously, and in many places banding themselves together as the famous tories, robbers, and rapparees, who hovered at night, like ghosts, around their ancient habitations, and plundered or murdered the new settlers, as they had

the opportunity. Others forced by hunger from their retreats, offered their services as servants and day labourers, and were employed, of necessity, contrary to the covenants by which the lands were held, because the English undertakers could not get people enough from their own country or from the continent to till the soil. For the same reason, a number of them were allowed to creep into the possession of the small holdings which the strangers found it their interest to let. In addition, there was a mass of vagrant paupers, which, according to the Poor Law Commissioners, has since swelled to nearly two millions. Such were the progenitors of that vast agricultural population, whose wretchedness and patient endurance the Land Commissioners have so earnestly commended to the attention of the legislature. Hence have swarmed forth the multitudinous ragged hosts that have been pouring into the manufacturing towns of England and Scotland, overstocking the market of labour, and bringing down wages almost to the starving point. Is not this a just retribution? And if the prolific pauperism, and ignorance, and superstition of Ireland were to fasten upon England like a visitation of locusts, consuming every thing clear of the soil, would it not be still more just? Is it possible that the Judge of all the earth will allow to go unpunished the atrocious, the gigantic wickedness of destroying a whole nation, merely to gratify the lust of plunder? Did any christian people ever do the like against christian, before or since, in any part of the world? Surely the space left for repentance ought to be diligently employed!

It may be said that the Irish chiefs *rebelled*. Well, what if they did? They struggled to regain their liberty and property, which Britons, in like circumstances, would be the first to do, and which, in any other part of the world, would meet with their cordial sympathy. But supposing the revolt of the chiefs to have been in every instance causeless and culpable, was it not enough to punish *them*? Why immolate the innocent people in hecatombs? 'The Irish chiefs,' says Dr. Cooke Taylor, 'possessed *suzerainite* but not the *property* of the soil; consequently (their) guilt, though ever so clearly proved, could not affect the right of their feudatories who were not even accused of treason. The English law of forfeiture, in itself sufficiently unjust, never declared that the interests of innocent tenants should be sacrificed for the rebellion of the landlords; it only placed the king in the place of the person whose property had been forfeited, and left all the relations of the tenantry unaltered. Yet, were all the actual holders of land in these devoted districts dispossessed, without even the shadow of a pretence; and this abominable wickedness is even at the

present day eulogised by many as the consummation of political wisdom.*

Let this important distinction not be forgotten. The ancient inhabitants of Ireland were *bona fide* proprietors of the soil from which they were 'cleared off;' and whenever, to this day, they get possession of any portion of it, this hereditary, inherent feeling of proprietorship works in them with all the force of instinct; though, with hardly any exceptions, they are quite willing to pay a fair rent. They would now be perfectly satisfied with what is called in Ulster, 'the *Tenant Right*,'—of which we shall speak presently.

Another powerful cause affecting the tenure of land in Ireland has been referred to by the commissioners, who merely glance at it, and no wonder, for it is a very painful topic to any one of right feeling. We, too, shall pass quickly over it. They tell us that the *penal laws*, 'both in their enactment and in their subsequent relaxations, have affected materially the possession of occupier and proprietor. They interfered with almost every mode of dealing with landed property by those who professed that (the Roman catholic) religion, and by creating a feeling of insecurity, directly checked their industry.'

This feeling of insecurity arose from the fact that a Roman catholic could not legally hold property, from the demoralizing encouragement held out to 'discoverers,' and to interested recantations on the part of catholic children, the reward of which was their father's estate; and from the various operations of a code framed with diabolical ingenuity to turn the hearts of the children against their parents, to plant distrust and hatred in the bosom of families, and to make religion the pretext of all that is dishonest, perfidious, and base. Hence, according to the inveterate prejudice of the great bulk of the people, protestantism draws its chief nourishment from corruption, and never makes a convert without destroying a conscience. 'Woe be to them by whom the offence cometh.'

After eighty years of unquestionably the most degrading bondage that ever cursed a nation, succeeding immediately on its final subjugation, these detestable laws began to be relaxed. We may judge of their pressure from the nature of the relaxation. 'Among the many measures professedly for the improvement of Ireland,' say the commissioners, 'an Act was passed in 1771, which allowed Roman catholics to take a lease for sixty-one years of not less than ten acres, or more than fifty, of *bog*! with only half an acre of arable land for the site of a house, but not to be situated within a mile of a town; and if it was not reclaimed within twenty-one years, the lease to be void!'

* Beaumont's Ireland by Dr. W. C. Taylor, Vol. i. p. 57.

Such were the tender mercies of Irish landlords and legislators, even when a kind fit came upon them, and they were disposed to loosen their iron bonds. The native population, thus denied the occupation of arable land, had no way left open by which they could better their condition. On every side they were shut in to abject poverty and hopeless slavery. Education could neither be given nor received on pain of banishment or death. They were not admissible to the bar, nor to the army, nor to the navy, nor to the excise. They were not allowed to carry a gun. From the guilds and trades all catholics were excused by peremptory laws. Not one of their children could be an apprentice to any handicraft, except the vile one of brogue-making. Accordingly, when British jealousy and monopoly demanded and obtained of William and his parliament the destruction of Irish manufactures, and the English, Scottish, Flemish, and French colonies were thereby impoverished and scattered abroad, not a trace of their industrial skill remained behind! They carefully kept, and took away with them the secrets of their trades. This cruel exclusion was, strange to say, encouraged and required by the English lords of the soil, and indeed the same spirit has always and in every thing marked their infatuated policy. Had it been otherwise, in this instance, Irish trade might have struggled successfully against stupid legislation, and there would have been a home market created for the finer fabrics that issued from the looms of Dublin and of the southern towns.

A new era now began to dawn on the world. The American revolution awakened amidst the mountains and glens of Ireland the shout of liberty. The volunteers rose to arms 100,000 strong; and while they discussed the rights of man, and demanded 'national independence, or else ——,' the clanking of catholic chains made them ashamed of their inconsistency. Hence, 'in 1782, they were allowed to acquire freehold property for lives or by inheritance; and in 1793 was passed a further enactment, which materially affected the position of landlord and tenant. *The 40s. franchise* was by that Act extended to Roman catholics; the landlords and the middlemen then found the importance of a numerous following of tenantry, and subdivision and subletting, being by this law indirectly encouraged, greatly increased. The war with France raised considerably the profits of the occupier, who was thus enabled to pay a large rent to the mesne lessee. These causes produced throughout the country a class of intermediate proprietors, known by the name of middlemen, whose decline, after the cessation of the war, and the fall of prices in 1815, brought with it much of the evils we have witnessed of late years. Many who, during the

long war, had amassed much wealth, had become proprietors in fee; others, who had not been so successful, struggled in after years to maintain a position in society which their failing resources could not support. Their subtenants were unable to pay '*war rents*.' The middleman himself, who had come under rent during the same period, became equally unable to meet his engagements. *All became impoverished*; the middleman parted with his interest, or under-let the little land he had hitherto retained in his own hands; himself and his family were *involved rapidly in ruin*. The landlord, in many cases, was obliged to look to the occupier for his rent, or, at the expiration of the lease, found the farms covered with a *pauper*, and, it may be, a *superabundant population*. Subsequently, the Act of 1829 destroyed the *political value* of the 40s. freehold, and to relieve his property from the *burden* which this chain of circumstances brought upon it, the landlord, in too many instances, adopted what has been called the 'clearance system.'

And yet we are told by the commissioners that Irish landlords have not usually acted from 'political motives!' Why, then, when the 40s. franchise was extended to Roman catholics, did they crowd their estates with a pauper population, running up mud cabins innumerable, and thinking of nothing but the *vote*?

Again, when this franchise was abolished in 1829, why did they all at once begin to groan under this 'burden,' and to feel so humanely that the good of the population itself required that it should be thinned?

Truth compels us to say, that hitherto their conduct as a body has been exceedingly selfish. They not only quartered *their own* church upon the Roman catholic and presbyterian population, but when they found it their profit to turn the largest and best portions of their lands into grazing (thereby depriving their poor tenantry of the only available employment), they made a law which threw the burden of tithes entirely on the miserable patches of tillage occupied by Roman catholics, and to this monstrous injustice they added the horrible scourge of tithe proctors. What must have been the state of a country, without trade, without an enlightened middle class, or any wholesome public opinion, and almost without a single pious clergyman, in which men actuated by such a spirit had the making, administration and execution of the laws in their own hands? Faction, bigotry, and licentiousness reigned everywhere uncontrolled. There was absolutely no law for the poor man. Even bribes, though greedily clutched, could not procure him justice; for the magistrate, who acted secretly and irresponsibly in his own parlour, could not issue a summons or

a warrant against a '*gentleman*' without expecting a challenge in return. Hence Irishmen were horsewhipped more frequently, and with far more impunity, than dogs. The man who does not remember the slavish spirit engendered in the Irish people by conquest, bad landlords, oppression, semi-starvation, and the penal code, can never rightly estimate the effect produced by Mr. O'Connell's thirty years' agitation. This, combined with education and temperance, has produced the change, so bitterly lamented by the whole tribe of *Valentine M'Clutchies*:—'They do not slink aside when they meet you now; on the contrary, they stand erect and look you fearlessly in the face.' Can we wonder that under the ascendancy, *regime* secret societies and agrarian outrages were rife?

Many obvious causes have contributed of late years to 'civilize and christianize' the Irish gentry. It is still, however, a point of policy with them to keep their tenants at their mercy. Their own commission, while in words defending or excusing them, has been obliged to admit facts which prove their hankering after irresponsible power, though at the expense of the public peace, and in many cases, to the danger of their own lives. It is admitted that of late years many landlords have declined giving leases; and it is notorious that this is done from political motives, because the lease would confer the franchise, and the landlord might not be able to control the vote. This feeling has, in fact, led to something very like a conspiracy to subvert the power of the liberal party, by neutralizing the Reform Bill. By this means the aristocracy are enabled to make members of parliament just as the prime minister makes bishops, by giving to their serfs a *congé délire* in favour of their own candidate, quite irrespective of popular rights and constitutional principles.

But this is not the worst. No sensible man will expend labour or any other capital in improvements, if possession is *insecure*. Now it is a fact admitted by the commissioners, that the majority (we believe an overwhelming majority) of the Irish farmers are *tenants at will*. What *that* means will be seen by an extract from their Report:—'As connected with the ejectment system, we have to notice a practice which prevails in some parts of the country, of serving *periodically, notices to quit upon large numbers of tenants*, holding from year to year, *not with any fixed intention of proceeding upon the notices, but in order to keep up a continual power over the tenant*, in case he should not pay his rent, *or otherwise misconduct himself*, and which may be acted upon from *caprice*, or in case of *offence* given by the tenant, in some matter *wholly unconnected* with the occupation of his land.'

Again we ask the reader, can we wonder if in these districts the tenants should sometimes have recourse to a law of their own? Think of the nature of this terrible landlord power in Ireland, continually held over the wretched family:—it is the power of life or death. Alas, how often has it been exercised from caprice, or revenge, especially for political offences! There have been cases where landlords have themselves gone up to the top of a cabin in a fury, to tear off the roof with their own hands over the heads of the wretched inmates. The commissioners justly remark, that the manner of effecting an ejection often aggravates the calamity. ‘Arrangements hastily adopted, and rules arbitrarily laid down,’ with language harsh, fierce, and contemptuous, sow the seeds of vengeance in the heart of many a homeless and penniless outcast—and that, too, ‘in a country where land alone affords a permanent security for food.’ It is well known that the ‘clearances’ have been going steadily on since 1829.

‘It would be impossible for language to convey an idea of the state of distress to which the ejected tenantry have been reduced, or of the disease, misery, and even vice, which they have propagated in the towns wherein they have settled; so that not only they who have been ejected have been rendered miserable, but they have carried with them and propagated that misery. They have increased the stock of labour, they have rendered the habitations of those who received them more crowded, they have given occasion to the dissemination of disease, they have been obliged to resort to theft and all manner of vice and iniquity to procure subsistence; but, what is perhaps the most painful of all, *a vast number of them have perished of want.*

‘Your committee cannot help hoping and believing that the foregoing powerful statement is one which describes an extreme case; still, there can be no doubt, that in making a change, in itself important and salutary, *a most fearful* extent of suffering is produced.’

After quoting this and other similar passages the commissioners say—‘We feel the impossibility of providing any direct remedy by legal enactment for the suffering described in the preceding extracts. The evil arises from the abuse of a *right*, of which the existence is essential to the maintenance of property.’

Such is the result of this expensive commission and of a dozen others that have gone before it. The evils are notorious and intolerable, but no remedy can be applied, because it would interfere with the rights of the landlords, or the rights of the church! They are as prone to abuse their rights as a slave master; they have been abusing them for ages without shame or remorse, and have produced an amount of evil, physical and moral, unequalled

in any civilized country, and yet even the omnipotence of Parliament can provide no remedy. Are there no rights, then, but those of the ten thousand men who happen to be proprietors? Must the peace and prosperity of nine millions be sacrificed to them? The French Jesuits admit that the safety of the people is the supreme law;—but they say, the safety of the people means the safety of the *monarchy*. It is thus that our commissioners expound the doctrine of human rights. The landlords are the state.

They tell us, however, that ‘instances are to be seen in every part of the country, of estates upon which the liberal conduct and active superintendence of a resident landlord, or of a resident and judicious agent, have established a system of progressive improvement to the land, and of increasing comfort to the people, which are unfortunately wanting in many other districts.’ Does not this well known fact, visible to every traveller, show that it is not the *people* who are to blame for the misery and distraction of the country? Bad characters there will be in every community. But independently of race or creed, the mass of the population can, as easily as any other on earth, be made comfortable and contented. They are susceptible of the influences of civilization, and will be wanting neither in perseverance nor skill, if you secure to them the fruits of their industry. But what can the poor people do in their present unprotected condition? Hard-hearted, bigoted, and abusive agents, grind their faces, and wound their feelings, screwing up rents to the highest point to feed the vices of absentee spendthrifts, and extorting bribes for themselves and their underlings, into the bargain; for though the commissioners think that this practice has nearly died out, we can assure them that it has flourished to the present time on the estates of the very best absentee landlords (some of whom they have visited), and to an extent, too, almost incredible; and in connexion with this system of bribery, there has been the more infamous corruption of female virtue—wrought upon in the hour of domestic agony, when the bailiffs were in the house, and the sheriff at the door! Quite as oppressive, though not so powerful, are the middlemen, struggling to keep up the appearance of fashionable gentility, aping the airs of the aristocracy, but resembling them in nothing but their arrogance and idleness—indeed, in these respects they exceed them.

How can improvements go on where embarrassed and hungry proprietors can seize upon the growing crops, and put keepers on the premises till they are ripe? Where an execution may be legally levied without notice for what, or how much!—where the defaulting middleman and head landlord may come down

upon the occupier with a double process of distress!—where the costs of distraining are unlimited by law!—where the tenant has not the power of getting back his property after a seizure is made, though he tender the rent or security for it!—and where he is now obliged to pay it often to the day, or before due, through the ruinous system of loan funds, which, including interest, fines, loss of time, and the usurious demands of private money-lenders, involves him in a loss of 25 per cent., and is reducing large districts to bankruptcy!

For these crying evils the commissioners suggest some very mild and superficial remedies. Indeed they never go beyond the surface of any thing. 'The report is as timorous in principle as it is feeble in talent. They dare not probe the sore; they would only lightly heal it, leaving the constitutional virus to work inward still. For the absentee 'drain,' the middleman's rack-renting, and the fell power of sweeping whole villages from the face of the country, and driving out the inhabitants to perish or plunder—for these they '*feel the impossibility* of providing any direct remedy by legal enactment!'

In nothing is the animus of the commission more apparent than in their treatment of the 'TENANT-RIGHT' in Ulster. When that province was 'cleared,' it was 'settled' by a colony of protestants, chiefly Scottish. The land was then regarded as the poorest in the kingdom; it is now by far the most improved. To this several causes have contributed:—the landlords were of the same race and creed with their tenants, and felt a common interest with them, and were generally resident in their midst. The linen trade has flourished among them all along, having happily escaped the blow which annihilated the woollen trade in the south. The sturdy yeomen, who first came over with the undertakers, exulting in the manly independence which the bible inspires, felt justly that, having spent their capital and their labour in reclaiming land, and building and planting on it, they derived thereby a property in the soil, quite separate from that of the landlord, independent of him, and his leases and covenants, and saleable as a fee-simple estate. This tenant-property has descended down, intact, to the present day, unguaranteed, it is true, by state law, but jealously guarded by public opinion, and by what one of the witnesses calls an 'agrarian law.' This right sells at from £5 to £20 an acre. According to Lord Londonderry's agent, Mr. Andrews, the value on that estate averages £10 an acre. Throughout the province the average may be about £6. No matter how much a man may have neglected his farm, or how deeply he is in arrears; if ejected, the landlord must deduct from the rent due the fair value of the tenant right.

As this is a curious and interesting subject, which will be much agitated in Ireland, we give a portion of the evidence regarding it by Sir Robert Ferguson, M.P., one of the land commissioners, who with Mr. Senior was examined before the Town Land Valuation Committee in June, 1844.

‘ You mean a *practice* called tenant-right, not an actual right ?— I mean the practice called tenant-right. With us it is now so established that I consider it will be almost impossible for any landlord to break it through without giving rise to very great difficulties and disturbances in the country.

‘ Could a tenant sell land for which he has no lease ?— ‘ The sale is almost always of land without a lease. I consider that the character of the landlords has more to do with the price of it than has the question of lease or no lease. Of course a lease at a low rent would sell for more ; but a lease on one estate will not sell for more than land without a lease upon another.

‘ Would you say that the custom may, to a certain extent, have originated in any improvements on the farm having been made by the tenant, rather than the landlord ?— The custom, some people affirm, originated in the original settlement of the north of Ireland, when the parties who came over at the settlement of that country were feudal dependants upon the person called the Undertaker. There is an attempt made to trace the tenant-right, as it is called, to something of that kind. It has been continued, because it was thought equitable where the tenant did all the enclosures, where he did the building of the houses, the repairs of the houses, and every thing of that kind, that he was fairly entitled to something or other if he left the farm for any reason whatever ; but as at present with us it is a payment made for the possession of the ground, whether the man has improved the houses or not, whether the land is improved or not.

‘ Under those old tenures, in the first instance, was it not necessary for the tenant to be a protestant ?— In a great number of instances it was necessary for him to be a protestant ; but in the early settlement of Londonderry, which was, I presume, intended to be as protestant as any other settlement of the kind, there were grants made to persons denominated innocent papists, and arrangements of that kind, which showed that it was not intended exclusively for protestants, and I believe that some of the districts of the north of Ireland were settled by Roman catholics from Scotland.

‘ Still that which you refer to must be taken to be a rent connected with a fine which the tenant may be presumed to have paid in respect of that tenant right ?— I do not think it fairly can, for it is the possession of the land that sells ; in districts of the country you will find the tenant-right running up to 8*l.*, 10*l.*, or 15*l.* an acre, when the landlord cannot raise his rent 1*s.*’

The following answers were given by Mr. Senior, an intelli-

gent and impartial witness, acquainted with the south as well as the north :—

‘ It is found, in fact, that as the rent rises the tenant right falls in amount?—It does, unquestionably.

‘ And does the amount of tenant right bear any proportion to the fixed capital invested upon the farm, in buildings or in drainage?—It varies with the rent, it varies with the state of cultivation of the farm as compared with the rent, and with the amount expended upon the land, including all improvements upon it.

‘ Has it in any degree, as far as you are aware, allusion to the tenant having been left by the landlord to make permanent improvements, such as those upon buildings, and the drainage and fencing of the farm?—I think it but fair that where everything which is done by the landlord in England, is done by the tenant in Ireland, the out-going tenant should receive the value of the capital which he has laid out; AND I ATTRIBUTE ALMOST ENTIRELY TO THE CUSTOM OF TENANT RIGHT, THE ABSENCE OF AGRARIAN OUTRAGE IN THE NORTH, AS WELL AS A MUCH HIGHER CULTIVATION IN THAT PART OF THE COUNTRY.’

‘ Supposing that a landlord in the north of Ireland is obliged to evict his tenant by a process of law, and that the tenant does not sell his tenant right, or cannot sell his tenant right, would not the landlord be considered fully at liberty to let his land at a higher rent than the former tenant had paid for it?—He would not. He would allow the out-going tenant the full value of his tenant right, deducting the arrears due to him as a landlord, and would then re-let the land on the same terms as before.

‘ It would not in any case be added to the rent?—It would not.

‘ Would he receive from the incoming tenant the tenant right he deducted the arrears from?—Yes: in other words, if the tenant had to receive for ten acres of land £50 as tenant right, and he owed to his landlord £30, he would be allowed to receive £20 as the difference due to him.

‘ Then what would be the course the landlord would take with regard to the incoming tenant to whom he would fresh let the land?—, He would charge him precisely the same rent as the outgoing tenant paid.

‘ Then would he ask from the incoming tenant the same he had received from the man he had ejected?—He would allow the outgoing tenant to make his own bargain with the incoming tenant, and he would not interpose further than by exercising a veto, if he had any personal objection to the incoming tenant.

‘ Do I understand from you that the landlord does not actually choose the incoming tenant, but it is a bargain between the man who is ejected and the man who is coming in?—Entirely so: the usual form which appears is an advertisement, headed ‘Farm for Sale,’ issued by the outgoing tenant who is in want of a purchaser. Under this system, therefore, there are almost no arrears of rent.

‘ That is called ‘Farm for Sale’?—Yes.

‘ Even though the tenant has no lease?—Yes.’

In page 546 of the first volume of the Evidence, Mr. Andrews gives the following testimony :—

‘ With regard to Lord Londonderry’s estate, can you state the usual amount of the purchase of the tenant right?—Yes, I can. I would give, as the average, £10 the English acre; the tenant right will sell for that, with or without a lease.

‘ Is there much difference?—Very little: I would almost say, none.

‘ Has the tendency to curtail tenant right been received with dissatisfaction by the country?—I think so; materially so, in some cases.

‘ Do you think that curtailment of the tenant right can be carried out without danger to the peace of the country?—*I am sure it cannot. You would have a Tipperary in Down if it was attempted to be carried out.*

J. Lindsay, Esq., is asked :—

‘ Is the tenant right or sale of good-will prevalent in the district, and to whom is the purchase money paid?—It prevails in the district; the tenants who have held the land think they have a right to dispose of the land when they are going to leave it; he thinks always he has a right to do so, and very reasonably, I think.

‘ Is it generally recognized by the landlords?—*Some recognize it, and some do not*; and where they do not recognize it, and set their face against it, they are very generally defeated, and have been obliged to do it, *after risking life, in some instances, in my neighbourhood.*

We see how deeply rooted this right is in Ulster. There is exactly the same feeling among the tenantry of the south, as we have already remarked; and it is quite clear from this evidence, that if the right were disallowed in Ulster, as it is in Munster, Down and Antrim and Armagh would be as bad as Tipperary for agrarian murders. Without this right, and the advantages it entails, we have no doubt that the poverty and degradation which have overtaken the protestant tenantry in other parts of the country, would have settled in this province too. Security of tenure has led to all kinds of improvement; the effect of which is delightful to the traveller, when he reaches Newry on his way to Belfast. Without this property in the soil, neither religion, nor blood, nor imported habits, would have made that district what it is.

Now one should think, that here was the state of things the commissioners were in search of: not a levelling theory, or an abstract principle, but a right actually enjoyed for 200 years,—a relation between landlord and tenant, which has worked admirably for the peace, prosperity, and social order of the province where it prevails. The best landlords there do not complain. The Marquis of Londonderry, not long since, at a meeting of his tenants in County Down, boasted of its beneficial effects, and recommended its adoption in other parts of Ireland.

But strange to say, these commissioners see nothing but 'danger to the just rights of property, from the unlimited allowance of this tenant right.' Yet they are forced to add:— 'Anomalous as this custom is, it must be admitted that the district in which it prevails has thriven and improved in comparison with other parts of the country.' Yes; and Mr. Senior, a better judge than any of them, attributes 'almost entirely to this custom the absence of agrarian outrage in the north, as well as a much higher state of cultivation in that part of the country.'

Notwithstanding all this, the commissioners are very anxious that it should be abolished, if that could be safely done; for 'evils more immediate and of still greater magnitude would result from any hasty or general disallowance of it.' Therefore they rejoice that 'proprieters generally have been enabled to place a restriction on this tenant right, so far, at least, as to secure a power of selection with respect to the tenant, and to place some limit on the amount to be paid.'

'Danger to the rights of property!' Where is the danger? Surely the evil has had time enough to show itself since the plantation of Ulster! They have found a part of the country, in which alone the relations between landlord and tenant are *not* the cause of strife, misery, and murder: they have evidence that this happy exemption is due almost entirely to this very tenant right; and yet it is condemned as anomalous and dangerous,—a thing which the legislature should destroy as quickly as they dare, the landlords, meantime, managing to neutralize it as far as possible. We hear much of vested rights and vested interests, and the necessity of protecting them; but is it only to the rights and interests of the aristocracy that this principle is to be applied? Why should not the tenant right be as sacred as the landlord right, particularly when it can plead as old a title? The one had its origin, in many cases, in unjust confiscation and wholesale plunder, never redeemed by the duties which property devolves on its possessors; while the other has grown out of the investment of capital from year to year for ages, without which investment the land would be worthless. The landlord loses nothing by this right: he gets a fair rent, *always paid up*; for the purchase money goes to clear off the arrears. Why, then, should he complain? Wherein is he aggrieved?

The Town-Land Valuation of Ireland has prepared the way for legislation on this vital question. That valuation has rated the rent higher than is usually charged by good landlords. Why not pass a law which would fix this valuation as the *maximum* of rent; extending the tenant right to Leinster, Munster, and

Connaught, and enabling the tenant to purchase it in cases where the landlord is not willing to bestow it freely? If this were done, and if the elective franchise were put altogether out of the landlord's power, either by requiring him to grant a lease to every tenant, or by rendering leases unnecessary, it would do more to tranquillize and enrich the country than all the measures ever yet passed for the benefit of Ireland. If granted in time, it may prevent much evil: without it, nothing else can do much good. It would 'cleanse the foul bosom of the perilous stuff,' which renders all wholesome food nauseous and useless. Will the state doctor prescribe it?—We fear not.

But surely he will not follow the advice of these commissioners, and spoliage the property of the Ulster tenantry! What have they done to deserve this forfeiture? Are they to be plundered of that which has enabled them to make their province the happiest in Ireland? The commissioners recommend that the out-going tenants in the other provinces should be allowed three years' rent at the utmost for improvements, provided the landlord has been consulted about them and approved of them, or allowed them to be made. If this be adopted, and made the law of the land, while it would confer a slight boon on other parts of the country, it would give the people of Ulster only 5s. in the pound of *their* 'just rights.'

Such wrong would never be submitted to by the sturdy presbyterian; and if Sir Robert Peel attempt to enforce it, he will not only make a Tipperary of Ulster, but will drive its protestant tenantry into the ranks of Repeal.

Brief Notices.

Report of the Proceedings of the Protestant Dissenters' Anti-Maynooth Conference, held at Crosby Hall, London, May 20th and 21st, 1845. With a correct List of Delegates and Ministers. 12mo., pp. 83. London: 5, Aldine Chambers.

We strongly recommend to every dissenter the immediate and attentive perusal of this report, of one of the most important Conferences ever held. We term it so deliberately, and with a full confidence in the truth of our statement. The spirit of the men who assembled, their clear conception of the bearing of their principles, their strong attachment to them, and their determination to follow them out honestly, constitute the Crosby-Hall Conference, a signi-

ficant sign of the times, to which all would do well to give heed. The speeches have in general been corrected by their authors, and a full list is given of the Ministers and Delegates who attended. The whole history and mystery of the matter is thus disclosed, in honourable contrast to the course adopted by other parties. The *Report* is published at sixpence, with a view of securing an extensive circulation.

We cannot of course allow this opportunity to pass without briefly adverting to the strange things which have recently been said at Dublin by gentlemen who professed to speak the sentiments of English dissenters. That Sir Culling Smith should be inaccurately informed on this point is not matter of surprise, as his connexion with us is but recent, and his acquaintance by no means extensive ; but that Mr. Tidman, on whose report Sir Culling acted, should have mistaken, or at least have led his inquirer to mistake, the opinion of a section of the ministers of London, for the opinion of dissenters generally, is, we confess, somewhat strange, and passes our power of explanation. Sir Culling affirms that 'Crosby Hall did not represent the feelings of the dissenters of England,' and refers, in justification of his absence, to the opinion obtained for him by Mr. Tidman from the leading dissenting ministers in London. Mr. Tidman's explanation is now before the public, and we leave it with our readers to determine how far the course pursued has been consistent with fair dealing, or in harmony with the principles professed.

Of Mr. Blackburn's speeches at Dublin we feel it difficult to speak in terms compatible with the personal esteem in which we hold him. He knows, or ought to know, the dissenters of England well ; and yet, strange to say, he affirms things respecting them which we have no hesitation to declare are utterly without foundation. We can make allowance for the suspicious associations in which he found himself, and know something of the morbid excitement to which he has surrendered his better judgment ; but that the 'great body of the dissenters of England' should be represented as having 'made up their minds,' to vote for an anti-Maynooth *conservative* candidate, in case a man of their own sentiments should not present himself ; that their opinions should be affirmed not to be in accordance with the views expressed at the Crosby Hall Conference ; that it should be said of them that 'the great body' were prepared to cooperate with the parties assembled at Dublin ; that they 'had been much deceived with regard to the state of the established church in Ireland ;' and that, in fact, 'the protestant voluntaries of England had been humbugged' by their Roman catholic friends ; these are things so strange and unaccountable, that if Mr. Blackburn had not admitted the correctness of the *report* whence they are written, we should believe that an enemy had interpolated it. That he avowed his independency was only giving a greater power of mischief to his statements. We should have cared little about them, should have referred to them only as proofs of folly and ignorance, had he not been known as one of ourselves, and received by his Orange auditors as the

exponent of our views. It was this fact that gave a virulence of evil to his representations, to which we have met with nothing parallel in the history of recent times. If he and others really doubt the sentiments of English dissenters on the point in dispute, let them name the mode by which such sentiments can be best ascertained, and we are willing to try the question with them. We care not what be the mode adopted, only let it be simple, direct and open, and we are confident of a triumphant issue.

The Falls, Lakes, and Mountains of North Wales. By Louisa Stuart Costello. With Illustrations, by Thomas and Edward Gilks, from Original Sketches by D. H. M'Kewan. London: Longman and Co.

AN elegant volume, in which the fair author and the artists have successfully striven for the amusement and information of the reader. Tradition and history, the ideal and the actual, scenery as varied as fancy can paint, and social life and national manners, strikingly diversified and picturesque, are grouped together in a style, easy, flowing, and attractive. Such of our readers as have not had the opportunity of viewing the scenery of North Wales for themselves, should procure the volume; and others who have been more fortunate, may renew their impressions, and call up afresh the pleasurable emotions of former days, by its perusal.

Vacation Rambles and Thoughts: Comprising the Recollections of Three Continental Tours, in the Vacations of 1841, 1842, and 1843. By T. N. Talfourd, D.C.L. 2 vols. 12mo. London: Moxon.

THE name of Serjeant Talfourd will be a sufficient guarantee for the literary reputation of these volumes. We have read them with much pleasure, and while dissenting from a few of the opinions expressed, and deeming some of the views broached, both hasty and partial, we can cordially recommend them to the perusal of our friends. The regions visited, were the most magnificent in Europe, and few men are more competent to describe them than the author of 'Ione.' We should be glad to transfer several passages to our journal, if the doing so would not necessitate a further delay of a notice which has been already unduly deferred. We must, therefore, content ourselves with this brief, but not less cordial recommendation of the work.

The Young Ladies' Reader; or, Extracts from Modern Authors, adapted for Educational or Family Use. With Observations on Reading Aloud, as connected with social Improvement; and Remarks prefixed to the Divisions of the Work. By Mrs. Ellis. pp. 344. London: Grant and Griffith.

THE contents of this volume, in addition to the introductory paper, on *The Art of Reading Well*, extending to twenty pages, are divided
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into six sections, of which the titles are : Narrative and Descriptive ; Illustrative of Character ; Illustrative of Principle ; Imaginary Scenes and Conversations ; Miscellaneous Pieces ; and Poetry. The nature of the Extracts will be indicated by these titles. They are sufficiently diversified to please various readers, and supply a large fund of sound, healthful counsel, eminently adapted to inform and benefit the young. Few ladies are more entitled than Mrs. Ellis to the gratitude of their own sex.

France Illustrated. Drawings by Thomas Allom, Esq. : Descriptions by the Rev. G. N. Wright, M.A. London : Fisher, Son, and Co.

ITALY, Switzerland, Turkey, Greece, and various other lands, have already been illustrated by British art, so as to render their more prominent and picturesque features almost as familiar to our stayers-at-home as to our travellers abroad. It is somewhat strange that *France* should hitherto have been omitted from the catalogue, as it has many historical claims, and some points of scenery, and numerous edifices, ecclesiastical and civil, to which there are few superior in Europe. This omission, however, is now in a fair way of being supplied ; and that, too, in a style worthy of the theme. The work before us—of which the first *Division* only has been published—partakes of the general style of Messrs. Fisher's illustrated works, and cannot fail to be an acceptable visitor in many quarters. It is to appear in quarterly divisions, containing twelve engravings, at six shillings ; or in monthly parts, at two shillings each. The literary department will furnish much interesting matter, illustrative of the traditions, history, architecture, habits, and social condition of the country ; while the *illustrations* will give a vividness and reality to the conceptions not otherwise to be attained. We welcome the publication as both useful and ornamental, and recommend it as such to our readers.

Studies in English Poetry ; with Short Biographical Sketches and Notes Explanatory and Critical. Intended as a Text-Book for the Higher Classes in Schools, and as an Introduction to the Study of English Literature. By Joseph Payne. London : Relfe and Fletcher.

THE success of the editor's former volume, entitled 'Select Poetry for Children,' has induced him to attempt something of a higher order. The volume before us is the result, and it is greatly to the credit both of his judgment and of his taste. The title selected is somewhat too ambitious, and the ordinary fault of editors is occasionally visible in the unnecessary multiplication of notes ; but the selection itself is both extensive and varied, including many of the choicest specimens of English poetry, and eminently adapted to purify the taste and to invigorate some of the best affections of the

heart. The volume is divided into two parts, the first consisting of miscellaneous poems; and the second, of extracts, chronologically arranged, from Chaucer down to Burns, with brief biographical notices and criticisms on the spirit and style of each writer. We can honestly commend the volume to the favour and confidence of our readers.

Lay Lectures on Christian Faith and Practice. By John Bullar. pp. 517. 1844.

WE are sincerely sorry that this volume has not been noticed in our pages before. It is not an ordinary book, nor published under ordinary circumstances. 'Lay Lectures,'—we do not much like the title, but all who know Mr. Bullar will at once ascribe its use to a deep and sensitive humility,—describe a portion of afternoon addresses, delivered during a period of twenty-one years at the Independent Chapel, Above Bar, Southampton, by Mr. Bullar, one of the deacons of the church. So long a course of faithful and disinterested services naturally endeared him to the people, and excited a desire to recognize his worth, and to express their esteem and respect, in some substantial manner. The mode selected was that of presenting him with a sum of money sufficient to secure the publication of such a volume as that before us. A more delicate and honourable tribute, it is not easy to imagine.

We can assure our readers that nothing is lost by these lectures being 'lay.' Had Mr Bullar been a proud, instead of an humble man, we should have suspected him of a desire to stand apart from the ministerial tribe of sermon writers. Certainly, the immense quantities of common-place that are ever coming forth under the name of sermons—as if religion could sanctify even stupidity and nonsense—do not afford any very strong temptation to such men as Mr. Bullar to seek 'identification' with them in any way. He has done wisely in giving to his volume a distinctive title. It deserves it. It is a good book. It has the marks of much learning, and abounds in sentiments of solid wisdom and christian love. It is evangelical in its principles, but the author's 'lay' style has prevented the use of those dry technicalities and set forms of theological thought, which have done so much to conceal the truth, and disgust its hearers.

We cordially commend the volume to all intelligent lovers of the 'Liberty of Prophesying'—to all who wish to see the pulpit more manly, more real, and therefore more useful—to all who can appreciate sound sense, christian disposition, and true learning.

Lectures on Church Government, containing objections to the episcopal scheme. By Leonard Woods, D. D. London: Wiley and Putnam.

HIGH church pretensions, ludicrous as they are any where, are inexpressibly ludicrous in a republican country like the United States, where they appear not as an old excrescence, or a fading relic of the

past, but as an exotic, transplanted from countries where that feudalism and aristocracy which are their natural support, are indigenous. Yet Puseyism has made its appearance in America—a poor borrowed thing, indeed, scarcely more respectable than the titles of military rank which are universally affected, at least in the southern and western states. However, even cast-off clothes may be made to deceive and mislead. We are therefore glad that men of solid worth and true learning have put on their armour against that most flimsy of all sophisms, the apostolical succession, and the divine exclusion of episcopacy. Thus the strivings of error conduce to the furtherance of truth. English theology is already the richer in consequence of this republican Puseyism, inasmuch as Coleman's admirable work 'A Church without a Bishop,' has come to a second edition in this country, (published by Ward). We now introduce to our readers another work on the same subject, which also will, we hope, be speedily reprinted.

The name of the venerable Dr. Woods is a sufficient guarantee of the excellence of these his 'Lectures on Church government.' Nor will his testimony against episcopacy be less powerful, because given in his old age, and even with reluctance. The reader will find in this small volume no hasty collection of crude thought or undisciplined fancies, but the natural fruit of a long, laborious, and holy life. The value of the lectures is enhanced by their having been intended originally for the college hall, in which a good teacher is wont to produce his best thoughts. At the same time the style and manner of treatment are on a level with the capacity of ordinary readers—being simple, unpretending, lucid, and pleasing.

The Piedmontese Envoy; or, The Men, Manners, and Religion of the Commonwealth. A Tale. By Prothesia S. Goss, Author of the 'Philanthropist,' &c. Ward and Co.

'The design of this tale is to present as faithful a picture of the men, manners, and religion of the commonwealth, as the writer's knowledge, and imagination, permitted,' is the modest advertisement; and we are bound to say, that the writer has fulfilled her task with much success. Justice has been done to the character, and actions of the great Protector; the ladies of his family are exhibited in their true light, not as the vulgar, illiterate, and even unprincipled women which Mr. Jesse, in his late miscalled historical work, has chosen, in defiance of all truth, to represent them; and we are also introduced to Milton, Sydney, Sir Matthew Hale, and Colonel Hutchinson, and the delightful Lucy. Much pains and much reading have evidently been bestowed upon this work; and, we doubt not, it will be read with delight by the younger members of our congregations, who, at this time especially, when so many works, similar in character, though widely different in principle, are put forth by the high church party, need such a pleasant incentive as this to urge them to study the works and the history of their illustrious forefathers, the men of the Commonwealth.

Principles of Education practically considered; with especial reference to the present state of Female Education in England. By M. A. Stodart. Seeley. London: 1844.

WE have been delighted with this volume; it is full of that useful but rare quality, sound practical common sense; a book which all those who are engaged in education, especially in that of the fair sex, ought immediately to purchase, mark, learn, and inwardly digest. The authoress has few, if any, crotchets of her own, but discusses the various topics before her in an honest and sensible manner, giving us her opinions and reflections, in a lively and unassuming style. We suppose her to be a member, and lover of the church of England, but her work is free from sectarian prejudice, and the principles she teaches are of vital importance to the honour of our nation, and the progress, within its borders, of the church of Christ. In some few instances we might differ from her in opinion, but we heartily wish that her views generally may be increasingly realized in the education of our fair country-women.

Plutarch on the Delay of the Deity in the Punishment of the Wicked, with Notes. By H. B. Hackett, Professor of Biblical Literature in Newton Theological Institution (U. S.) London: Wiley and Patnam.

There is a healthful rivalry among American scholars which favours activity of mind and increases literary production. There is also a freedom from the shackles of proscription, which allows full scope to the claims of utility. In no one branch of knowledge, so much as in educational literature, is it desirable, nay, necessary, that the claims of utility should be well considered. What an extraordinary fact it is, that the very foundations of a christian education should be laid in a literature which, from first to last, breathes blood, slaughter, revenge. Homer's versification is doubtless unexceptionable, and Livy's narrative fascinating, yet they were both heathens—heathens in spirit and substance in the entire cast of their minds, reflecting a lower order of civilization. Intellectually, indeed, they may aid in forming the taste, but their moral influence is surely very inferior to that which should be brought to bear in the education of christians, and especially of christian ministers.

Entertaining this view, we are glad to find in Mr. Hackett's little volume a step taken in the right direction. Surely something may be done to prevent the materializing tendencies of the ordinary classic authors studied in the course of school and collegiate education; or, if we must still introduce the minds of our youth to a sphere of thought and feeling in which we know there is only a very small portion which comports with the moral and spiritual aims of christianity, then we ought by all means to labour for the counteraction of the lower elements found therein, and at all events introduce our young men as early as possible to writings whose spirit and tenor may prepare them for the higher and purer influences of the

gospel. Some such aim as this Mr. Hackett had in view. His work is designed as a study parallel with the exegetical study of the New Testament. The treatise was chosen because it treats of a question important in itself, and having a direct bearing on religious inquiries.

The author, in addition to the Greek text (well chosen) has given a summary of the argument, and added critical and explanatory notes, in which the student will find acceptable aid. The volume is well printed. We cannot say that the author's style is unexceptionable. As proceeding from a learned professor, we think ourselves justified in measuring it by a high standard, and are therefore disappointed in finding it less excellent than that of the most cultivated pens of the United States. Surely an editor of a Greek classic ought to have known that the word 'conduct,' as used in the ensuing sentence, is an Americanism.

'He would set us an example of the manner in which we ourselves should *conduct* towards those who injure us.'

La Fontaine's Fables. Translated from the French. By Elizur Wright, Jun. With 240 Illustrations by J. J. Grandville. 2 vols., royal 8vo.

THIS translation of a famous book, familiar to us all from childhood, deserves encouragement and friendly criticism. The edition before us, published at Boston, in the United States, will probably be followed by many others. It is therefore important, that the specks, which lessen its value, be removed. The translator's frank address to his 'subscribers,' describes himself as a student; and he will accept cheerfully the suggestions, that many improvements in the style of his work will be the reward of a diligent perusal of our Gay, and Cotton, and the older English writers of Fables. Without finding fault ungraciously with his translation, we strongly recommend him to weed it of numerous colloquial expressions, such as 'Can't you go *a-head*,' in the fable of the Lobster and her Daughter. Even the American phrase seems to be misapplied in this example, but if correctly used, in point of meaning, it is assuredly out of place in point of taste.

In the future editions too, we hope to see some passages in the remarkable preface on the History of Fable, receive the advantage of careful reconsideration. But above all, in addition to the just homage done in it to old Æsop, more even than to La Fontaine, the friend and teacher of our earliest years, we earnestly call upon Mr. Wright to make it known from one end to the other of the Union, that this extraordinary man was a *negro*, and a *slave*. His life by Placiades, which Mr. Wright somewhat rashly asserts to be 'burdened with insufferable puerilities' (Preface, p. xii), establishes both points; and tradition supports the Greek biographer's description of his 'flat nose, thick lips, and elongated head, and black complexion.' These circumstances may be turned to good account with

the young generations in America—the *readers of Fables*—in whose hands lies much of the future fate of *the countrymen of Æsop*, the coloured race in North America.

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THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR AUGUST, 1845.

Art. I. *A History of Greece : by the Right Reverend Connop Thirlwall, Lord Bishop of St. Davids.* In 8 vols. London : Longman and Co.

WE may at length congratulate ourselves on possessing, in our own language, a history of Greece, written with profound and well-digested learning, free from all party bias, executed on an extended scale, and with no small measure of enthusiastic love for the subject : finally, at so moderate a price as to be accessible to most students. Considering the general suffrage which has been given in favour of the work, alike in England and in Germany, we should be undertaking a hopeless task indeed, if we had the least inclination to disparage it ; and, it may rather seem to be our duty to state what are its excellencies, than to rejudge a sentence which has been already pronounced. We do not, it is true, think it to be perfect as a history ; but that is in no small degree due to the extreme difficulty presented by the materials. A large part of the work, in the 4th, 5th, and 6th volumes especially, is, perhaps, more like a store house for some future historian of the same times, than such a history as is pleasant to read : and the complaint of tediousness admits perhaps of no reply, except, that while human affairs are not in every crisis of equal interest, that which is less interesting cannot be omitted, without throwing darkness on the subsequent history. We have ourselves often been disposed to wish that numerous discussions had been thrown into appendices, in order to leave the narrative less embarrassed ; but, probably, no one

except the author, is a fair judge of the opposite inconveniences which this plan would have involved. Made up as a large part of the account is, by piecing together the fragmentary notices of orators and philosophers, with the little trustworthy and sometimes imperfect annals of a Sicilian historian, it was perhaps inevitable, that the first history which should combine into a single point of view all the scattered lights of antiquity, would partake largely of comment, and sometimes of painfully minute discussion; for, on these minutiae, the trustworthiness of the narrative, or the characters of individuals, will not seldom depend. Since Mitford wrote, Greek chronology has undergone a yet more searching examination than before; and, no one has done better service in it than our countryman Mr. Fynes Clinton, whose *Fasti Hellenici* spare a modern historian many doubts, or many dissertations. By the elaborate industry and energetic fancy of a hundred German scholars, a new life has been given to the dead and musty contents of libraries. We believe, however, we are justified in saying, that no history of Greece now exists in German, which can compare with Thirlwall's. Our learned neighbours abound in *monographs* of great value; but a mind was wanting to fuse all into a single system. The coolness and impartiality of an Englishman has now passed the German theories through the sifting of his own comprehensive intellect; and, while never too haughty to accept any of their suggestions, has unceremoniously refused to adopt the partialities or enmities of any, however distinguished.

The problem with which he had to deal, is a most extensive and arduous one. The main cause of the instructiveness of Greek history, is, that Greece, like modern Europe, consisted of many states, which at different eras of time either take the lead or fall into comparative obscurity. A historian of Rome has a single centre which cannot be mistaken,—the city itself; and his work cannot fail of having an obvious unity, however ill it may in other respects be executed. But in Greek history the only unity to be aimed at is of a deeper and (so to say) more spiritual kind.

Hellas, no doubt, was a little world in herself, divided by a tolerably sharp line from *Barbarians*. The Olympic and other national games, recognised the diversity, and helped to establish it more firmly; the poems of Homer and Hesiod, and the music to which they were sung, were still more efficacious in the same direction; though the Dorian and Ionian fashions, were distinguished from each other markedly, in music as in other matters. Hellenic feelings and institutions, both as to politics and religion, pervaded all those states which ever obtained any signal eminence; and the business of the

historian is to put these forward in strong light, with their development in civil and military action : tracing clearly, as far as it can be ascertained, the causes of their rise and fall. The subject is thus variously complicated, and exceedingly difficult to grasp as a whole. If a writer is disposed to delay completing his earlier volumes, until all the study has been ended which is needed for the later, the uncertainty of human life reproves his plan ; yet, unless the whole is first clearly seen, it is impossible rightly to decide on the proportionate space which the parts deserve. If we were to speculate on the best means of perfecting a history, we should prescribe to the accomplished author, in a new edition to remodel rather freely some parts of the work, so as to expunge* discussions which it suffices to have published once, and to reduce all the parts to that proportion which on a final survey of the whole may appear most symmetrical.

From this point of view we are disposed to criticize his treatment of Alexander the Great, and his immediate successors. We cannot convince ourselves, that, in a history of Greece, a fifth part of the space which Bishop Thirlwall has allowed, is deserved by them. Alexander is himself a wonderful phenomenon in history, of whom a *biography* should be studied ; but of his Asiatic career a rapid and succinct sketch would suffice in Grecian history. The quarrel of his generals over the carcase of his kingdom, is a melancholy appendix to his life, which, however appropriate as an introduction to the history of the Ptolemies, or of the Seleucidæ, has very little to do with Hellenic affairs.

Much less do we understand on what principle we have so many details concerning the early Greek philosophy, (in treating which, Bishop Thirlwall has shown how interesting and perspicuous, in a dark and unattractive subject, he can be,) while the Socratic schools, in their various branches, are wholly passed over. It seems to follow, that the author found the subject too large and discursive ; which, however true, forms an equally good reason for reserving the history of the older, as well as of the later philosophy, for its own peculiar place.

As compared with all preceding histories, the fulness of the information concerning the secondary states, is an eminent point of superiority in Thirlwall. Mitford indeed, as his reading was

* There is something particularly disagreeable in the *obscurity* and *indirectness* of the attacks on Mitford, which run through several volumes of Thirlwall's history. If he had quoted Mitford in the usual way, the reader would have been able to refer and examine whether the criticism was sound. We do not ourselves doubt, that Mitford deserved sharper reproof than he has received ; but the manner of administering it has an ungenerous and carping appearance from its backhandedness.

confined within a rather limited range, confined also his narrative to the few leading states of Greece; and, if his work were as impartial and accurate as it is decidedly the contrary, we should still have a very imperfect view of Greece as a whole. Even in Thirlwall we miss something. We should have been glad of more pointed statement or discussion, if the materials are not full enough to allow of positive details, concerning those interesting states, Ægina in the earlier period, Acarnania and Rhodes in the latter. Rhodes indeed vanishes from his pages as if by oversight, so that the reader cannot learn how she fell under the Roman yoke.

Although the characteristic excellencies of the work before us are to be looked for rather in erudition, sound judgment, wise political remark, and philosophic perspicacity, than in vivid description, or kindling sentiment, yet, wherever the sources of information are adequate and consistent, there is a flow and grace in the narrative which makes the book pleasing to an English reader. In fact, in the eighth and last volume,—which relates the melancholy end of Greece, when, after the last attempts at free constitutions, she fell by the fraud and force of savage Rome,—we were agreeably disappointed to find how much of continuous interesting narration it contained. The grouping of the author's pictures is sometimes beautiful; as, in the whole story of the attempts at reform in Lacedæmon, under the ill-fated amiable Agis, and the high-spirited Cleomenes. We are disposed to attribute much of the liveliness diffused through the whole work to the judicious use which has been made of Plutarch's biographies. The old-fashioned writers on Greece, committed the serious error of regarding Plutarch, (as Diodorus,) to be everywhere of equal authority, without discriminating the cases in which their materials were likely to be trustworthy; and, accordingly, gave the highest weight to all their narratives alike. This was coarsely corrected by Mitford, who in a hundred instances went so far as to prefer his own conjectures or fancies, to the testimony of 'late writers,' even when no valid objection to it could be alleged. But Plutarch, judiciously used, is a highly valuable author, for the vividness with which he enables us often to appreciate the persons of the men, whose actions alone, in a rather dry form, present themselves in the professed historians. Thirlwall is not above profiting in such a matter, even by the gossip of Athenæus, though careful to give no intrinsic weight to it. We may add, that although his historical style is rather deficient in warmth, this is, on a candid judgment, attributable to the restraint which he has purposely put on himself, in order to avoid partizanship or national feelings: for from time to time he expresses himself with great depth and point on the moral ques-

tions which the events throw up, and uniformly shows himself a deliberate friend of rational and real liberty, of national independence, and above all, a hater and scorner of oppression. If the feelings of the historian break out less seldom, however that may weaken *our* hearty sympathy with the narrative, it may perhaps on the whole contribute to give it a more widespread influence over minds differently affected.

After these general remarks on the execution of the elaborate work which will long be a standard of reference, we may perhaps be allowed to enter somewhat more into detail concerning a few matters which intimately affected the character of Greek history itself, and some of which are not usually put forward prominently. In tracing back the series of causation to its earliest point, we are led to two primitive facts on which all beside has depended, viz., the physical structure of the land of Hellas, and the temperament, moral and intellectual, of the people; out of which, in combination, their political and religious peculiarities arose. How far their temperament may itself have been indirectly a result of their land, and of the habits which it imposed, is far too difficult a speculation to be here touched. But it is obvious, that a third condition of essential moment entered the problem, to determine the development of the Hellenic nation;—viz., the state of the neighbour countries. This is the disturbing force, which, ever since Rome became powerful, has forbidden Greece any longer to be what once she was. If all the rest of the human race could now be reduced to an inoffensive and ignorant barbarism, it is not a very hardy fancy to believe that a series of phenomena would be exhibited once more in Greece, closely analogous to those which distinguish its early history. But by reason of the minute scale of the geography, Greece can never again play the part which once she did. Her energies are necessarily outweighed by the masses of great nations on all sides of her, by which her own internal actings are controuled almost as imperiously as are any external efforts on her part. This, we believe, is the true and sufficient reason of the difference between ancient and modern Greece.

In early times, when communications were as yet impeded, the formation of extensive monarchies was forbidden by the mountain barriers which cut up the territory into little states. The kings were essentially feudal, and depended on their barons for supplies of men. Their power was not so widely spread, that they had much chance of controuling each refractory chief in turn by the arms of the rest. No such succour to the regal power was found, as the chartered cities of Europe, and the taxes which they paid, furnished to our modern potentates: and

by natural necessity, the Greek kings, who had never been more than 'chiefs among chieftains,' sank into more complete equality with their nobles, the more settled the state of Greece became, and the more the commonalty throve. As it is out of war that the *primacy* of chieftains springs, so it may be expected to decline in time of peace. That this cause was not inoperative, may at least be conjectured from various facts in the early Greek history, which, as far as we know, have not hitherto been duly considered. 1st: during the whole republican period of Greece, monarchy, after the Homeric fashion, continued to prevail in many neighbouring nations, which still remained in an unsettled and half barbarous state; as Molossia and Epirus, Macedonia, Illyria, and Thrace. Some of these may have been opposed to the Greeks in blood and language; but with the majority the difference must have been very slight. 2nd. In Thessaly, which, by reason of its rich soil, had most frequent changes of population, the royal power continued very late and very despotic. That the circumstances were such as to forbid the growth of a middle class, appears from the herd of serfs, called *penestæ*, who characterized this region, with the enormous wealth of a few great houses. This was also accompanied with a proverbial faithlessness of character, assimilating the Thessalian policy to that of Asiatic courts. 3rd. In Peloponnesus, where the Dorian invasion and the lingering struggle consequent on it, besides the after-wars of Lacedæmon and Messenia, kept up confusion for a very long period, royalty survived in both these states, until Messenia was subdued. In Sparta it was tempered to a *diarchy*, jealously limited; yet, as hereditary commander of the army, the king, in time of war, had always considerable power. 4th. In Attica, which, from its barrenness, was little coveted, and where, in consequence, the population was soonest stationary, and foreign invasion unknown, the royal power seems to have first given way. Even in the legendary period of the Trojan war, it is not pretended that any fixed dynasty of kings reigned hereditarily at Athens. Such of them as are not mythical inventions, seem to have been elective chiefs; and after Codrus, the name of royalty vanished. Arcadia, the only other district of Greece, which remained untouched by foreign invasion, exhibits no titular king, as far as we remember, even in the earliest times.

As monarchy had been supplanted by aristocracy, so, in all the maritime cities, the growth of commerce, by raising an opulent middle class, naturally undermined the exclusive dominion, at which the aristocracies, with their usual infatuation, aimed. In fact, there is strong reason to believe that where political communities are on so minute a scale, democracies are a very

natural result. The machinery of government is simple. The people have to choose as a public servant some well known and respected individual, and give him discretionary powers: *they* need only to exercise so much intelligence, as to choose him for moral worth and talent. The rich are too few to make in themselves a powerful order, unless fixed institutions, like the *clientship* at Rome, firmly attach a large band of followers to them. Aristocracies in Greece seldom ventured to allow to the commons the use of heavy arms, or training to carry them; and this entailed a military weakness on such states, in comparison to their whole numbers. The smallness of the communities called out great political energy, by making every individual feel the weight which his own conduct might have: but the evils were also very serious. The comparative ease with which a revolution is effected in a small state, made the ruling power intensely jealous of those who were disaffected to the constitution. Rich men were always dreaded, and therefore generally liable to vexation or oppression from a democracy. Arbitrary banishment (called *ostracism*) was thought a necessary means of saving the state from their possible intrigues. Moreover, local passions and feuds had so much intensity, that the triumph of either party was always a severe social disaster to the other, and generally cruel and sanguinary. The aristocracy being, for the most part, weaker in physical force, was fraudulent, dark, and malicious: the people, being the stronger, was fierce and violent with open force, when once in conflict, but not given to assassination or secret crime. One peculiar cause is said to have exposed a Greek aristocracy to the direct attack of a city populace, and, in many cases, to have led to their destruction, when passions had become fiercely inflamed; viz., that the nobility generally lived in town houses, which, however fortified, were not to be compared to the castles of feudal barons. It seems to us, however, rather doubtful, whether the physical weakness thus incurred by the privileged class produced, in the long run, any result that would not otherwise have come about. In Attica, the aristocracy were greatly attached to a country life; yet the power and influence of their order sank steadily and irrecoverably in a series of generations. For many reasons, this is the most remarkable and instructive country of all Greece; and we must dwell a little upon it.

In one sense, we may say that Attica contained the *oldest* population, being that which had been least affected by foreign action: and when her history first dawns upon us, we find her afflicted with the very evils which distress nations in the latest stage of their history; viz., a feud between the rich and the poor, owing to a population too great for the soil—enormous and hopeless debts

of the lower classes, with outcries for fresh division of property. Through these difficulties Athens was brought, in no small measure, by the wisdom of Solon, her great lawgiver; but the remedies were not finally effectual (probably through the foolish obstinacy of the nobles), until the revolution was carried still further under Cleisthenes, and the constitution came forth as a pure untempered democracy. Hereby many valuable safeguards were lost, and numerous evils, ultimately fatal, were inevitably incurred: yet, under the difficulties of the case, it was probably the best result that could have been attained, and gave to Athens not only a brilliant career of false glory, but for nearly two centuries a large amount of domestic tranquillity and concord. The entire change of constitution brought about, from the heroic monarchy to the unlimited democracy of Pericles, is vast indeed; yet the transition was effected by steps so gradual, and was, as it were, so forced forward by the growth of the nation, and in conformity with their habits, that no savage and unnatural conflicts disgraced the progress of the constitution. The most violent measures recorded, were perpetrated by foreign interference; on one occasion, when the Spartan king Cleomenes banished seven hundred Athenian families (a specimen of the mild methods by which the Spartans kept up oligarchy); on another, when the Thirty Tyrants, upheld by Lacedæmonian power, shed more blood of their own countrymen in ten months of peace, than the Peloponnesians had shed in any ten years of war. In consequence of the long period during which an unchanged population had lived in Attica, without any violent revolution, manners and customs had taken a fixed form almost equalling written law in precision. The complexity and minutements of arrangement in the laws attributed to Solon and Draco, testifies to a great development of legal experience, and shows punctilious and business-like habits to have been common in the community. Perhaps no circumstance more materially affects the good working of complicated institutions, than their having grown up very gradually, so as to form part of the people's daily life. Beyond a doubt, this was a principal cause of the eminence of Athens: add to which, the whole body of the people were constantly called to perform one or other legal function, as jurymen, as arbitrators, as judges (or rather, what we might call *chairmen* of the jury), to say nothing of criminal trials. Besides, in every 'tribe' (which, relatively, may be compared to our *county*), and in every 'parish,' there were various associations in which the sharpness of the common people was exercised, and the art of co-operating politically was learned. A still more important fact lay beneath this, in the consolidation of all Attica into a single civil community; so that

the Athenian power contained the resources and the hearts of a whole *district*, or country, whereas Sparta, Thebes, and the other leading states, were only *cities*. This great advantage enjoyed by Athens, was ascribed by tradition to Theseus, who was said to have incorporated all the country towns into the Athenian franchise. There is ground for suspecting that it was facilitated by the great mixture of population that Attica contained; since, not only did all the Greeks of Achæan (*i.e.*, Ionian) blood, who were driven out from other parts by the Dorians, flock into Attica, but even Pelasgians (*i.e.*, Æolian Greeks?), and in short, the beaten chieftains of every tribe, from early times, take refuge there. In the long lapse of time all were moulded together into a single national temperament, as has happened with so very mixed a race as the modern French. The population of Attica had local legends and associations, but were not so wedded to their localities as to resist that centralization which was needed for full political unity. If certain speculations concerning the races of man be correct, we might even believe that the blending of blood in the Attic people was of physical benefit to their intelligence. Be this as it may, it is gratifying to observe, that with them, as everywhere, *justice was strength*. If the Spartans had imparted their franchise to all Laconia and Messenia, their power would have multiplied tenfold. If Athens had incorporated her subject-colonies with herself, as justice demanded, she would not have fallen as she did. So far as she carried out the principle of her own republicanism, she thrived wonderfully; but she broke it short off, when her power stretched beyond her own territorial limits.

In the later Greek times, several attempts were made at enlarged confederacies. That of the Olynthians, immediately after the great Peloponnesian war, became soon so prosperous by their internal union of interests, as to alarm the Lacedæmonians, then in the height of their power. Treating the free intermarriage of the states as a sort of impiety, they found a pretext for war upon them, and with difficulty dissolved a union which, but for them, would have secured that no Philip or Alexander should dictate to Greece. The far more celebrated Achæan League at one time seemed likely to unite all Peloponnesus. It was crippled by the kings of Macedon and the foolish Ætolians, and was born far too late to acquire a strength that could resist Rome: yet what we see, shows that it was solely by such unions that Greece could have been permanently secured. These Ætolians themselves, in those times exercised an amount of power quite disproportionate to their territory, owing to their being a homogeneous people, possessed of a common franchise. Through a consciousness of their strength, they were remarkably brave, and

conceived a stupid ambition of becoming lords of all Greece. But they were semi-barbarians, who made war avowedly and unscrupulously for the sake of immediate plunder, and soon became the great authors of destruction to the whole nation and to themselves.

If we may digress for a moment concerning the greatest republic which the world has ever seen, it may be remarked, that North America has advanced one step—and a most important one—beyond any that has preceded her, in the entire absence of all conditions that restrict the naturalization of foreigners. Slavery is the great blot of the United States. If we could forget this, we might say, that they had *bond fide* renounced the right of subjecting foreigners to a yoke which they do not bear themselves. Whether they are ever to rule over foreign possessions, and how they will govern them, remains to be seen. No nation on earth, as far as we know, has ever ruled a people of foreign language decently well; but when one country obtains power over another of similar language and habits, it is so easy to amalgamate both into one greater nation, the justice of it is so manifest, and the reward so speedy, that it is lamentable to see how blindly all ancient nations neglected this obvious duty. Hitherto, the United States have shown the fullest disposition to deal on terms of perfect equality to all of Anglo-Saxon blood: moreover, Germans in great numbers are freely naturalized among them. The Athenians were far from having reached the same point of liberality, during the period of their power, towards Greeks who settled among them; yet such immigrants (*μέτοικοι*) were admitted into very many *social*, though not *political* privileges, and altogether enjoyed advantages far greater than in any of the more powerful states. In consequence, great numbers of aliens resided fixedly in Attica, and added no small strength to the community.

We cannot help regretting deeply, that Dr. Arnold has lent the weight of his name to inculcate systematically the excellence of an illiberal exclusiveness, which the whole history of Greece (and of Rome, too) proves to have been eminently mischievous. He is possessed with the idea, that because some races of men are superior to others, therefore it is right for a predominant race to pass laws that give to it a permanent ascendancy in the state; and he tacitly assumes that he has with him the authority of the Greeks in the matter, as though their history warranted us in supposing the practice to have been wise. He puts the argument in the front ground, as a reason for excluding the Jews from the English parliament; because, forsooth, their race is not so good as ours! Now we will pass by the absurdity of forgetting that a Jew has but to

overcome any scruples against uttering the magic words, 'On the faith of a Christian,' and he will at once become admissible, in spite of his bad *breed*: for we are not here pleading that special question: but we say, that Greek states were always weakened by the exclusiveness which Arnold recommends, and strengthened by the liberality which he calls 'Jacobinism.' Certain conditions are, of course, essential, to enable men to co-operate: a jury consisting of Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Germans, with a Spanish judge, and Italian witnesses, would have little chance of getting through a cause satisfactorily. Even a house of assembly mixed up of French and English, or of Dutch and Belgians, can with extreme difficulty keep together. The same embarrassment may *temporarily* arise among men of the same language, in consequence of difference of religion, if one religion has been suffering persecution from the other; but then it is the past injustice which entails the present dangers; it is the exclusiveness, which ought never to have existed, that make the transition into a better state arduous. Nevertheless, that is no reason for a permanent upholding of the injustice. No such cases existed at all in Greece. The dialect of Dorians and Ionians was strongly distinguished, as that of broad Scotch from English; but they were mutually understood with ease. Their prevailing religious institutions differed; but neither had a particle of bigotry against the other. Thus, where no previous oppression had taken place, intimate and perfect political union might have been effected. Even the petty island of Ægina, containing perhaps twelve square miles, much of it mere rock, was, in the early days, which preceded Athenian greatness, of wonderful strength in population and wealth, owing to its free reception of foreigners, and its unrestricted liberty of trade. Ægina is interesting, considering its oligarchical institutions, as showing that great commercial activity and great liberality towards other states, were not, even in Greece, incompatible with oligarchy. The aristocratic Pindar, that great lover of order, concord, and sobriety, praises no state of Greece for these qualities, and generally for justice and good laws, more highly than Ægina:

'Where, eminently among nations, Justice the Saviour is cultivated, who sits on the bench by the side of Jupiter, protector of strangers.'

'Ægina, a common light to Greece, by Justice, which succours strangers.'

'Well governed,' 'Stranger-receiving,' 'Soil dear to strangers,' and other such epithets, are commonly annexed by him to this little island. If physical circumstances could justify any country in being inhospitable, one might think that a rock of the sea,

unable to produce sustenance for its own people, would reasonably have sought to repel strangers from its soil. Nor do we for a moment deny, that self-preservation and good order may require that a small state, which is in danger of being swamped by immigrants of a character heterogeneous to its own institutions, may take means to secure in them some fitness for performing the duties of citizens, before admitting them into full citizenship. This is quite a different thing from exclusion 'on account of blood'; a barrier which angelic virtue could not surmount. However, Ægina prospered by her signal hospitality to such a degree, as to have excited amazement and some incredulity in the moderns. In the two or three centuries which preceded the Persian invasion, it was the most remarkable state in Greece, being comparable only to Venice or Tyre in the nature of its power and wealth. In the middle of the sixth century before Christ, Ægina had a factory for its merchants in Egypt; and, according to some, its slave population was 470,000.* It is, however, probable that the majority of these were imported for re-exportation, and no inference can be drawn as to the number of the free men. The population was fed by corn from the Black Sea, as well as probably from Egypt and Cyrene; and the warlike navy of Ægina was strong in proportion to her commercial fleets. We have no details to inform us distinctly what were the privileges enjoyed by strangers in Ægina; but, having the broad testimony that they were very great, side by side with the prosperous results, we may fairly claim the case as making for our side.

As for Athens, nothing can be clearer than that the foundations of her greatness were laid during the period in which she most freely admitted strangers to a full participation in her civil franchise; and that she undermined her own constitution and the sources of her power by stopping short in the process towards her Ionian allies. Similar remarks (with some modification) may be made concerning Rome. Her greatness during the early regal times was founded on the very free admixture even of nations so heterogeneous as Tuscans and Latins; her extreme weakness in her first republican period rose out of the unjust privileges of the Patrician race; her prime of strength, of internal virtue and of happiness, was after she had abolished distinctions of race at home, and had as yet little foreign domi-

* We take this statement of *numbers* from the 'Penny Cyclopædia,' where it is ascribed to Aristotle, without any more distinct reference. We have not been able to verify it from the ample indexes of Bekker's edition, as republished at Oxford. [In the 1st volume of his new edition, Thirlwall (p. 474) has added a note on the ruins of the harbour of Ægina; in which he quotes from Doctor Alessandro Pini, that its mole is a far more magnificent work than any executed by the Athenians.]

nion; finally, her ruin was assured, and in no small degree caused, by neglecting to admit the Italians at an early period into equal rights with Romans. If Rome had *wished* to do this, a way of obviating practical difficulties would have been found by her as easily as by modern nations.

All the aristocracies of Greece which maintained exclusive privileges for their own blood, were ruined by this very thing; yet there is little doubt that their ascendancy at first arose out of a real superiority of race. Common sense and knowledge of our own world, without any wide induction from history, may assure us, that if a tribe be ever so superior, nothing will more certainly make it degenerate, than to pass laws which shall secure its ascendancy even in spite of such degeneracy. It is like voting to a company of merchants a monopoly of the market, because their goods have hitherto been excellent and cheap;—a short way of securing, that henceforth they shall become dear and bad. This is what will ever come of privileges granted to races of men.

Connected with the unwise and unjust prerogatives of blood, was the restriction on intermarriage, by which they were kept up. Arnold has justly remarked on the vast benefit which Christianity has conferred by abolishing the prejudice against intermarriages between neighbour-tribes and cities; which prevented the states of Greece and Italy from being fused into single nations, and perpetuated a state of things in which neighbours were mutually the most dangerous enemies. If any continental states (what was, at any rate, rare indeed) allowed freedom of trade, the evil must have been greatly lessened; but the same narrow-mindedness usually restricted trade, marriage and citizenship, equally. As a general rule, a person whose parents were of different states, was liable to lose his citizenship in both; which formed a heavy penalty on intermarriage, and hindered men of mixed blood from becoming a cement between states which ought to have been united.

It is often asserted, that what we call *representation*, was unknown to the Greeks and Italians; and that for this reason free governments could not exist among them on any but the smallest scale.* This is substantially true; although we hold it as certain, that if they had been bent on enlarging their states by just and equal measures, they would inevitably have worked out the representative system in its full development. But they seldom or never sincerely desired to attain an enlargement of the political community *at the expense of parting with the*

* Thirlwall, vol. i. p. 409. For special purposes, as for making permanent laws on *defined subjects*, the Athenians used to choose delegates; and sometimes gave 'full powers' to their senate.

independent sovereignty of the constituent cities. The same jealousy which has shorn the American congress of nearly all power to enforce its own decrees ;—the same self-importance of individuals, which has split again and again the republics of South America ;—were in full activity in Greece. It is not, therefore, that they could not discover the representative system, but that they did not like it. A congress was often formed of deputies from many states ; but the pettiest states sent as many as the most powerful. If for a moment this congress had been looked upon as a central and permanent authority, the greater states would have insisted on being represented in some proportion to their real power ; and if this had been done, the assembly would have become a true parliament. But no one seriously desired it. The greater powers found it convenient to use a congress as their tool for injustice, when circumstances allowed ; and to disobey at pleasure, when its decisions were adverse. It remains to be seen whether the same sacrifice of the fundamental principle of representation, which some whiggish politicians have admired in the North American congress, will not permanently doom it also to imbecility.

Such being the political tendencies of the Greek population, the petty states, under the excitement of mutual rivalry, were raised to a considerable development of industrial, political, and sometimes purely intellectual activity ; but when Greek society had reached the stage at which, from wealth and knowledge, it was competent to form itself into a considerable and united nation, since this was not done on terms of equality, an implacable struggle took place to effect it by vassalage. All active and aspiring minds saw that Greece ought to be one, and under one head ; but unhappily, though naturally, each city thought that itself ought to be that one head. If republican Greece had been the whole world, out of the utter failure of any one state to establish its supremacy might have ultimately arisen a 'stable equilibrium,' an acquiescence in one another's independence, and a sort of international diplomacy, such as is now seen in Europe, though everything must have been on so minute a scale. It is truly remarkable, that by all the fierce battles which were fought for one hundred and fifty years, by the devastating of fields, and other mutual inflictions, Greece became neither less populous nor poorer, nor in any sense weaker, as regards national resources. We have the express testimony of Demosthenes,* (on which Thirlwall justly lays

* It may be as well to exhibit here the words of Demosthenes, 3rd Philippic, 7. and 1.—'Ships of war and masses of population and abundance of warlike equipment, and everything else by which we estimate the strength of cities, are now all of them by far more and greater than those of former

stress,) that in his day Greece was stronger than she ever had been; and the military art was naturally far more advanced than under Pericles or Aristides. Thus, the ruin of Greece did not come, directly and properly, by mutual destruction. But an enemy was on their border,—the military monarchy of Macedonia; and a single able, politic, and ambitious prince, by help of their dissensions, succeeded in raising his kingdom to a height of power, against which no coalition, morally feasible, was able to stand. By Philip, and his son Alexander, the liberty of Greece was destroyed. With it, her intellectual and artistical genius almost vanished, her population wasted, her wealth declined, whatever she had of natural goodness or innocence was perverted, and she fell an easy prey to the oppressive and destructive Roman, who, with accelerated rapidity, effected the work of ruin. Such might be the fate of modern Europe, if there were any despotic power exterior to it, great enough to swallow up all the free states, in consequence of their mutual enmities: and in *Russia*, some speculators believe they see a second Macedonia. Little urgent as may be the danger at present, (considering the want of development in the Russian resources,) it is hard to assert that the comparison is very strained, or that there is not cause for alarm in the distance. The remedy, however, is to be sought, not in a wicked and absurd attempt to injure Russia, but in cementing the interests of our country with that of others, and thus broadening our own basis;—by free-trade, by granting to foreigners all sorts of indulgencies (as they are called)—we mean equal rights—by facilitating their entire or partial naturalization; and by avoiding all exclusively English and anti-European objects. If, Athens, Sparta, or Thebes had done this,—if, we say, *one* leading state in Greece had pursued such a course,—Greece might have defied, first, Macedonia, and afterwards Rome. But if statesmen will persist in crooked measures, calling injustice ‘patriotism,’ and deceit ‘policy,’ the God of truth will not alter his laws to save their nations from suffering.

The whole history of Greece is an instructive comment on wars to preserve the balance of power, of which so much used to be talked in Europe. By this phrase is sometimes meant, wars to forbid territorial aggression, which are quite another matter: but, to justify war against another state, solely because we think it is likely to become too powerful, is evidently an

days.’ After referring to the great strength of the Lacedæmonians at the end of the Peloponnesian war, he proceeds: ‘Although everything, so to say, has made great advances, and nothing remains on the scale of former days, yet I think nothing has changed and advanced more than military affairs,’ &c.

opening for the most unprincipled injustice. When done in well-meant ignorance, it may easily have no other effect, than to allow some neighbour, when all the belligerents are exhausted, to make encroachments on several of them, until he becomes more formidable than the party before dreaded. Just so, the Athenians feared the power of Olynthus and of the king of Thrace; and did their best to weaken both states; while Macedonia looked on, and was not feared. But no sooner had the Thracians been torn asunder, than,—at a moment when Athens was called off by domestic danger,—young Philip of Macedon conquered Thrace piece-meal; and then swallowed up Olynthus: after which the Athenians had every cause to wish that they had not been jealous of those states, now irrecoverably fallen. What other lesson can we learn from the great war of Europe against France? Napoleon, it is true, had committed much territorial aggression, and the case was more aggravated; yet the result of the war has been to allow Russia and her despotic neighbours to commit aggressions at least equally unjust and equally cruel, on Poland and Italy; nor is it clear that Spain and Portugal are at all the better for our interference. However plausible the commencement of a war, conquerors seem always to end by gross injustice; and the thing most to be hoped is, that no triumph may be too complete, unless it is one of pure self defence.

We are not able wholly to agree with Bishop Thirlwall's inferences concerning the causes of the decline of Greece. In his last volume he gives a vivid, impartial, and painfully interesting sketch of the fierce and cruel treachery by which the Romans trampled down that fair but miserable land:

‘The end of the Achæan war,’ says he, ‘was the last stage of the lingering process by which Rome enclosed her victim in the coils of her insidious diplomacy, covered it with the slime of her sycophants and hirelings, crushed it when it began to struggle, and then calmly preyed upon its vitals.’

He proceeds to review the general question of the wasting of Greece, ‘which has been attributed in modern times to Roman misrule.’ ‘No historical fact,’ he observes, ‘is more clearly ascertained, than that from the epoch of the Roman conquest the nation was continually wasting away,’—p. 460. As a single striking result, he observes, that in the reign of Trajan we find Plutarch declaring that all Greece could hardly furnish 3,000 heavy armed soldiers; the number raised for the Persian war by the little state of Megara alone! In the early Roman wars Nabis, tyrant of Sparta, in a single battle, carries into the field 10,000 native Laconian troops. But while allowing the *fact* of

the rapid decline of Greece after it fell under foreign power, Thirlwall denies that the two events are connected as effect and cause; and his reasons for this denial are to us unsatisfactory. The decline, says he, commenced before the Roman conquest; therefore, it depended on some other principle. It continued, also, unabated under the imperial government, when Greece was less oppressed than under the republic; therefore, it was not caused by oppression. He farther quotes evidence, that the wasting of the population was not produced by increase of massacres and mortality, but by a deficiency of marriages and births:

‘ We see, then, that the evil was not that the stream of population was violently absorbed, but that it flowed feebly, because there was an influence at work which tended to dry up the fountain-head. Marriages were rare and unfruitful, *through the prevalence of indifference or aversion towards the duties and enjoyments of domestic life*. The historian traces this unhealthy state of feeling to a taste for luxury and ostentation. But this explanation, which could only apply to the wealthy, seems by no means adequate to the result. The real cause struck deeper, and was much more widely spread. Described in general terms, it was a want of reverence for the order of nature, for the natural revelation of the will of God: and the sanction of infanticide was by no means the most destructive or the most loathsome form in which it manifested itself. This was the cancer which had been for many generations eating into the life of Greece.—p. 464.

We are not satisfied with this refutation, because, in place of the alleged cause, he assigns a new one, which not only does not supersede, but urgently needs the other which he is rejecting. ‘ Population declines: why? because men are not disposed to rear families.’ Is this a sufficient and final reply?—Surely not, we are driven to ask farther: ‘ *Why* are they thus indisposed?’ And we feel no doubt that the final explanation is, that, directly or indirectly, despotic rule was the cause. The Greeks, it will be said, were an immoral people. Granted: yet their immorality did not prevent them from increasing in numbers during the whole republican period. Corinth and Miletus and Athens abounded in refined voluptuousness; Bœotia in coarse sensuality; yet, while they were free, no general dishonour was put upon marriage, such as to affect the population; no disinclination to rear children can be alleged; nor was it observed that even the highest families became extinct from such causes. Yet, from the period of the Macedonian ascendancy, the wasting of the population begins; and is, in two centuries, a broad and startling fact. It seems impossible to imagine that there is no connexion of cause and effect between the misrule and the withering

of the people. Bishop Thirlwall argues, that the cause was *not* political, *but* social, because it began before Roman times. We crave leave to amend the statement thus: '*The social evil was caused by political despotism; and as the despotism began before Roman times, so did the evil which it generated; but as the Roman despotism was worse by far than that which it superseded, so were the social evils under it developed with rapidly-increasing intensity.*'

After all, our controversy with the respected historian is one of degree, not of kind. He acknowledges that the political results of Alexander's conquests *heightened* the moral disease which he has stigmatized; but we are surprised that he does not see, that they extirpated the influences *which had previously contended against it with success*. We doubt whether any nation can be pointed at, the population of which wasted away through disinclination to raise families, except when political misery in some form was the cause of this disinclination. It is notorious that at Rome, as early as the reign of Augustus, the nobility and gentry could with difficulty be induced to marry; and that emperor in vain endeavoured to keep up respectable families by giving premiums for numerous children. This may remind us of prizes to agricultural labourers for rearing children in honourable wedlock! When Augustus was an infant, and Rome either was, or at least believed herself to be, free,—when the full energies of mental freedom acted in the bosoms of the aristocracy, whatever their corruptions, vices, and crimes, no vanishing of great families, through unwillingness to marry, is heard of. But, it will be said, they were not yet so abandoned to sensuality; vice had not reached so high a pitch. True: slavery had not yet developed sensuality. The immediate effect of Cæsar's conquest of Pompey and Cato was, that everybody in Rome who could afford it, began to dine with greater luxury. Cicero lived to see *peacock dinners* all the rage; and even under Augustus, the gormandizing, and the science expended on cookery, became disgusting. If it be true (as we believe), that other sorts of sensuality went along with it, and that while the virtuous love of woman declined, all motives for being proud of a numerous offspring vanished; what can be more clear, than that we are justified in pointing to the loss of public freedom as the real cause at the bottom of these immoral and pernicious results? As regards Greece at large, in the earlier period of declension, it is hard to speak confidently, because different parts of it were in a very different state. Generally, we may say, that the effect of the Macedonian conquests, after the death of Alexander, was to open a vast field for mere soldiers of fortune. Armies no longer fought for public objects, but for this or that leader;

yet by these armies the fortunes of Greece were decided. In such a state of things, the mass of men knew not what to wish or what to hope: all motives for public action were, in many states, paralysed; and a belief in overwhelming fate no doubt plunged thousands into recklessness. Quite a sufficient clue to the progress of events, is, we think, given us by Thirlwall himself, when he says:

‘The despondency produced by a single overthrow drove the Bœotians into a round of sensual dissipation, in which all duties, both public and private, were utterly neglected; and we cannot doubt that the far heavier despair which weighed upon the spirit of the entire nation, when at length it felt its chains and saw itself bestriden by the Roman colossus, was everywhere in some degree attended with like consequences.’

The words of Moore have far stricter truth than we usually expect in pianoforte songs:

‘Dreadfully every bosom pineth,
Where the chain of slavery twineth;
There the warrior’s dart hath no fleetness;
There the maiden’s heart hath no sweetness.’

How could even the poorest provincials of Rome take pride in a flourishing family, when their sons were violently torn from them to serve in the Roman armies, and impose slavery on distant nations? And how could the rich, the noble, and the brave, who found that the first and great lesson which the Romans were resolved to teach them, was, to endure with cringing thankfulness the worst of indignities,—have the least desire to leave behind them children for the same misery? ‘*By reason of the present distress,*’ Paul advised his brother christians not to marry. Even the populace of Rome pitied the widow of Germanicus, says Tacitus, ‘because in her unfortunately numerous offspring she was, so many times over, exposed to calamity:’ yet she was grandniece to Augustus, and granddaughter of Mark Antony. Not every father was liable to be publicly murdered by a Verres, for the sake of his daughter’s beauty, but one such act struck horror into ten thousand hearts; and the countless deeds of lust and crime which Greece suffered from her tyrants *before* the time of Augustus, would easily introduce among her people, in the course of five or six generations, habits of thought and action, coupled with the indisposition to marry, which could not be extirpated by the mere tranquil and apathetic despotism of the emperors. The emperors, indeed, did not actively oppress the provinces; but they would not allow any new and living principle to be infused into them, which alone could rouse them out of their degraded state. Such a principle was christianity; and it was persecuted, as soon as its efficacy was discerned.

It is usual to point to the Greek nation as eminently illustrating the inherent properties of *blood*; and it is even hard to contest the opinion now current, without being thought either ill-informed or obstinate. We certainly have no disposition to deny, that the Greeks of history had a character of their own, distinguishing them from Siculians and Italians, to whom, nevertheless, they were nearly related: but we deliberately disbelieve the inferences and doctrines now prevalent on this whole subject. It appears to us, that the ancient Greeks may be used to illustrate the *contrasts* of national character, at least as powerfully as the *similarities*. The biglimbed, voracious Bœotian, dull in body and mind, differed from the acute, abstemious, witty, and restless Athenian, as much as an Austrian from an Irishman. The English, French, and Spaniards, are as unlike as any three nations of Europe; but, probably, not more unlike than the Acarnanians, Thessalians, and Lacedæmonians. Even tribes which seem to have most in common, show striking diversity at the same time. In all Græce, none were more remarkable for political moderation, none seem to have been more adapted to manage constitutional government successfully, than the Achæans, the Acarnanians, and the Rhodians; of whom the two last appear as the noblest, and politically the most faultless, of all who bore the Hellenic name. In the Rhodians, however, a dignity of bearing was observed, which the other Greeks stigmatized as pride; their character was set in a sterner mould, and was opposed to that joviality which degenerated into lightness. Of the Acarnanians we would wish to know more; but what we do know, implies, that the moderation and consistency of conduct for which they were celebrated, was coupled with a sort of modesty quite opposed to the Rhodian temperament, and, with a self respect which is nearer to conscientiousness than pride. As for the Achæans, a general weakness pervades them, eminently shown in their unbounded reliance on individual leaders, to whom they seem to have a moral attachment, not always well-placed. We must avow the opinion that, if it any how appeared that the Acarnanians were of Siculian, and the Thessalians of Phrygian origin, the fact would be snatched at by the present generation of German and French literati, as eminently proving *the force of blood*. We do not for a moment deny, that there are peculiarities of temper in every race; but, in our belief, history proves them not to be unchangeable in any such sense or degree, as it is fashionable to lay down or assume. The distinctive peculiarities of Athenian and Achæan, were acquired in comparatively recent days, both nations being nearly allied in blood. The same is true of Argive and Lacedæmonian, of Thessalian and Corinthian. Besides, it must not be forgotten,

that many nations, whom, from the strong diversity of their manners and tendencies, the Greeks regarded as barbarians, are now known to have been either true Greeks, or at least closely connected to them. The Macedonian *kings* were admitted to be Hellenic, while the *people* were called barbarians, because the Greeks could not understand them; the few remains of the Macedonian language imply that it was only a very strongly marked dialect of Greek. Yet, we hold it would have been quite impossible to form a guess from the Macedonian character, whether the nation was Italian, German, Greek, or Celtic. *They had never had Hellenic institutions; hence the Hellenic character was never formed in them.* Institutions, and not blood, make the difference between the Dorsetshire peasants, and the Anglo-Americans; who seem to us to be far more widely opposed than were the Asiatic Ionians to the ancient Syrians—nations of utterly diverse blood and language. Great stress is laid by many, on the special impossibility under which certain races lie, of managing free institutions; and, it would seem, that nothing is supposed so much to depend on blood, as political tendencies. Yet, among Greeks we have every sort of constitution, from despotism to mob-government; and in this consisted the richness of Hellenic experience to an Aristotle. Forms of government were well known to the Greeks, which are rare indeed, or unknown to us; as elective monarchy, and *timocracy*, *i. e.*, a system in which men have votes *proportioned* to their taxation. On the contrary, nations most opposed in blood and religion, often hit on very similar public regulations and general policy, when similarly circumstanced, and in the same stage of mental development. We believe, in fact, that the Tyrians were politically far more like to the people of Ægina, than these last to the Thebans, their near kinsmen. Social and religious habits, no doubt, do not very rapidly change; yet, these also, are far from opposing any insuperable barrier, when outward circumstances alter. It is a fact not without instruction, that Niebuhr proved, as he thought, that the Scythians of Herodotus were Mongols, by showing an identity of manners and even physical peculiarities between the two; whereas, Prichard has established beyond reasonable doubt, that the other opinion is true, which holds them to have been Slavonians. For, the language of the Scythians (or rather *Scolotæ*) differed only dialectually from that of the Sarmatians; and the modern history of the latter people can be traced, the Russians being one of their branches. So little weight, in deciding on the races of men, can be laid on manners and character, moral or intellectual.

Thirlwall has some excellent remarks on the Dorian race, which we will here extract. They are a good set off against the

inordinate preference which an eminent German writer has shown for the Dorians in contrast to the Ionians.

‘The groundwork of the Dorian commonwealth belongs to the old Hellenic frame of society; and the ruling ideas and feelings by which the form of government and the habits of life were determined, were transmitted from the heroic ages. The conquerors of Peloponnesus, with the martial spirit, retained the political maxims of their ancestors, which *were* those of the whole Hellenic nation. They considered the possession of arms as the highest privilege of a free-man, the exercise of them as the only employment that became him. According to the rules of the heroic equity, he who excelled in this noblest of arts, was born to command; the race that showed itself inferior in warlike virtues, was destined to obey and serve; the most perfect order of things was that in which the higher class was occupied by no care or labour that did not contribute to the species of excellence, which was the supreme end of its being, and where the subject ranks were mere instruments, only needed to relieve the higher from necessary, but degrading toil;—a view of society, not peculiar to any race of mankind, though among the nations in which the same maxims have not been hallowed by superstition, none appeared to have been governed by them more uniformly than the ancient Hellenes, and no Hellenic tribe applied them so steadily and consistently as the Dorians. *The predominance of the military spirit in the early portion of a nation's history*, though accompanied by an aversion and contempt for the arts of peace, *ought not certainly to lower any race in our esteem*. It has appeared most signally in the noblest portions of our species; and is, in itself, no more inauspicious sign for the future growth of intelligence and humanity, than the overflow of animal spirits, the impatience of mental application, and the petulance of superior strength and activity, in a vigorous boy. *But a neglected or vicious education*, or untoward circumstances, may disappoint the intention of nature, check the growth of the higher faculties, or confine them to a single direction, and narrow compass; *and may thus detain nations and individuals in a state of intellectual infancy*, ripe and robust only in its passions and physical powers. *Such a misfortune, which has sometimes been celebrated as a singular advantage, or as the noblest fruit of legislative wisdom, befel the Dorians in Crete and Sparta.*’
—Vol. i. p. 337.

We would gladly make various other extracts from the work, but it is impossible to do them justice, unless they are of some length, so as to exhibit their connexion; and out of eight ample volumes selection is difficult. The reader who desires to profit by them may be assured that the perusal of a review is not a royal road to the advantages of a whole work, and much patience and silent thought will be well bestowed on this history of Greece. Its termination is melancholy enough; and we know only one train of thought by which we can comfort ourselves, or any reader of ancient history; viz., that the revolutions which

were such awful calamities to the *freemen*, very often brought relief to the far more numerous body of *slaves*. This oppressed class of men were so unpitied by the ancients, that historians never give us information concerning them except incidentally, and without intending it; hence it is very difficult to decide how they were affected by this or that war. In besieged cities the worst fate sometimes befel them, as they were the first to be starved; at the same time, thousands of them escaped into freedom, since their masters were even glad to get rid of them. It has been held by some that the union of physical and mental excellence in the Greeks was due in great measure to their slave system, which freed the rest of the community from various severe or menial labour: but this appears to be an error. 'The greater part of the Peloponnesian armies,' says Thucydides, 'were country labourers'—peasants or small farmers: among the Lacedæmonians alone were the slaves very numerous, and this did not at all conduce to the mental improvement of their masters, who had nothing else to do but watch against the revolts of the slaves, and of the unfranchised freemen. The physical perfection of the Greeks depended on the smallness of the communities, and their mutual hostility; in consequence of which all citizens needed to be constantly under training for arms. What there was of mental teaching, was communicated in the open air, and by word of mouth. Through the scarcity of books, knowledge was exceedingly superficial to all but a very few, and the acquisition of it seldom interfered with athletic or gymnastic accomplishment. In none of these things did the slaves partake: but it is not to be supposed that in all parts alike their condition was one of extreme misery. In ordinary times, at Athens, for instance, they might be externally comfortable, and well cared for; but there was always a *liability* to ill treatment, which destroyed self-respect or forethought in all who could enjoy life in spite of it. A delicate female, habitually well treated by her master and mistress, might any day be exposed to legal torture, if some one accused the master concerning matters in which the slave's testimony was wanted. The coolness with which the torture is demanded and granted by respectable persons, speaks volumes on the state of feeling. No crisis held out to the slaves so much hope, as those in which a state was in extreme danger, when they were often armed for the public defence. In short, they generally profited by every time of confusion. Christianity has had the glory of terminating in Europe this miserable state of things, if we consent to forget the partial exception of Russia and Poland, which were latest to receive its influence. If history could give any lessons to a democracy, it might shout aloud the absurdity and danger of

that, which morals and religion proclaim to be a crime—the holding our fellow-men in bondage. In spite of all her other ignorance, vices and jealous passions, Greece, if her slaves had been freemen, and her states confederated on just terms, need have feared neither the wild Gauls from the north, nor the Romans from the west. Her great internal vigour and activity would have ensured a steady progress; and might have worked off out of her system her worst social immoralities. But, it would seem, keen as are our feelings of personal right, the rights of other men, other classes, other nations, is the last lesson that mankind, in the mass, is willing to learn. Wisdom comes too late, if we are left to ourselves; and happy are those nations, who, by timely chastisement, are compelled to be wise.

Since the above was written, the first volume of the 8vo edition of Thirlwall's Greece has made its appearance. According to the author's statement, the text has almost always been left as it was, except as to a few points on which he has changed his judgment. A sprinkling of new notes has been annexed, and an elaborate Appendix on the Homeric Poems, in which the history of critical opinion concerning them is brought down to the present day. This is the most striking feature in the new volume. In it the author displays his usual clearness of mind and fulness of erudition concerning German literature; but does not advance any opinion of his own. We are disposed to accept this appendix as an apology for 'scepticism,' as some may call it, or rather, for an acquiescence in negative results, in regard to matters which lie on the borders of historical vision. Curiosity and earnestness is always eager for positive knowledge, but if we could attain a clear light on Homer and his circumstances, this would of course shed a dim gleam on something still more remote. New problems would arise concerning them, and once more we should find ourselves obliged to acquiesce under negations. It is certainly remarkable, how one hypothesis after another concerning Homer breaks down, till at last we seem only to know that neither the vulgar nor the wise are right in their ideas concerning him.

This new edition will of course become the only one recognized in our libraries; yet we are glad to think that no such large alterations in the text are likely to be made, as would lower the Cabinet History from the place which it has hitherto so honourably occupied.

Art. II. *Notes of Lectures on Future Punishment.* By H. H. Dobney.
London: Ward and Co. 1844.

IN this small and unpretending volume Mr. Dobney treats one of the most important subjects of theological inquiry; and it affords us pleasure to speak of it generally in terms of commendation. The lectures are seven in number, and relate to 'the scripture doctrine of future punishment' as a whole, and in its several parts. In the sixth and seventh lectures the question of the duration of future punishment is taken up; and the desire we have to notice somewhat at large the views which the author has expressed in relation to it, induces us to pass over the earlier portions of the volume without further remark. We shall observe only that the discussion suffers throughout, as, in our judgment, the portion we have specified does particularly, by his having published merely the notes of his lectures. We are not sure that we should have recommended him to write them for the press at the whole length at which they were delivered; but we think a middle course would have been desirable, more especially as preventing that sense of meagreness and inadequacy which now inevitably rests upon the mind of a thoughtful reader, in an argument on so important a subject.

We proceed, then, at once to the topic we have indicated, the duration of future punishment. Our author holds that it is limited, and not strictly everlasting. As the ground on which he rests this opinion is peculiar, we propose to subject it to a cursory examination.

The state of the question is this. Mr. Dobney admits that 'scripture usage compels us to understand the terms of duration, when they are applied to the future state, in their widest sense,' but he qualifies this admission by the following remark: 'That, even when these words are used in their extremest sense, they do not teach that the object to which they relate must therefore endure for ever; their force being this, and no more than this, that what is predicated shall continue so long as the object of which it is predicated shall continue;' pp. 75, 76. His conclusion consequently is, that, according to the scriptures, the wicked will suffer punishment as long as they exist; but that, if any question has place concerning the duration of their existence, the decision of it will involve that of the duration of their punishment. On this ground, which we do not contest with him, he proceeds to raise the question whether wicked men are immortal, and he expresses his opinion that they are not. He holds that 'immortality is the princely gift of Christ to his faithful followers' only, p. 72. He thinks, how-

ever, that all mankind will have a future existence; and that the wicked, after rising from the grave, will live in another state for a long, and even an 'awful' period, p. 80. The sum of his opinion is, that the future existence of the wicked, and consequently their punishment, will at some period be terminated by their extinction.

Without laying any stress on a remark which, however, our author's mode of expressing himself naturally suggests,—namely, that he is very imperfectly satisfied of the truth of his theory, we shall endeavour candidly to examine the foundation on which he has placed it.

His mode of proof consists of two parts. He attempts to shew, first, that nothing in the scriptures (for, with him, we hold reason to be out of the question) proves the immortality of man, if the terms applied to the future state do not; and next, that these terms support the doctrine of the limited existence of the wicked. (Pp. 70, 72.)

We take up, in the first instance, the latter portion of his argument.

To make good his position that the terms applied in scripture to the future state support the doctrine of the limited existence of the wicked, Mr. Dobney adduces two classes of passages in which the future state of the righteous and the wicked is spoken of; the state of the righteous by the term *life*, *ζωή*, and the state of the wicked by the terms *death*, *θανάτος*, *destruction*, *ἀπώλεια*, and *corruption*, *φθορά* pp. 70, 71: and he conceives that life and death, in the literal and strict meaning of these terms—that is, existence and the cessation of existence—are the things intended in them. He is aware, as he states (p. 71), that, in these passages, the terms life and death are commonly understood in a metaphorical sense, as denoting happiness and misery respectively; but this he thinks is taking 'an unwarrantable liberty' with them (p. 72). He thus raises a question of biblical interpretation which must be carefully entered on.

Without noticing the author's somewhat uncalled for imputation on the *motives* of the commentators who differ from him, we admit at once that the terms in question, like all other terms in human language, are to be understood in their literal sense, unless cause can be shewn for otherwise interpreting them. We admit, consequently, that the burden of proof lies with ourselves.

We need not, however, adduce instances to show that the terms life and death are sometimes used to denote happiness and misery; since this is frankly admitted by Mr. Dobney (p. 71). We may proceed at once, consequently, to the words as employed in the passages adduced. In this inquiry we are

sorry to be deprived of Mr. Dobney's assistance ; since he states himself (p. 72) to have been compelled (by what cause does not appear, but probably by the necessity of brevity) to waive entirely this part of the investigation. It is, however, essential to a settlement of the question he has raised.

Taking, in the first instance, the passages which express the future state of the righteous by the term *life*, the question before us is, whether in them this term can be satisfactorily understood as meaning existence merely. Now, when we consider that what is thus spoken of under the term *life* is the subject of divine promise, 'the gift of God' through Christ Jesus, the result of his death, and the reward of faith in his name, it is to us, we confess, in the highest degree unsatisfactory to understand the term used of existence merely. Some inestimable blessing must be here intended. Mere existence, however, is not necessarily, or in itself, a blessing. Whether it be a benefit at all, or the contrary, depends wholly on the kind of existence, and the manner in which it is employed. It may be conceived of either as void of good, or as full of misery. Mr. Dobney holds it to be conferred for a very long period upon the wicked. We conclude, therefore, that the connexion demands some other meaning for the word '*life*' in these passages than existence merely ; and, as happiness is an idea very much to the point, and consistent with the usage of the term, we, in agreement with the great majority of scriptural commentators, adopt this as the meaning of it.

In bar of this conclusion two things may be alleged.

It may be said that the term '*life*' in these passages expresses, not the whole, but only a part of the future condition of the righteous, namely, the fact of their immortality, leaving the manner of their existence to be learned from other portions of scripture. It does not appear to us, however, that such a view is consistent with the absolute and emphatic manner in which the term *life* is, in this connexion, habitually employed. A single example will suffice. Take, for instance, the language of the apostle, Rom. v. 21, 'That, as sin hath reigned unto death, even so should grace reign, through righteousness, unto eternal life, by Jesus Christ our Lord.' In truth, the phrase '*eternal life*' is continually used in the New Testament in a manner which, to our mind, demonstrates that it is employed to represent the whole of the future felicity resulting to man through the work of Christ and faith in his name. And if it be admitted that this result must be more than existence, the necessity seems to follow of attributing some other idea than that of existence merely to the phrase.

It may be said further, that, although the term *life*, as de-

scriptive of the future state of the righteous no doubt means happiness, it means existence also, and conveys the compound idea of a happy existence. This, however, is saying that a word has two meanings in one and the same case, and that it is at the same instant to be understood both literally and metaphorically; which seems to us to be altogether inadmissible. We can understand how it may be necessary to interpret a word literally in one case, and metaphorically in another; but what warrant there can be for interpreting a word in both ways at once is to us unintelligible. It is not until we have ascertained that the literal meaning of a term will not serve, that we have any liberty to annex a metaphorical meaning to it at all; and how, after this, can the literal meaning be retained? The term life cannot justly be made to convey the compound idea, happy existence. It may mean either existence, or happiness, as taken either literally or figuratively; but the taking it to mean one determines that it does not in that case mean the other. Besides, if life means happy existence, death may mean miserable existence; a supposition entirely fatal to Mr. Dobney's argument.

We return to the conclusion, therefore, that the term life, when used descriptively of the future state of the righteous, does not denote existence, but happiness exclusively.

We do not know that it is necessary to strengthen this conclusion by collateral evidence. It may be observed, however, that the future state of the righteous is represented in scripture, not exclusively by the term life, but by other terms also. These terms, whether more brief or more extended, are uniformly descriptive of happiness in various forms—of holiness, of communion with God, of the presence of Christ, of honour, of freedom from suffering, and other kindred ideas. These are evidently the counterpart of the word life; the several elements which go to make up that state of happiness, most felicitously and emphatically expressed by the single term ζωή. No where among these diversified descriptions do phrases occur, tending to show that existence itself is one of these elements; yet, if this were a part of 'the gift of God,' so important a particular might be expected to appear, if not always, yet on some other occasion than in the use of the term life, which is so obviously generic, and inclusive of the whole.*

We proceed now to notice the terms by which the scriptures

* An apparent exception to this remark occurs in Rom. ii. 6, where the apostle speaks of those who 'seek for glory, honour, and immortality.' The position of the word immortality, at the close of the sentence, requires it to be regarded, after the Greek idiom, as an adjective; so giving to the whole phrase the idea of 'immortal glory and honour.'

represent the future state of the wicked, and to inquire whether they can be satisfactorily understood in their literal meaning.

In some of the passages quoted by Mr. Dobney under this head, the term life with a negative is employed, as in John iii. 36, 'He that believeth not on the Son of God shall *not see life*.' These cases are decided by what has already been said. If the promise of life to a believer does not relate to existence, neither does the threatening that unbelievers 'shall not see life.'

With respect to the positive terms, death, destruction, perdition, corruption, which are used interchangeably for the same purpose, some observations may be made before we try the experiment of the literal meaning upon them.

In the first place, if what has been laid down in reference to the meaning of the term life be accordant with truth, the opinion that the word death in the evangelical threatening means the cessation of existence derives no support from analogy. It must now stand insulated and alone; and it thus assumes an aspect of the greater improbability.

Nor is this all. For, in the second place, a strong argument from analogy arises against it. It is in the highest degree probable—it might be laid down as certain—that, in the connexion before us, the terms life and death are strictly antithetic, and that they are consequently of homogeneous interpretation. If one is to be taken literally, so is the other, and *vice versa*. Hence, therefore, in ascertaining the true meaning of one, we obtain a rule for the interpretation of the other; and we may proceed accordingly to say, that since, in the descriptions of the future state, life means, not existence, but happiness, death means, not cessation of existence, but misery. It would be an incongruity of the most inadmissible kind to take, in such passages as these, the one term as a metaphor and the other in a literal acceptation.

Let us, however, look more closely at the passages now before us, and make trial of the literal meaning of the terms employed in them.

Our author's affirmation is that the words perdition, corruption, death, destruction, &c., used in God's threatenings against the ungodly, denote cessation of being.

To this it is obvious to object, that cessation of being is not necessarily, or in all cases, an evil. If all opportunity have been lost of rendering existence happy, and more especially if a course has been pursued which ensures irrecoverable misery, the cessation of existence, so far from being a calamity, is the greatest relief and benefit which, in the circumstances, is possible. These, however, are precisely the circumstances of ungodly men. So that God is, by our author's opinion, brought

forward in the majesty of his wrath, to denounce against ungodly men as a terrific punishment what actually is, to them, the greatest possible good. Mr. Dobney himself, indeed, must clearly regard the extinction of the wicked in the light of a kindness, since he evidently looks upon it with complacency, as assigning a limit to suffering otherwise without end, and as mitigating the too awful doctrine of endless punishment.

It does not appear to us, therefore, that cessation of being could justly be held to constitute the punishment of sin, even if it were supposed that this would be effected by some grand and awful judicial transaction, so as to give it the form and aspect of punishment; but still less satisfactorily can this be held to be the case, if, as our author supposes, no such judicial consummation will take place, but, on the contrary, the cessation of being will occur as a natural and unperceived result of the withdrawal of that divine energy by which life is universally sustained, (pp. 62, 63.) This supposition goes to make the future and final death of the criminal portion of mankind easy beyond all possibility of belief.

It is the more difficult to conceive that the wrath of God against sinners, when announced under terms literally denoting death, means only the cessation of being, because it is announced also under other terms, not reducible to this idea. Thus, in Romans, ii. 8, 9, we have 'indignation and anguish, tribulation and wrath;' and, in various passages, other terms expressive, not of extinction, but of continuous suffering.

On general grounds, therefore, we are constrained to conclude that the terms representing the future state of the wicked under the general idea of death, are to be understood metaphorically, and as signifying, not cessation of being, but misery.

To this it may be added, that in several of the passages quoted by the author there occurs sufficient internal evidence of the metaphorical use of the terms in question. To take, for an example, Rom. ix. 22, 23, 'What if God, willing to shew his wrath and make his power known, endured with much long-suffering the vessels of wrath fitted to destruction, and that he might make known the riches of his glory on the vessels of mercy whom he had before prepared unto glory?' Here it is obvious to observe that the term antithetic to destruction is glory, a term which conveys an idea of happiness exclusively, and goes to require a metaphorical interpretation of the corresponding term destruction.

A similar observation may be made concerning the words of the apostle, in 2 Thess. i. 9; where he speaks of those, 'who shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power.' If by destruction a

cessation of being had been here intended, the apostle would naturally have closed with that word. With this meaning, what can be intended by 'destruction (cessation of being) from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power?' The language is not only redundant, but unintelligible. It seems obvious, that the destruction specified is a punitive banishment from the presence of the Lord Jesus, and exclusion from those displays of his glory which will constitute so large a portion of the blessedness of his saints.

Another passage to which the same remark is clearly applicable, is Rev. xx. 14, 'This is the second death.' Of this phrase it is enough to say, that its interpretation is guided by a symbol—the lake of fire—which, as interpreted by John himself, (see ver. 10.) denotes a state of torment, and not an extinction of being. Similar observations might be made in reference to other passages.

As a further evidence that the term destruction, when used descriptively of the future state of the wicked, cannot be understood of extinction of being, we may notice the annexation to it of the epithet 'everlasting,' as in 2 Thess. i. 9. Considered as extinction of being, destruction must be held to be a summary act. In what sense can it be said to be everlasting? It is in itself a final, as well as a momentary act; and the term everlasting, as connected with it, is either redundant or unintelligible. Does it not seem clear, that the apostle, in speaking of *everlasting* destruction, means to describe something which has continuance—as a state of suffering, and not the act of a moment—like extinction of being?

Under the influence of these, and similar considerations, it seems to us impossible to interpret the words, death, &c., in the evangelic threatening, otherwise than metaphorically.

We may now observe, that, upon the point under consideration, our author is by no means consistent. He thus expresses himself:

'The inspired declarations amount to this :—The wicked will rise again—will live in another state, to which terms of awful duration are applied—the strongest expressions which could be employed : and which, unquestionably shew, that the whole period of future existence will be passed in undergoing the penal consequences of unrepented and unpardoned sin.'—p. 80.

The 'inspired declarations,' of which Mr. Dobney thus states the 'amount,' are those which denounce 'everlasting destruction' against the ungodly; and he has told us, that destruction is here to be understood of a cessation of being. In the passage above cited, however, it is plain that he himself understands it

of a state of suffering, or of 'undergoing the penal consequences of unrepented and unpardoned sin.' In this we agree with him, but he is, we conceive, at direct variance with himself.

We do not, indeed, see how, if we are to understand the term destruction (with the other terms now in question) of cessation of being, there can be any penal consequences of sin to be endured, apart from the cessation of being itself. 'The wages of sin,' the apostle tells us, 'is death.' Cessation of being, consequently, is, on the author's hypothesis, itself the punishment—that is, the whole punishment—of sin. There are, therefore, no other penal consequences of it to be endured. Yet he intimates that there are, and that they will occupy a period of awfully extended duration. Can these conflicting statements be reconciled?

Again, if cessation of being be the intended punishment of sin, its infliction would naturally take place when the time of punishment arrives, that is, immediately after the general judgment. Undoubtedly, the punishment of sin, whatever it may be, will take place at that period, which is evidently the period of universal retribution, both for the righteous and the wicked. There is, indeed, no object of subsequent existence, but the accomplishment of this only remaining part of the divine dispensations towards mankind. Yet, according to Mr. Dobney, the punishment of sin—or cessation of being—is not to be inflicted when the hour of judgment arrives, but is to be postponed for a period of great length.

In truth, it is perfectly clear, that the author does not consider cessation of being as the whole punishment of sin, or as more than a very subordinate part of it, since he speaks of penal consequences of sin endured through a period of awful duration. Of this awful duration of suffering, the cessation of being cannot be more than the terminating point; it may be deemed a most grateful and felicitous exit for the long agonized sufferer. Yet he will have the cessation of being to be the only meaning in which we shall understand those terms,—death, destruction, perdition, corruption,—by which in the scriptures the punishment of sin is emphatically expressed!

If, on his part it should be said, that those terms do not mean cessation of being exclusively, but misery during a certain period, and extinction afterwards, we must repeat our objection to this confounding of the literal with the metaphorical use. We cannot accept words in two senses at once. The words in question may mean, either cessation of existence, or misery; but not both at the same time.

The general result of this brief examination is, that terms literally expressing the continuance and cessation of being—life

and death—when employed in the scriptures to represent what awaits the righteous and the wicked hereafter, are justly held to be used metaphorically, and, that they denote states of happiness and misery respectively. This being the case, the use of these terms cannot teach us anything respecting the duration of the existence of either the wicked or the righteous; and it cannot consequently afford any sanction to our author's opinion of the limited existence of the wicked.

We now turn to the other part of his argument, and proceed to inquire whether, since the terms used in relation to the future state teach us nothing concerning the immortality of the race, any information is afforded on this important topic elsewhere.

With Mr. Dobney, we do not hold the necessary immortality of the soul. With him also, we do not hold human reason competent to prove anything on this point. We hold, however, the actual immortality of the soul; and regard immortality as an attribute originally conferred on man, in congruity with his rank as a rational being, and with the designs of God respecting him.

In order to adduce scriptural proof of this sentiment, we quote the declaration of the apostle, 2 Tim. i. 10, that Christ 'hath vanquished death, and brought life and immortality to light;' and we hold this quotation to be amply sufficient for our purpose. Christ is here said to have 'brought to light,' or to have fully and authoritatively revealed, 'life and immortality,'—that is, the fact of a future and immortal existence for mankind. We say *for mankind*, meaning the whole human race, in opposition to the restriction held by the author, for the following reasons. First, because no distinction is made by the apostle, and his language must consequently be taken universally. To introduce a distinction of which he has given no intimation, would be totally unauthorized and unwarrantable. Secondly, because the entire structure of the passage forbids restriction. The life which Christ is said to have brought to light, stands in direct contrast with death, and must be regarded as coextensive with it. As death occurs to all, so the life and immortality belong to all. Besides, if the immortality be denied to any portion of mankind, so also must the life, for they obviously go together. It would do strange violence to this text to make it teach future existence for all, and immortal existence for a part. But, as Mr. Dobney admits, all are to live hereafter; consequently, all will be immortal. In truth, however, although the terms are two, the thing intended is one and indivisible. Life and immortality is only a Greek idiom for immortal life. It is an immortal existence which Christ has revealed; and this im-

mortal existence, is the only future existence for man of which anything is made known to us. It follows, therefore, that all existence in a future state will be immortal, and, that the idea of a limited existence for any part of mankind is not merely unsupported, but contradicted, by the language of the apostle.

What arguments our author may be able to adduce in support of a different conclusion, when he shall speak more at large, it is not for us to say. We can remark only on that which appears in the work before us. And here two of his views demand notice.

He regards immortality as 'the princely gift of Christ to his followers,' p. 72.

But this is inconsistent with the passage just quoted. Christ is there said to have *brought to light* life and immortality. Now, to bring to light is not to bring into existence, or in any sense to bring to pass. It is to make known, either absolutely, or in a manner more full and authoritative than before. The entire sense of the phrase must be confined to the idea of discovery; and it implies the previous existence of the thing discovered. The import of the passage seems to us to be, that Christ authoritatively made known the fact that an immortal existence was the divinely appointed destiny of man.

It seems to us also that this idea is incongruous with the general tenor of evangelical truth. Such effects of the intervention of Christ on our behalf as result from faith in his name are, we conceive, of a moral rather than a physical nature; effects on our character and state, rather than modifications of our natural properties. If a sinner believes in Christ he obtains pardon, and privilege, and glorious hope; while his faith purifies his heart, regulates his life, and prepares him for heaven. But, according to our author, when a sinner believes in Christ a physical change also takes place upon him. Up to that moment he was mortal; thenceforth he is immortal. As he came out of the hands of his Maker he was the heir of a limited existence; the moment he falls into the hands of the Redeemer his being expands into eternity, and he is at once a creature of far vaster destinies. He is not only a being on whose condition of guilt and misery Christ makes a most blessed change; but one whose physical qualities are transformed by him. This is not so much an act of redeeming mercy as of creating power; and the idea is, we think, utterly alien from the evangelical system, and unsupported by scripture. Of course, the numerous declarations that Christ bestows on believers 'eternal life' are nothing to the purpose, unless the term life is to be literally understood, which we have endeavoured above to disprove.

Further, Mr. Dobney infers the limited existence of the wicked from the fact that God has threatened them with death.

On this we observe, first, that there can be no force in this argument, unless the term death is to be understood in its literal acceptation, as denoting cessation of being. If, as we have endeavoured to show, it is to be understood metaphorically, as denoting misery, it has no bearing on the subject before us.

We observe, secondly, that, if the threatening be, as our author requires, understood literally, then the threatening itself implies the immortality denied. The denunciation in this case is, that, if men live and die in sin, they shall cease to exist; which clearly implies that, if they did not live and die in sin, they would not cease to exist—in other words, that they are in their nature immortal. If in the progress of their own existence they would arrive at a natural termination of it, the threat to put an end to it would be of trivial meaning. All the force of such a threat lies in the idea of cutting off an immortality which would be otherwise enjoyed. Either way, therefore, the argument fails, and the conclusion consequently stands, that immortality is an attribute of the whole race, or of man as man.

Some considerations may now be added, tending to show the utter improbability of the restriction of immortality to a portion of the human race, as contended for by our author.

1. If the existence of man were in any instance to terminate, the natural period for such a change would seem to be that at which the dissolution of the body takes place. Yet Mr. Dobney does not take this position. He affirms that the wicked will be raised from the grave, and exist in the future state for a very lengthened period. If we now ask when will they cease to exist, we do not see any natural period which can be assigned for this occurrence. They are launched into a state of being which, unlike the present life, has no tendencies to decay, and put into possession of a body which contains no germs of dissolution. They have entered on a life which has no natural term, and of which all the apparent probabilities are that it will continue for ever.

If the future existence of any portion of mankind is to come to an end, and more especially of so large and important a portion of mankind as our author's scheme comprehends, it would have been reasonable to suppose that some distinct announcement of so grand a fact should be found in the inspired volume. The terms under discussion are the only evidence on this point to which he makes any reference; but these, of course, cannot be added in proof while their meaning is undetermined. Whether there be any other passages by which he conceives his view may be sustained we cannot say, but, from his silence on

this point we presume not. Now this is not after the manner of the sacred writers, or of the divine author of revelation. The great outlines of man's destiny are otherwise marked out with eminent clearness; and it would not be without a painful feeling of inconsistency that we could yield to Mr. Dobney's call to believe, that either the natural extinction of so large a portion of mankind, or one of the two leading issues of the general judgment, stands forth nowhere revealed in Holy Writ.

It may be proper, before dismissing the subject, to look at the end which our author's scheme may be supposed to serve, and the attitude in which it places the evangelical system.

It is of course to be understood that Mr. Dobney regards his scheme as materially mitigating the confessedly awful doctrine of future punishment, as strictly everlasting, and as presenting a view more easy to be reconciled with the scriptural representations of the character of God. On this subject the following remarks suggest themselves.

Although a limited punishment is undoubtedly widely different from an eternal one, such a punishment as he suggests is scarcely less difficult of reconciliation with the divine goodness than an everlasting one, for he maintains that the wicked will endure as much intensity of suffering as is supposed by theologians of any class; and the unknown period through which he admits their sufferings will extend, he stretches to a length sufficient to justify the use of the word eternal, as applied to it in the scriptures. He himself calls this duration 'awful;' he states that suffering will occupy the entire existence of the parties subjected to it, and he raises a most urgent plea with sinners on the ground of this terrific prospect. He holds, moreover, that this does not exhaust the vials of wrath, but that the threatening comprehends the final extinction of being, which, considered as a punitive act, and as constituting a large part of the wrath against sin, must be held to be an awful calamity. Now, upon the very same principle on which it is held that the goodness of God renders the doctrine of eternal punishment incredible, it may be affirmed that it renders such a doctrine of limited punishment incredible too. To the question, how is it reconcileable with God's love that he should subject many millions of creatures to intense suffering for many millions of years, and slay them at last, it seems to us that no other answer can be returned than this, that it is an awful and unfathomable mystery. And this answer may be returned to the same question when it is framed on the doctrine of eternal punishment. To whatever extent the two schemes may differ, so far as relates to the difficulty of harmonizing them with the revealed goodness of God, they are one and the same.

If, however, it is conceived by any persons that the notion

of a limited, though prolonged, infliction of suffering on the ungodly does materially diminish the awfulness of their doom, as represented by the doctrine of eternal punishment, it should be observed that the value of the soul and of salvation must be diminished in an equal degree. Eternity is the source from which some of the most solemn and weighty considerations are drawn in relation to religious concerns. Attend to the interests of the soul, *for it will live for ever*; prepare for the life to come, *for it will be everlasting*; flee from the wrath of God, *for it will never end*—these are instances of the manner in which the element of eternity mingles itself with religious thoughts and exhortations. If its withdrawment from them is conceived so greatly to lessen the awfulness of an impenitent sinner's doom that it may be contemplated calmly by a good man, is it not manifest that the same process may justify the apathy of a bad one? If its power to harrow up the soul of the former be lost, how is it to retain its adaptation to awaken the conscience of the latter?

Another view of this subject may be taken. The salvation of the soul is the object and result of the redemption which is in Christ Jesus. The expiatory offering of the Son of God is a mystery at least as great as any involved in the doctrine of eternal punishment; and the awe which a serious contemplation of it is adapted to produce passes into actual pain, unless we take some grand and awful view of the object which was to be effected by it. To think of the eternal Father slaying his well-beloved Son *for any purpose* is amazing; but to think of his doing so for a slight one is altogether appalling and impossible. The immortality of the soul stands in the fullest harmony with the vastness of the price that was paid for its redemption, and the eternity of future punishment with the infinite costliness of the ransom. It would afford a devout heart little satisfaction to adopt a view which would represent the Most Blessed as tender to his rebellious creatures, at the cost of representing him as cruel to his Son.

The sum of the remarks which we have made is, that we see neither scriptural warrant for the view which our author has brought forward, nor evangelical congruity in it. We record our conviction that, according to the scriptures, all men are immortal. Mr. Dobney himself admits that if all men are immortal, the future punishment of the wicked is eternal. That it is so we entertain no doubt; and most earnestly do we desire that the regard paid to this awful truth, by those who impart religious instruction on the one hand, and by those who receive it on the other, may be as prompt and serious as its incalculable importance demands.

Art. III. *Impressions of Australia Felix, during four years residence in that Colony ; Notes of a voyage round the World ; Australian Poems, etc.* By Richard Howitt. 1 vol. 8vo. London : Longman and Co.

It is to be hoped that the recent discussions on New Zealand in Parliament, and the appearance of such works as this of Mr. Richard Howitt's, will induce our government to look seriously into the machinery and theories of our Colonial department, as it regards the distant colonies of Australia. These vast and most important territories lying at a distance of thirteen thousand miles from us, may and must become, under a wise system of government, not only of the greatest importance to us by the commerce which they must create for us, but also a new British Empire on the other side of the world. But at that distance it is evident that they cannot be well-governed except by a most judicious, active, and vigilant spirit. Theories may be adopted which, in the outset, may appear very wise and very fair, that on trial may turn out the very reverse, and then the immense distance and the consequent great time that it requires for advices there and consultations here, and then the conveyance of orders thither, are sufficient to cause wide and disastrous effects before a remedy can be applied. It is evident that a piece of machinery of which the wheels are on one side of the world, and the power which alone can stop them is on the other, is a very terrible sort of machinery indeed, and ought to be put in motion with the greatest caution, and not till after the most serious deliberation. The Gibbon-Wakefield theory of the sale of all lands in our new colonies by the government, and of the application of the money to the conveyance of labourers, for instance, does appear on the face of it, of all inventions the most felicitous for new colonies. But experience has shown, and that in the ruin of thousands and tens of thousands, and in the most fatal shock to the prosperity of our Australian colonies, that the mode of application of this theory, the regulations adopted for its carrying out, may be more than sufficient to neutralize all its promised advantages, nay, may render it the most prolific source of calamity. That system of action which might be admirable in America, whence this theory was borrowed, may and has proved to be the very worst possible for Australia. Australia is a country that requires its inhabitants to range freely and widely over its scanty pastures in order to find sustenance for its flocks. The plan, therefore, of commencing the sales of land at some given point, say Melbourne, and going on to sell all the land whether good or bad in an unintermitted

advance from that point, without allowing emigrants to range far out and settle where the circumstances of the country seemed to require it; and, moreover, of putting a fixed minimum price on all such lands, carried the obvious seeds of ruin in itself. When the money for which such lands were sold, was, in the next place conveyed away out of the colony, and the labourers which it was to supply did not arrive till the capitalists were fairly eaten up by the price of labour, and were then poured in by ship-loads when there was no money left to pay for their labour, it is very apparent what must be the consequence,—one general ruin, which has been the actual result. This is what Mr. Richard Howitt calls ‘making suits for our colonial children that don’t fit.’

‘Britain has dependencies, children more than twelve thousand miles off, for whom the home-kindness sends out occasional suits of comfortable clothing, yet which, unfortunately, constructed without accurate knowledge of the size of the persons, do not fit. Then, only think of the uncomfortableness and destitution endured while vast voyages are performing to and fro; that often twelve months must elapse before any inaccuracy can be rectified; and of the consequent colds, fevers, agues, fits, and convulsions which take place. Such is the situation of our Australian dependencies. The Special Survey System constructed for Port Philip, and the Uniform Price System, were suits which did not fit, and were ordered to be hung on a peg—or laid aside in the colonial government wardrobe.

‘The Convict Assignment System did not fit; the Probation suit was to supersede it, but did not fit; and once more the Convict Assignment System, turned, altered, and newly trimmed, is worn, restlessly, and with abundant anathemas by Van Diemen. Adelaide, Britain’s fair Australian daughter, had a fever,—and the cure cost us £150,000.’—Preface.

The first effect of the Uniform Price and Land-sale System, Mr. Howitt describes in a few words on himself and companions.

‘We promise ourselves many pleasant and profitable adventures in the world, which turn out in the acting, not so very advantageous, or felicitous. The Wimmera and Yarraine in Sir Thomas Mitchell’s Australian Expeditions, were fine rivers flowing through a rich country; and in our day-dreams, four of us were to purchase on one of these streams a square mile of land each. We should have, we decided, as much back-run for sheep and cattle as we desired. Two of us were to be located on each side. Bridges were to be constructed, houses to build, and roads to make, associated with a world of strength in such union, in the most congenial fellowship. We touched the land, and these air-castles vanished. Land so far up the country was not surveyed; and special surveys there were none till afterwards, as there are none now. The spell which had bound

us together was broken: we were scattered to the four winds of heaven; some to different lands. Change fell upon us; dispersion darkness, and in some instances, death!

'What a lesson it would be; how fraught with entertainment and instruction, could we, without violating the confidence and courtesies of private life, reveal to the reader, the whole eventful history, the disquietudes, the vexations, the hopes and disappointments of a ship's cargo of emigrants; in fact, the fortunes of all those who went with us in search of the golden fleece!'—Preface.

But it would be unfair to charge on the crude and inapplicable systems of government all the misfortunes of emigrants. They have a good share of these to set down to their own account, and perhaps still more to the false representations of interested speculators.

'Others, and as deadly injuries,' says Mr. Howitt, 'have been inflicted on Australia by Whited Sepulchre Emigration Books. I allude to such as the 'Twenty Years' Experience of Australia;' 'Australia Felix,' by a former editor of the *Port Philip Gazette*, and numberless others. In many instances these cheap delusions,—some of them to be had for sixpence,—have cost the purchasers £20,000. How many people, alas! totally unfit for the task they have undertaken, have returned ruined by such delusions, and have spread through society a false idea of the land; whilst many others, unable to return at all, have in their letters done it a like injustice'—Preface.

Those who forsake their native land for such far-off regions, do it generally with a hope of not merely bettering their condition, but of making a great and sudden fortune by speculation. Owing to this circumstance all those Australian colonies, the old one of Sydney as well as the rest, have been over-run with the wildest spirit of speculative gambling imaginable, and the consequences have been and are just as ruinous and melancholy as might be expected. But a wise and provident government should have been as much aware of this circumstance as the people themselves, and should have at least, removed all possible means and tendencies to the increase of this desolating fire of speculative avidity. But on the contrary, their land-sale system, by cooping, as it were, the fire up in one or two spots, only made it flame more intensely. The natural tendency towards the diffusion of capital and population over the country, and into the most naturally advantageous spots was checked; the banks afforded fictitious means for speculation, and ruin came rapidly on its heels. It reached all classes. At one time labourers getting their four and five shillings a day, were seen seated by the way-side, round large tubs, into which they had broken some dozens of bottles of champagne, and were drinking

it out of them with tin cans! At another, they were landed in shoals, when the cash of the capitalists was exhausted, and were starving in the streets, and on the roads.

It is surely high time that this melancholy experience, should rouse the Government to revise, and that most carefully, their system; and such works as this, cannot be too widely read in order that both Government and the public may see exactly where the past errors have lain. Some of our contemporaries have said that Mr. Richard Howitt is a disappointed man, and therefore his statements should be received with caution. True; we would have all statements regarding this most important subject received and weighed with caution. But Mr. Richard Howitt is only one out of tens of thousands that have been disappointed in their Australian hopes. And whence comes this? There must be some great and general, and not an individual cause for it. What is that? Is it the country, or the climate? By no means; Mr. Howitt speaks of Port Philip and the surrounding regions, as of a fine and delightful country, fully realising his most sanguine expectations; as a country which must still become a great and happy one, but it must be under a totally different system to that which has hitherto been pursued. In this point of view we earnestly recommend the perusal of this volume. It appears to be written in a bold but very honest spirit, and contains a mass of information on this head.

As a work of entertainment, we have read no one since Pringle's South African Sketches, that has so completely charmed us with its living, graphic, and Robinson Crusoe spirit. There is an intense love of nature, an enjoyment of wandering, and of watching the habits of man, beast and bird in this wild life, and a quaint and racy humour, that pervades every page of the work. We present the reader with a specimen of the poetry with which the volume is interspersed, and give him also a specimen of the accidents that beset a settler's life, and then take our leave of 'Impressions of Australia.'

'THE NATIVE WOMAN'S COMPLAINT.

'When he was weak and we were strong,
The white man's soul was warmth and light;
With friendly smiles and gentle tongue,
He talked of reason and of right.

He asked of us in language meek,
Where flocks and herds might well abide;
We led to river and to creek,
Fair streams and pastures, green and wide.

He heard the river-bird content,
 Peal its sweet bells along the wave ;
 He by the Yarra pitched his tent,
 And to us wonderous food he gave :
 But now they rise on every hand,
 As clouds o'er heaven that move and spread ;
 They thrust our living from the land,
 And build their domes upon our dead.

'Gago,*' the white man cries, 'away !'
 He points us, nor delays to push ;
 'We have no food for you to day—
 Away, black Lubra ! to the Bush.'

Now they are many—we are few,
 Still brightly shine the sun and moon :
 The white man wears an altered hue,
 His soul and face are dark at noon.

We wander o'er the weary plain,
 But rarely meet the fleet emu ;
 We search for food the woods in vain,
 Nor ask who killed the kangaroo.

The white man wanders in the dark,
 We hear his thunder smite the bough ;
 The opossum's mark upon the bark
 We traced, but cannot find it now.

The white man tells us where to go,
 He tells us where to turn and stand ;
 Where our own creeks and rivers flow,
 In their old freedom through the land !

His flocks and herds our forests fill,
 A thousand woods we wander through ;
 And hunger—yet we may not kill
 The white man's woolly kangaroo.

O, sorrow ! weary little one !
 O, helpless and ill-fated child !
 The food, the life, the land is gone—
 And we must perish in the wild !'—p. 173.

'SETTLER'S LIFE AND EXPERIENCE IN AUSTRALIA.

'After seeing a great deal of very bad land, my brother wished us to locate ourselves on the south side of the River Yarra. This I attempted to do, but was out-bid by the colonial speculators, who

''* Gago—go, Lubra-woman.

merely buy land to re sell it. Yet so it happened, after these disappointments, that I bought the allotment of ninety-five acres, where I now reside, at the Government sale, June 10th, 1840. It was said by many to be one of the most lucky purchases of the whole sale. The situation is delicious; the soil tolerably rich; the slopes most graceful. The windings of the Yarra in full prospect, both near and far off, are beautiful. Some twenty or thirty bell-birds are ringing a merry peal within hearing. White cockatoos are sitting on the old gum-trees, and parrots are flitting about gorgeously umerous.'

'So I wrote on the 2nd February, 1841. But previously something had to be done. It was on the 2nd of October, 1840, that we took possession, and began to reside on our newly-purchased location. At that time Melbourne and the district were at the very *acmé* of their prosperity; all was activity: all the drays and the workmen were fully employed. A drayman, with a horse and dray, considered it poor work to get only six pounds per week. Our weather-boarded cottage had been prepared by my nephew at Melbourne, ready for putting up on the farm, when we could get it conveyed there. To engage a drayman and dray for that purpose, we had canvassed the town and its suburbs for days and days in vain. At length, after a fortnight's incessant search, we found a person from the country willing to cart up the house, four miles, four loads of it, for six pounds: this he did with his dray and oxen in four days.

'When we reached the location—and the roads are none of the best, to say nothing of the Merri creek, the bed of a torrent, full of rough stones, then partially flooded—we found ourselves in a wild open country, our cottage to be the only one for miles. To get our house materials to their intended site, was a task of no small difficulty, the face of the land being covered with growing trees, or with partly-burnt timber boughs and with rank kangaroo-grass. After many pains, grave considerations, turnings and backings, with considerable skill and patience in the driver, and aided by especial good fortune, load after load was conveyed to the spot safely. Only we had one accident on the way, and small accidents become great privations under some circumstances; what the sea, that remorseless element, had spared to us of glass and tea things, were, by one unfeeling jolt of the dray amongst the rocks, thrown, and the basket holding them, to the ground, in pitiable ruin. The fragments lie to this day under a monstrous gum-tree by the road-side.

'Here we had employment enough before us in the wilderness. Our house was in about a week erected. The first night that we slept in it, it was but partially roofed, and the bats made free to flit about over our heads, and the moon and stars to peep in; the one with bland smiles, the others apparently regarding us with prying eyes.

'When our wood-work was completed, there also wanted brick-work—a chimney to make our abode convenient and comfortable. Here again was a new difficulty. I ran here and there to persuade people for good money to bring us the required number of bricks. It was

worth nobody's while : nobody would do it. Well, we had been woodmen and house-carpenters ; we grew weary of begging to have that done, for which we must also pay handsomely. We set ourselves industriously to find clay, and found it too ; yes, and made a brick-mould and bricks. Yes, and we burnt them too. Pretty figures we were, both during the making and the burning of the bricks ; and many a hearty laugh we had at ourselves, saying, ' What would our English friends say if they saw us.' But the bricks were good bricks ; and my nephew, one of the most ingenious as well as industrious men in the world—and considerate too—had not neglected to bring a bricklayer's trowel with him ; and like a good Jack-of-all trades, he built the chimney, and did it so cleverly, that it passed muster with the world's other chimneys.

' This carpentering and brick-making, this house-building, was done after all somewhat grudgingly, for the gardening season was passing by. Nevertheless, we dug up the ground for a garden, between whiles, planting fruit-trees, setting potatoes, peas, &c. Then and after we made a large and useful garden, only it was not fenced in, for we had no time to do that. We trusted that our vigilance and that of our two faithful dogs would be a fence for it until we could make one. Then we had to begin land-clearing. The steep fronting the Yarra had many large stones in it, and to get out these, and also in many parts of the garden, was the labour of weeks. Then to cut down the timber, gum, box, she-oak, and rattle-trees, was our Herculean task.

' Whilst this was progressing wearily, day after day, at pleasant leisurely intervals, we saw with delight the rapid and plentiful growth of garden vegetables. These fully answered our expectations.

' Day after day it was no slight army of trees against which we had to do battle ; we had to fight hard with them to gain possession of the soil, for the trees in those days were giants. I then felt thankful, knowing well how to appreciate my advantages, that having been born and brought up on an English farm, all kinds of tools, agricultural and others, were at home in my hands. There was a world of work, digging to lay bare the roots, felling, and then cutting the boles and boughs up with the saw and axe. Such of the boles as were good for any thing, we cut into proper lengths for posts ; splitting and mortising them for that purpose. Rails also we had to get when there were any boughs straight enough. Some of the trees were of unconscionable girth, six or eight yards in circumference. Immense was the space of ground that had to be dug away to lay bare the roots. And then, what roots ! they were too large to be cut through with the axe ; we were compelled to saw them in two with the cross-cut saw. One of these monsters of the wild was fifteen days burning ; burning night and day, and was a regular ox-roasting fire all the time. We entirely routed the quiet of that old primæval forest solitude, rousing the echo of ages on the other side of the river that shouted back to us the stroke of the axe, and the groan and crash of falling gum-trees. Night never came too soon,

and we slept without rocking. Then what curious and novel creatures, bandicoots, flying squirrels, opossums, bats, snakes, guanias, and lizards, we disturbed, bringing down with dust and thunder their old domiciles about their ears. Sometimes, also, we found nests of young birds and of young wild cats; pretty black creatures, spotted with white. The wild denizens looked at us wildly, thinking, probably, that we were rough reformers, desperate radicals, and had no respect for immemorial and vested rights. It was unnatural work, and cruel; especially when, pile after pile, we added to our other ravages, the torment and innovation of vast fires. The horrid gaps and blank openings in the grand old woods seemed, I felt at times, to reproach us. It was reckless waste in a coalless country, to commit so much fuel to the flames. Timber, too, hard in its grain as iron almost, yet ruddy, and more beautiful than mahogany. No matter, we could not eat wood; we must do violence to our sense of the beautiful, and to Nature's sanctities; we must have corn-land, and we, with immense labour cleared seventeen acres. On one occasion I was laid up for a fortnight, keeping my bed part of the time, having been struck by a falling tree. I had to change almost immediately my linen; wringing with the perspiration of that blow's agony. Still the most vexatious circumstance of that misery was the lost time. I got over it at length, and then came other troubles. Our garden now began to look beautiful, and promised abundance. Cattle which had at first approached and annoyed us, had for some time past kept aloof, all but one incorrigible, immense, ugly, raw-boned, death-poor bullock. This monster bare-bones had the largest horns ever seen, and was, we judged, turned out into the wilderness to die. Die, however, he would not. He took a fancy to us and our garden, and haunted us perpetually. Day and night he kept us apprehensive. We drove him away for miles; a little time elapsed, and he was with us again. We tried to make him cross the river, but in vain; for we thought, once on the other side, and we should have done with him. Many times we determined to kill him, but the thought of his being some one's property deterred us. He was an everlasting annoyance to us, and we found to others also. One day I was giving him a chasing, making his old bones rattle in his hide, when an Irishman, miles from our place, accosted us with, 'Blood o' life, sir, don't dhrive the likes of him hither away. Its the little sleep we gets for the thought of him! its sure it is. He'll drop his dead carkiss at weere door some of these days, with a coorse to him, and bother us out of house and home, with the stink of him!' Sure enough it was that we were indebted to this man's dread, for his quick recurrence to our whereabouts. We drove him to them and they to us: at last he disappeared, as he came, altogether. Another bugbear, or, as Sir Walter Scott would say, 'Bubby-Jock,' shortly after took his place. Here we had not old age and ugliness to contend with; our new enemy was a large, square, heavy, slow, short-horned Durham bull. Our gaunt apparition had done us little mischief; not so our ponderous new-comer. Early one morning on

our issuing from the back-door, there lay a few paces off our ill-angel of a Manningtree beast, digesting threescore of our full grown cabbages. There lay the solid rascal, ruminating about the few that he had left, and his look was at once innocence and self-satisfaction. I could have stabbed him. But then he was a famous, important animal—a gentleman of a beast; the palm-bearer away, and prize-honoured of cattle shows. May be he was carried away bodily by that taste of cabbage in the wilderness—the air feeling ‘unusual weight’—to his old English haunts, the stall of some Duke of Portland or other wealthy cattle-breeder. We showed him no respect, however; but with a long hay-fork, filed sharp for the purpose, gored him to a great distance. How he did make the earth shake beneath him, and his fat shake too. As we urged him on, low bellowsings, like distant thunder, breathing on with him through the quiet bush. Again, after a while, he cautiously approached us, but not from the higher lands. We caught occasional glimpses of him looking with a very inquiring face from amongst the bushes on the river's flat. If he caught a glimpse of us, he fell seriously to his grazing, as though our place and us were the last in his thoughts. He was a very meditative beast, and fond of moonlight nights. On these how stealthily he would come. At midnight we heard the chewing of cabbage, and dressing hastily, had to chase him. At length he grew so wary, that he came on rainy nights only, when we could hear nothing for the pattering rain. He had not only the carcase, but the sagacity of an elephant, and did us great mischief. We once were so out of patience, that we shot at him.

‘We had now to begin fencing: the commencement of other sorrows. I had to hire a bullock-driver, to buy bullocks and a cart; and to employ a splitter in the stringy bark forest. These things, after a little inquiry, I was enabled to do. The bullock-driver was an original; and we shall have something to say about him bye and bye. I bought four bullocks, and a dray, &c., the team as I thought complete. But it was soon found necessary that something should be done to strengthen the vehicle, it not being strong enough for our heavy work. Days and days went by, whilst this work was doing at the blacksmith's; and as soon as the cart was done, there was a new hindrance. Our working cattle had had a holiday, grazing in the open bush, and now they were wanted, one of them was missing. A whole week of the finest weather, did we look for, and inquire after this beast. We searched as we thought everywhere. The weather all the while so beautiful, and so soon as the wet must set in. At last, by the merest accident we heard of him. He had been resold, through mistake it was said, by a former owner of him.’

Art. IV.—*The Curiosities of Heraldry.* With Illustrations from old English Writers, by Mark Antony Lower,; with numerous Wood Engravings, by the Author. London: J. R. Smith.

A VERY pleasant introduction to a study, which, three centuries ago, was held in high estimation, not by nobles and kings alone, but by right learned men, who deemed the education of 'the gentilmanne' unfinished unless he were able to describe in heraldic phrase the bearings of his ancestral shield.

Heraldry indeed is, as Victor Hugo remarks, 'a language,' for the whole history of the second half of the middle ages is written in blazon, just as that of the first period is in the symbolism of the Roman church. Its importance in historical inquiries,—more especially, when questions of genealogy are involved, must be apparent while as the latest exemplification of symbolism,—that language once so emphatic, and so universal, it offers to the student much that is curious, and somewhat that is even poetical.

Heraldry is of modern invention; but the earlier writers, proud of a science that had especial reference to noble and ancient families, claimed for it an antiquity as old as the creation. One of the earliest writers on the subject, Dame Juliana Berners, in her *Boke of St. Alban's*, however, not content with this, declares, 'At hevyn I wille begin, where were V. orderis of aungelis, and now stande but IV., *in cote armoris* of knawledge, encrowned ful hye wyh precious stones!' The generality of heraldic writers contented themselves with assigning a coat of arms to Adam, and this, Morgan declares to have been, 'a plain red shield,' while the arms of Eve, a shield of white, or argent, was borne upon it, as an escutcheon of pretence, she being an *heiress*! The same worthy herald furnishes armorial bearings for the chief antediluvians; Jabal's being a tent in a green field; Jubal's, a golden harp on an azure field; Tubal-Cain's, a silver hammer surmounted by a golden crown; and Naamah, as the inventress of weaving, was duly provided with the arms of a 'gentilwooman,' 'a silver carding comb in a lozenge gules,' (red). About the arms of the twelve tribes of Israel, the ancient heralds felt no difficulty. Did not Scripture itself, give to Judah, the lion; to Napthali, the hart; to Ephraim, the ox; and to Dan, the serpent? And with untiring pertinacity did they reiterate, against each caviller who questioned the high antiquity of their darling science, that conclusive text, 'every man shall pitch by his own standard with the ensign of his father's house.' (Num. ii. 2.)

Some of the later heralds, however, contented themselves with

assigning that memorable era, the Trojan war, as the period of 'the beginynge of armes;' but they never appear to have tolerated the notion of a more modern origin. The following extract will afford an amusing instance of the respect with which right learned heralds, in the reign of James the First, regarded that favourite story of Geoffrey of Monmouth,—the colonization of Britain by Brutus and his three sons.

'Upon the accession of James VI. of Scotland to the throne of England, a controversy arose between the heralds of the two nations respecting the priority of right to the first quarter in the British achievement. The Scottish officers maintained that as Scotland was the older sovereignty, its tressured lion should take precedence of the three lions-passant, or, as they called them, the *leopards*, of England. This was an indignity which the English heralds could not brook, and they employed Sir William Segar to investigate the antiquity of our national ensigns. Segar's treatise on this subject, dedicated to his majesty, contains some fine examples of fictitious heraldry. He begins with the imaginary story of Brutus, king of Britain, a thousand years before the Christian era, and his division of the island between his three sons. To Locheren, the eldest, he gave that portion afterwards called England, with arms, 'Or, a lion passant-guardant, gules.' To his second son, Toalknack, he assigned Albania, or Scotland, with 'Or, a Lion rampant, gules,' which, says he, with the addition of the double tressure, continue the arms of Scotland. And to his youngest son he gave Cambria, with 'Argent, three Lions passant-guardant, gules, which the princes of Wales used for a long time.' Vide Nisbet's Essay on Arm. p. 162.

Quitting the fancies and fables of these entertaining old writers for authentic documents, we think an earlier date for heraldry cannot be assigned than the eleventh, or beginning of the twelfth century.

The *germ*, indeed,—

'of that flourishing tree which eventually ramified into all the kingdoms of Christendom, and became one of the most striking and picturesque features of the feudal ages, and the most gorgeous ornament of chivalry, and which interweaves its branches into the entire framework of mediæval history, is doubtless to be found in the banners and ornamented shields of the warriors of antiquity. Standards, as the necessary distinctions of contending parties on the battle-field, must be nearly or quite as antient as war itself; and every such mark of distinction would readily become a national cognizance both in war and peace. But it was reserved for later ages to apply similar marks and symbols to the purpose of distinguishing different commanders on the same side, and even after this became general it was some time ere the hereditary transmission of such ensigns was resorted to as a means of distinguishing families, which in the lapse of ages—the warlike idea in which they had their origin having

vanished—has become almost the only purpose to which they are now applied.

‘The standards used by the German princes in the centuries immediately preceding the Norman Conquest, are conjectured to have given rise to Heraldry, properly so called. Henry l’Oiseleur (the Fowler), who was raised to the throne of the West in 920, advanced it to its next stage when, in regulating the tournaments—which from mismanagement had too often become scenes of blood—he ordered that all combatants should be distinguished by a kind of mantles or livery composed of lists or narrow pieces of stuff of opposite colours, whence originated the pale, bend, &c.—the marks now denominated ‘honourable ordinaries.’

‘If the honour of inventing heraldry be ascribed to the Germans, that of reducing it to a system must be assigned to France. To the French belong ‘the arrangement and combination of tinctures and metals, the variety of figures effected by the geometrical positions of lines, the attitudes of animals, and the grotesque delineation of monsters.’ The art of describing an heraldic bearing in proper terms is called blazonry, from the French verb *blasonner*, whence also we derive our word *blaze* in the sense of to proclaim or make known.’—Pp. 16, 17.

That most curious piece of needlework, the Bayeux tapestry, worked during the reign of the Conqueror, and most probably by his queen and her handmaidens, although exhibiting shields and banners adorned with rude devices, still proves that heraldry, properly so called, was unknown, inasmuch as many of the shields bear the self same devices, and there is no distinctive banner assigned, even to the chief leader. The opinion which places the origin of heraldry, about the period of the first and second crusades, is, we think, the most correct. Certain it is, that, up to the close of the eleventh century, scarcely anything resembling armorial bearings can be found among the *authentic* memorials of that period, while, at the close of the twelfth, these bearings became general, not only among monarchs, but among their nobility. From that time, even until the close of the seventeenth century, were the high and palmy days of the herald and his science.

In the chapter, entitled ‘The Rationale of Heraldic Charges,’ Mr. Lower enters upon the subject of the distinctive colours, and ‘ordinaries’ of heraldry. The following is his definition of *gules*, and it certainly corroborates the view taken by some later writers, that the first *notion* of heraldry was derived from the east.

‘GULES, according to Ducange, is *goulis, sive guelle, gula, sive guella*, the red colour of the mouth or throat of an animal. Mackenzie derives it from the Hebrew *gulude*, a piece of red cloth, or from the Arabic *gule*, a red rose. *Ghul* in the Persian signifies rose-coloured,

and *Ghulistan* is 'the country of roses.' It is probably one of those importations from the East which the Crusades introduced, both into the elements of armoury and the nomenclature of the science. It was sometimes called *vermeil* (vermillion) and *rouget*.—P. 51.

Azure, in like manner, is a French corruption of the Arabic word '*lazor*.' The names of the other colours are however all old French. Almost every animal has a place in 'coat armor;' but it is amusing to observe the difference between the heraldic animal and the real one. The lion is, indeed, a most rueful looking beast, with a turnspit length of back, as our readers may easily perceive by looking at the old pictures of the royal arms.

Not only almost every 'beast of the wood, and bird of the air,' but nearly every fish of the sea, from the kingly dolphin to the herring and sprat, (borne in the arms parlant of the families who rejoice in those two last names,) find a place in heraldry. The human figure, too, is often found. Warriors, foresters, saracens, angels, 'our ladye,' too; but the most curious bearing of all is that of 'Prester John,' concerning whom Mr. Lower gives the following amusing account:—

'The arms of the see of Chichester are the most singular to be found in the whole circle of church heraldry. They are blazoned thus: '*Azure, Prester-John* hooded, sitting on a tomb-stone; in his sinister hand an open book; his dexter hand extended, with the two fore-fingers erect, all or; *in his mouth* a sword, sessewise, gules, hilt and pommel or, the point to the sinister.' Prester or Presbyter-John, the person here represented, was a fabulous person of the middle ages, who was imagined to sway the sceptre of a powerful empire *somewhere* in the East, and who must have been a very long-lived personage, unless he was *reproduced* from time to time like the phoenix of antiquity. Many writers, during the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, make mention of him. Sir John Maundevile describes his territory, which, however, he did not visit. That country, according to his statement, contained rocks of adamant, which attracted all the ships that happened to come near them, until the congeries appeared like a forest, and became a kind of floating island. It also abounded in popinjays or parrots as '*plentee as gees*,' and precious stones large enough to make '*plateres, dissches, and cuppes*.' '*Many other marveylls been there*,' he adds, '*so that it were to cumbrous and to long to putten it in scripture of bokes*.' He describes the Emperor himself as '*cristene*,' and believing '*wel in the Fadre, in the Sone, and in the Holy Gost*,' yet, in some minor points, not quite sound in the faith. As to his imperial state, he possessed seventy-two provinces, over each of which presided a king; and he had so great an army that he could devote 330,000 men to guard his standards, which were '*3 crosses of gold, syn, grete and hye, fulle of precious stones*.' It is related of Columbus

that he saw on one of the islands of the West Indies, which he then apprehended to be a part of the continent of Asia, a grave and sacred personage, whom he at first believed to be Prester-John. This incident serves to show that the existence of this chimerical being was credited even so lately as the close of the fifteenth century, although Roger Bacon, in the thirteenth, doubted many of the tales related of him—'de quo tanta fama solebat esse, et multa falsa dicta sunt et scripta.'—Pp. 77, 78.

In nondescript animals the taste and fancy of the ancient herald absolutely revelled. Harpies, mermaids, chimeras, griffins, wyverns, unicorns, winged horses, above all dragons, taxed the utmost skill of the herald painter. But the chief favourite was the dragon. Arthur's shield was said to have borne this charge. The standard of the kings of the West Saxons was a golden dragon on a red banner; a red dragon was one of the standards of our Plantagenets, and an 'austere' one was directed to be made by Edward Fitz Odo, the king's goldsmith, in 1244, 'in the manner of an ensign of red samyte, embroidered with gold, and his tongue to appear as though continually moving, and his eyes of sapphire or of other stones, agreeable to him.' A similar standard was borne at the battle of Cressy; and the French also bore a similar banner. With the accession of the Tudor family, the red dragon almost superseded the royal lion. It became the sinister supporter of the monarch's arms, and was the favourite crest both of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth. It was fated, however, on the accession of the Stuarts to give place to the unicorn, which, notwithstanding the expulsion of that wretched family, still keeps its place as supporter. The royal crest seems always to have been the 'lion *statant guardant*;' but the badge varied with almost every monarch.

The broom-plant, or *planta-genesta*, was introduced by Henry II. From this badge the illustrious line of Plantagenet derived their surname. The story of its origin, be it true or false, is well known.

The first monarch who assumed the rose was Edward I., who bore the flower or, the stalk green. From this, in some way as yet unexplained, probably originated the white and red roses of his descendants, the rival houses of York and Lancaster. Richard II. adopted the white hart and white falcon, both of which afterwards became the titles of pursuivants. The white swan of Henry IV. is said to have been derived from the Bohuns, Earls of Hereford, the family of his first wife. The double S, concerning which so much conjecture has been wasted, was another badge of this monarch.

The device of Margaret of Anjou, Queen of Henry VI. was a daisy, in allusion to her name:

'The daisy a floure white and rede,
In French called la belle Margarete.'—Chaucer.

'The extensive use of badges by the retainers of princes is shown by the order of Richard III. for the making of thirteen thousand *boars* 'wrought upon fustian,' to be used at his coronation.

'The rose and portcullis are amongst the most familiar of royal badges. These were used by the Tudors. The Tudor rose was a blending of the white and red roses of the two factions, united in this line of sovereigns. The portcullis came originally from the family of Beaufort. James I. combined the dexter half of the Tudor rose with the sinister moiety of the Scottish thistle, ensigned with a crown. At present, when the badges of the three kingdoms are represented with the royal arms, little attention is paid to heraldic propriety. The rose, shamrock, and thistle are figured, not *secundum artem*, but according to the fancy of the painter.'—Pp. 148, 149.

The origin of heraldic mottoes were probably from 'the word of onset,' or battle cry; but the majority of the ancient mottoes now extant, cannot have been derived from that source. Many of them are puns upon the name of the family. Thus, the Vernon motto is '*Vernon semper viret*;' that of Bellasyse, '*Bonne et belle assez*;' Cave, has '*Cave*;' Fairfax, '*Fare fac*;' the Veres, '*Vero nil verius*.'

'And here a *Cockneysism* :

'WRAY of Lincolnshire Et juste et vray. Both just and true.

'Set on !' says SETON, Earl of Wintoun ; '*Boutez en avant* !'
Lead forward ! says Viscount Buttevant ;

'Fight on,' quoth FITTON !

'Smite,' quoth SMITH !

'Pugnacious fellows !

'Many a gibe has found vent in a motto. A London tobacconist who had set up his carriage, requiring a motto for his arms, was furnished with '*QUID rides* ?' Why do you laugh ? And a great hop-planter found the following chalked beneath the arms upon his chariot :

'Who'd a' thought it,
Hops had bought it ?'

'Dr. Cox Macro, the learned Cambridge divine, consulting a friend on the choice of a motto, was pithily answered with '*Cocks may crow* !'—P. 158.

It is strongly corroborative of the opinion, that armorial bearings took their rise from the crusades; that the arms of so many ancient families display charges derived from circumstances attendant on them.

'The Vescis, Chetwodes, Knowleses, Tyntes, Villierses, and various other families, bear crosses in their arms, traditionally derived from the period of the Crusades.

'Sir Ancel Gornay attended Richard I on his crusade, and was present at the capture of Ascalon, where he took a Moorish king prisoner. From this circumstance he adopted as his crest, 'A king of the Moors habited in a robe, and crowned, kneeling, and surrendering with his dexter hand, his sword, all proper.' This crest was continued by the Newton's, of Barr's Court, co. Gloucester, one of whom married the heiress of the Gornays. Among several other armorial ensigns dated from this same battle of Ascalon is the crest of Darrell, which may be briefly described as, 'Out of a ducal coronant a Saracen's head appropriately vested,' and which was assumed by Sir Marmaduke Darrell, in commemoration of his having killed the infidel King of Cyprus; also the arms and crest of Minshull, of Cheshire, 'Azure, an estoile issuant out of a crescent, in base argent.' *Crest*, 'An Eastern warrior, kneeling on one knee, habited gules, legs and arms in mail proper; at his side a scymitar sable, hilted or; on his head a turban with a crescent and feather argent, presenting, with his sinister hand, a crescent of the last.' These bearings were assigned to Michael de Minshull for his valour on that occasion, but the particular nature of his exploits is not recorded.

'The Bouchiers, earls of Essex, bore 'Argent, a cross engrailed gules, between four water-bowgets sable. *Crest*. The bust of a Saracen king, with a long cap and coronet, all proper.' All these bearings are emblematical of the crusades.—Pp. 167, 168.

Another class of arms are what are termed *allusive*. The 'bend wavy sable' of the Wallop family, is an heraldic picture of the 'Wellhope,' the fountain springing from the hill top and running downward, giving birth to a small river, which many centuries ago, gave the family its name. In like manner, Lord Stourton bears a bend between six fountains, from the circumstance, that the river Stour rises in Wiltshire, at Stourton, from six fountains. Arms of Tenure are more interesting. Most of the English families bearing the names of Forester, or Foster, have a bugle horn, the distinctive badge of the forester, in their arms; the founder of the Grosvenor family was chief huntsman, '*le Gros Veneur*,' to the Conqueror, and the crest is therefore a hound. The family of Pitt bore 'a fesse, chequy, argent and azure, between three bezants.' In this was represented both the chequered table-cover, and the gold coinage in use at the Exchequer, when the arms were first granted to the founder, who held office there.

An interesting and amusing chapter on 'the distinctions of rank and honour,' follows next; in the course of which, among other very correct remarks, Mr. Lower well observes that 'the phrase so common of late,' *tenant farmer*, is as fine a piece of tautology as 'coat-mending tailor or shoe-mending cobbler, would be.' The heraldic definition, and descriptions of 'gen-

tlemen,' are very amusing; among others, we find that those descended in lineal degree from him 'who slewe a Saracene, or heathen gentleman,' were allowed the title. We should think there are few claimants on this ground in the present day, or even in the days when Sir John Fern pointed out this source of gentility. Historical notices of the College-of-Arms, and of the principal writers on heraldry, follow; and the work closes with a chapter on Genealogy. We have been much amused with this very curious and entertaining book, and recommend it to all those who desire a pleasant introduction to a branch of knowledge which, although fallen from its former high station, is still indispensable to a right understanding of the peculiarities of the middle ages, and indeed of their history.

Art. V. *The Life, Progresses, and Rebellion of James, Duke of Monmouth.* By George Roberts. In 2 vols. London; Longmans. 1844.

THE subject of these volumes was one of those heartless villains who flit across the page of history without a single feature of attractiveness, beyond their associations. Yet their actions having been part, and sometimes an important part, of the great human drama, we are compelled, almost against our better inclinations, to listen to the narrative of their wickedness, and even to learn from it many awful lessons.

During the civil wars, there came up to London, from Haverfordwest, an impudent courtesan, the daughter of a person named Richard Walters, whom Evelyn, who saw and knew every body, describes as 'a browne, beautiful, bold, but insipid creature.' She assumed the *alias* of Barlow, on commencing her profligate courses, which introduced her to Algernon Sydney and his brother Robert, beside many others; until at last, in Holland, she captivated Charles the Second, and gave birth at Rotterdam, on the 9th of April, 1649, to James, afterwards created Duke of Monmouth. Hyde and Ormond in vain protested against the royal scandal; although, after a few years, they succeeded in bribing her with an annuity of 400*l.* per annum, to repair with her child to London; where, in 1656, Oliver Cromwell discovered her retreat, and committed her to the Tower. She called herself consort to the banished prince, and received abundant honours as such, from several deluded cavaliers in the metropolis, who served her on their knees;

beholding in her, we presume, the daughter-in-law of their lately canonized martyr! The Protector, having no doubt ascertained her real character, packed her off to France; where, after forfeiting the favour of her paramour, and pretending to be a penitent before the learned bishop Cosin, she persisted in her infamous profession, and quickly terminated her days. Her child, under the appellation of James Crofts, passed through several hands into the ultimate custody of the Queen Dowager Henrietta, who grew fond of him. After the Restoration, in July 1662, she brought him over, at the particular request of his father, to Hampton Court and Whitehall. The gay monarch lavished upon him the full sunshine of prosperity: acknowledging him as his son; lodging him in the Privy Gallery; assigning him an immense allowance; procuring for him Anne Scott, countess and heiress of Buccleugh, in her own right, as his future wife; creating him Baron of Tinedale, Earl of Doncaster, and Duke of that title, by which he is generally known; besides electing him a knight of the garter, and making him master of the horse, with all its rich appointments and emoluments. After his marriage, with one of the largest fortunes in the kingdom, he adopted the name of his lady, adding to their other honours the dukedom of Buccleugh, the earldom of Dalkeith, the baronies of Whitcheater and Ashdale; the bridegroom being also, in due course, nominated to the captaincy of the Life Guards, the commandership of the forces, the Privy Council, the governorship of Hull, the lord lieutenancy of the East Riding of Yorkshire, and the chief-justiceship in Eyre of the Forests! Meanwhile, there was nothing to recommend him, except the accidents of royal yet illegitimate parentage, and an exceedingly handsome person. ‘His countenance was altogether charming; manly, without insipidity or effeminacy. Each feature had its beauty and particular delicacy. A marvellous disposition for all sorts of exercise, an attractive address, an air of greatness; in fine, all mere personal advantages spoke in his favour; *mais son esprit ne disoit pas un petit mot en sa faveur?*’ Such is the description given us of him in the Mémoires de Grammont. In other words, he was a painted popinjay, poisoned with praise and flattery, and spoiled by what is falsely termed good fortune.

Before he was fifteen, the two servile universities of Oxford and Cambridge had adorned him with an honorary degree of Master in Arts, and what was really of more importance to him, his uncle, the Duke of York, had taken him to sea, that he might smell gunpowder in the first Dutch war. Just about the attainment of his majority, feeling offended at a pardonable witticism of Sir John Coventry, which reflected upon his ma-

jesty, he basely employed a party of ruffians to waylay the humourous senator, and slit his nose to the bone! In the same year, in company with the Duke of Albemarle and nine others, he attacked the watch for interfering with his pleasures, and mercilessly killed a beadle, although the poor man humbly begged for his life! Charles, to save Monmouth, pardoned all the murderers, amidst a storm of popular execration. But what else had the nation deserved? The voluptuous sovereign doated upon such a hopeful profligate. His young favourite stood out in singular contrast to the solemn hypocrisy of the heir apparent; and although he told lords Carlisle and Ashley that, much as he loved Monmouth, he would rather see him hanged at Tyburn, than own him for his legitimate offspring; yet he began to think, that as a counterpoise to the Duke of York, this aspiring scape-grace might prove of no inconsiderable service. Hence, the hint once given, both king and court acted accordingly. Buckingham fostered the scheme. The queen was childless, and likely to die so. An idle multitude therefore gathered round the new idol, whispering false rumours, that one day he might succeed to the throne. Even the protestantism of that unhappy period fell into the snare. Both the Anglican establishment, and Nonconformity itself, were looking about for a champion against the consequences of a catholic reign. Their eyes fell upon the representative of Lucy Walters! It was some time, nevertheless, before they styled him the Protestant duke; for he was now a volunteer under Louis the Fourteenth against the Dutch. But, on his return from the campaign of Maestrecht, he became chancellor of Cambridge, and thought it expedient to act a little religion occasionally. Whilst he had been abroad, the Duke of York had married a second time. His princess being a Romanist, the apprehensions, which had already been excited against his Royal Highness, augmented very naturally. Charles pretended to get alarmed, and invoked the usual penal laws against catholics. They were even forbidden to approach his household, or walk in the parks, or enjoy the slightest favour. He proclaimed a fast, concluded peace with Holland, smiled more than ever upon his son, permitted the latter to coalesce with Shaftesbury, and only laughed heartily to himself, when the youthful chancellor inflicted a serious lecture upon the clergy of his university for the heinous innovation of reading their sermons! Changing, however, once more his canonicals for arms, Monmouth now joined the prince of Orange against his former friends, the French; which confirmed the tide of popularity already beginning to set in towards him. The Popish Plot, and the affair of the Exclusion Bill, deepened and strengthened its current.

Charles had dismissed his brother, who retired to Brussels, upon a solemn promise that his rights should not be sacrificed to any absurd claims started by Monmouth; who, it was reported, had procured no less than four witnesses to prove a contract of marriage between his father and mother.

‘ The absence of James left the field open to Monmouth and his party, who were occupied in contest with the king respecting a prosecution of Lord Danby, which minister was supposed to know all the secret negotiations with France. The two houses of parliament appeared to contend in the race of orthodoxy and loyalty. Both houses again declared, that there had existed and did exist, a horrid and treasonable conspiracy, contrived by those of the popish religion, for the murdering of the king, the subverting of protestantism, and the ruining of the ancient government of the kingdom; and the more to inflame the passions of the people, it was ordered that this vote should be prefixed to the public form of prayer appointed to be read on the day of the national fast. Little did the passers of this vote know of Charles’ religion, or connexion with France, and of his treaty for the introduction of French arms to reduce the country to obedience, if resisting the change of religion.’—vol. i., p. 47.

The fact is, however, that although neither parliament nor people could exactly point out the genuine culprits, nor define the precise shape and extent of their criminality, yet suspicions were so wide awake, as to form an apology for trusting such wretches as Monmouth and Shaftesbury. Feeling their way in the dark, they may claim to be forgiven for multifarious errors. The enemies around them were like the hobgoblins in the valley of the shadow of death, in *Pilgrim’s Progress*. In number they were known to be numerous; their power was fearful, and the more so through the obscurity, in which their plans and persons lay deeply concealed. Patriotism, therefore, and true godliness, were often sorely puzzled and perplexed. Satan, moreover, lost no opportunity of presenting himself as an angel of light; and it is wonderful how well the wicked ones of that age could fall into strains of pious phraseology. James, Duke of York, had avowed himself an adherent of Rome. Public opinion had then no other idea of Romanism than might be connected with the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and the Marian persecutions. James, Duke of Monmouth, also a scion of the royal family, proclaimed himself at the head of the most vehement opponents of popery and its followers. It looked, according to the inaccurate notions of those days, as though it were something like a protestant heir-presumptive struggling with a popish heir-apparent. Interested miscreants cherished the mistake; which was still further favoured by the deceitful conduct of Charles the Second, in always treating his brother

and son, for his own selfish purposes, as though they were rivals in future prospects, as well as present power. When the Covenanters rose in Scotland, and were dispersed by Monmouth at Bothwell Bridge, their conqueror clearly made the world believe that he sympathized in their oppressions. He would not let the dragoons pursue and massacre *such honest Protestants!* Upon his return to London, fame had flown before him; and his consequent reception was just that which most gratified his ambition. Monmouth was in every mouth. His parasites now addressed him by the title of Highness. The king, if not alarmed, at all events was taken ill; he suddenly pretended to entertain jealousy of all persons except the Duke of York, who was recalled to London; by slow degrees, and for some period of time, his affections, if they ever deserved so respectable a name, were really alienated from their former object; Monmouth was ordered to go abroad, in his turn, whilst his uncle was to reside at Edinburgh. Shaftesbury kept up what he styled protestant agitation, by annual pope-burnings on the 5th of November, attendance upon which came to be esteemed a test both of orthodoxy and loyalty; and amidst general demoralization, almost without a parallel, the sacred name of religion became a stalking horse for obtaining power or popularity. The subject of this article proved himself in very deed and truth the Absalom of his age, as his great intellectual coadjutor was the villainous Achitophel. Shaftesbury at length induced him to return home without permission, which threw the metropolis into such convulsions of joy, that his majesty indignantly banished him with his sign-manual. Monmouth, grown bolder as he got older, dared to disobey. The king stripped him of all his various offices in a single day; but unhappily, the splendid fortune of his duchess enabled him to set even his father at defiance. Ambition, rage, evil counsellors, and worse times, had now their full sway. Libels were scattered profusely throughout the various ranks and classes of the realm, familiarizing too many minds with his preposterous pretensions. There are few things which the vulgar will not credit and the reason of the seventeenth century could bear no comparison with that of the nineteenth. We are far short of what we ought to be; yet, though there is no room for exultation, perhaps one hundred individuals can read and think now, where only one could then. Wickedness therefore fell fully to work upon ignorance; and immense was its success. The story of a black box, in which Bishop Cosin was said to have deposited the contract of marriage between the king and Lucy Walters, found innumerable believers. Those who were using their utmost efforts to withstand the arbitrary designs of absolutism,

in the person of Charles the Second, lent at least not unwilling ears. Their grand error, as Hallam judiciously remarks, was, in admitting such a wolf as Shaftesbury to their confidence. 'Under his contaminating influence their passions became more untractable, their connexions more seditious and democratical, their schemes more revolutionary, and they broke away more and more from the line of national opinion; till a fatal re-action involved themselves in ruin, and exposed the whole cause of public liberty to most imminent peril. The countenance and support of Shaftesbury brought forward that unconstitutional and most impracticable scheme,—the Duke of Monmouth's succession.' Whiggery can look back with but little pleasure upon its patrons!

It has been truly asserted, that, to make a son of Lucy Walters king of England, was alike offensive to the pride of the nobles, and to the moral feelings of the middle classes. The old cavaliers, the gentry generally, and the clergy, with few exceptions, 'began to draw together, and form themselves in close array round the throne.' These are the words of an eminent Edinburgh reviewer, who overlooks, however, another party, whose movements were of some importance under the Stuarts. The dissenters were, many of them, for Monmouth. They had every ground for detesting their governors; nor did it at all mend the matter, in their judgment, that an overbearing aristocracy, and an established hierarchy, stood as the two most prominent supporters of the crown. What precise proportion they could claim amongst their numbers, out of the squirearchy and shopocracy of that day, we are not prepared to say; but they were an increasing body marvellously maltreated. In the west of England, the majority within towns found lucrative employment through woollen manufactures. The serge-makers had small respect for royalty and nobility at all; nor could they be supposed to enter with much nicety into a question of legitimate marriage, as affecting the claims of the Duke of Monmouth. Let us listen for a moment to some description of their social position from the Restoration to the Revolution.

'Their numbers were despised; but these increased, whenever an opportunity was afforded of throwing off the mask assumed to avoid the penalties inflicted upon nonconformists. The depth of feeling expressed in their speeches and writings was great, and finds excuse only with those of a different creed, who know what they had to undergo. Not only were they visited by exclusion from many desirable objects of ambition, but they felt a persecution scarcely endurable. Imprisonment, at all times a grave punishment, was terrible to the sober-minded, the sickly, and respectable, when dirt

and disease awaited the crowded inmates of chambers, or rather dens, that held the promiscuous felons, and victims of laws framed against nonconformity ! Though the punishment of death was inflicted for one hundred and sixty different offences, the gaol-fever, the consequence of neglect of air, food, and water, destroyed, even as late as 1773, more than all the public executions in the kingdom. In some instances, the gaolers had to pay the window-tax, which tempted them to stop the windows. No bedding was found, so that many lay on the bare floor. Howard's description of the gaols is horrible. From the Restoration, A.D. 1660, to the declaration by James the Second, for Liberty of Conscience, in 1687, *more than fifteen thousand families of dissenters* had been ruined, *and more than five thousand nonconformists had died in bonds for matters of conscience.*—vol. ii., pp. 270—271.

We doubt whether it is commonly known, that the Mansion House of the city of London was built with money collected by fines levied upon dissenters. Archbishop Laud, in 1640, had summoned a convocation of the clergy, who enacted, amongst other new constitutions, that every incumbent and curate should instruct his parishioners, once a quarter, in the divine right of kings, and the damnable sin of resistance to authority. Religious operatives laughed in their sleeves at such nonsense, when they dared not laugh out loud. Hence Monmouth culminated in their affections and associations. All that they knew of him was, that he led the great country party opposed to the Duke of York,—a party hostile to the high doctrines of the established church,—and to the corruptions of an oppressive court. In the latter years of Charles the Second, as all must remember, the violence of a few amongst that party produced a reaction by no means creditable to British patriotism. The Protestant duke, as Monmouth was now styled, had entangled himself in the cobwebs of faction, without possessing either genius, ability, or character. He could just project himself forward, and that was all. It was suggested, that a kind of progress through the western counties might be of service, and he engaged in it; distributing money, smiles, promises, and favours, amidst gaping mobs, and portly burgesses. Not Queen Elizabeth herself could have excited more attention, nor drank into a giddy brain more intoxicating draughts of folly and adulation. His grace, or his highness, even touched for the king's evil; and glowing accounts are preserved of his condescending visits to Longleat, Barrington Court, Ford Abbey, White Lackington, Brimpton, Colyton, Otterton, and Clifton Houses. Similar scenes were subsequently realized in a northern direction, at Trentham Hall, Chester, Liverpool, and Stafford, where, at length, he was formally arrested; although

nothing serious came of it. His father watched him indeed closely, as his attractive manners and demeanour stole away all hearts. He played at bowls, and ran foot-races at some places. Shaftesbury had been prosecuted, and driven ultimately into Holland, where he died; so that, finding other advisers necessary, the duke chose his celebrated council of six;—*celebrated* as comprehending the names, amongst others, of Russell, Algernon Sydney, and the younger Hampden. Then followed the unfortunate Rye House Plot, in which Monmouth was implicated; throughout which he displayed the basest treachery and pusillanimity; and from the results of which he withdrew first to the arms of his mistress, lady Henrietta Wentworth, and afterwards to Holland. Fresh intrigues pursued him thither; for his uncle, the Duke of York, had mounted into augmented influence upon the political ruin of his young competitor; and, as Charles seemed declining in health, almost every knee had bowed to the rising sun. James made his brother feel this change of circumstances more than he probably intended; since, from sheer caprice, the voluptuous monarch once more cast his eyes towards the darling of his brighter days. It is certain, that Monmouth was to have been again brought forward, upon making suitable submission; but death arrested Charles the Second on the 6th of February, 1685, and changed the whole face of affairs. The exile, we are told, was 'like one out of his senses,' when the intelligence was communicated to him by the Prince of Orange. His unmanly cries and lamentations, however literal and uproarious, were precisely those of a spoiled child, under its first flagellation far too long postponed. Sulkiness, or dire revenge, actuated him by turns; and he would have fain hid his head in Sweden, with a guilty companion, had not Lord Argyle and the English refugees worked upon the more violent side of his temperament, and precipitated both him and themselves into an ill-timed rebellion!

It was arranged that Argyle should descend upon Scotland, and Monmouth upon England. Neither had prepared any adequate forces, nor had either received such invitations as could at all justify their subsequent measures. Lord Grey, of Werk, was the solitary nobleman rash enough to stake his fortunes in the train of the Duke. Ferguson observed, that the cause was a good one; and that God would not leave them, unless they left Him! This pious language, it must be remembered, was addressed to a couple of the most profligate charlatans upon earth. His Grace, however, began to 'talk enthusiastically, on the subject;' although at the very time he was wallowing in avowed adultery, and had to pawn his own jewels, as well as

those of his mistress, to purchase arms. With these, a ship was freighted, ostensibly for Spain : but really, the munitions of war were to be landed, together with the adventurer and his followers, eighty three in number, wherever he might direct, upon the British shores. Three tenders belonged to the vessel ; one of which fell into the hands of the Dutch authorities : so that there was no ground whatever for insinuating that Holland, or her rulers, in any manner connived at the expedition. Notice was forwarded from Amsterdam and the Hague to London, with all possible speed, after the Prince of Orange had discovered the secret. On the 21st of June, 1685, Monmouth, with his 'frigate and her companions, hovered at day-break off Lyme Regis, in Dorsetshire, where a landing was effected in the course of the day from seven boats. Amidst the confusion of this small market town, which possessed no defences, but many dissenters, the Duke called for silence, and desired they would join with him in returning thanks to the Almighty for that wonderful preservation they had met with at sea, in escaping the royal fleet. He then fell on his knees upon the sand, an act of devotion, which all the rest imitated, and he vouchsafed *to be their mouth-piece in a short ejaculation!*' Two chaplains, it seems, were present, but remained silent ; it is to be hoped, through some vestiges of disgust at the enormous hypocrisy of their leader. The latter, losing no further time, drew his sword, and proceeded to the market-place, where his declaration or manifesto was read to the populace, who naturally enough flocked in multitudes to hear. Under the shadow of a blue flag it announced at great length, that the Duke of Monmouth had arrived as 'Captain-General, and head of the protestant forces of the kingdom, assembled to restore liberty to the people of God, for the worship of God, and to preserve the rights and privileges of the nation.' Burnet assures us, that this document was 'very long, and ill penned,—full of much black and dull malice.' Nevertheless, our author observes, with equal correctness, that 'it coincided perfectly with the prejudices and passions of those to whom it was principally addressed.' Its lines fell harmoniously upon the ears of the discontented, the persecuted, the excited, whether in religion or politics ? The nonconformists in fact, at Lyme, had suffered as signally as their brethren elsewhere. Their chapel had witnessed the demolition of its seats, pulpit, and gallery, no great while before ; and its worshippers had to betake themselves to a conventicle in the open fields. Their enthusiasm, therefore, was soon at its height. Eighty young men of the town enlisted upon the spot. Four small pieces of artillery, mounted on field-carriages, were brought on shore, with fifteen hundred stand of arms for infantry, and as

many cuirasses. Rather more than two hundred barrels of gunpowder, with a small quantity of grenades, matches, and other necessary articles, formed the entire equipment; of which the whole cost, including the artillery, had been only 3000*l*! An ordinary buccaneer would have scorned to put to sea with such contemptible stores. Nevertheless, his forces within eight and forty hours had swollen to a thousand foot, and one hundred and fifty horse. Albermarle, however, was advancing from Exeter with the militia of Devonshire, and the invaders became so straightened for provisions, that between policy and necessity, orders were said to have been given to observe *a solemn fast for success*. An unlucky quarrel now deprived Monmouth of Andrew Fletcher, his best officer: nor was the first expedition against Bridport aught else than a failure; since Lord Grey ran away at the head of his cavalry, at the sound of an early volley. Still, numbers continued to arrive, though with very few of the gentry, and none of the nobility. Lord Churchill carried two messengers before his majesty, who brought accurate accounts of the enterprise. They attended at the bar of the House of Commons; and upon their evidence the bill of Attainder was passed, which the king signed on the 26th of June. By that time, whilst Parliament was offering the warmest loyalty of a nation to defend James the Second, his nephew had dispersed the Devon and Somersetshire volunteers under the Duke of Albermarle, near Axminster, and was in full march through Chard and Ilminster, to Taunton. On neither side could the fighting, as yet, have been very magnanimous. The militia cast off their coats, and ran with inconceivable speed from 'the mouths of two or three hollow trees, pointed towards them, which they mistook for cannon.' The capital of Somerset then exercised important influence on the west of England, with a larger population, perhaps, than it has at the present day. Its inhabitants were mostly manufacturers and nonconformists. Two years before, their places of worship had been rifled and destroyed; nor did a Sunday pass without their being driven to the parish church to escape the heavy penalties for non-attendance. It may easily be conceived, therefore, how welcome would be any tolerable deliverer. All remained tranquil until the morning before Monmouth arrived; when the mob seized some muskets, accoutrements, and ammunition; and on Thursday the 28th of June, his Grace made a public entry. Every one, who had a horse, or could procure one, went out to meet him. 'Upper and lower classes vied with each other in testifying their affection for his person, and their zeal for his cause. While the latter rent the air with applauses, and acclamations, the former opened their houses to him and to his

followers ; furnishing his army with necessities and supplies of every kind. His way was strewn with flowers ; the windows were thronged with spectators, all anxious to participate in what the warm feelings of the moment made them deem a triumph. Husbands pointed out to their wives, mothers to their children, the brave and lovely hero, who was destined to be the saviour of his country.' Oldmixon more gravely and judiciously states, that 'one would have thought the wits of the people had flown away in the flights of their joy !'

The snowball had thus enlarged as it rolled. On the following day, at noon, twenty seven young ladies, better known as the famous 'maids of Taunton,' presented to the Duke as many colours, which they had worked with their own hands. He kissed them each, and so did Lord Grey : but their leader, or as she has been styled, 'the captain of the virgins,' a school-mistress, who ought to have known better, preceded the others with a naked sword in one hand, and a small curious bible in the other, which she presented with a short acceptable speech ; at which, the Duke, 'in a manner transported, assured her, that he came now into the field, with a design to defend the truths contained in that book, and to seal it with his blood, if there should be occasion for it.' Her name was Blake. His Grace then mounted his horse, and the twenty-seven maids followed, each bearing her own standard, and led by a man. One of them, Mary Mead, waved in the air a golden flag, fringed with rich lace, and a crown upon it, surmounted with the initial letters, J. R.,—understood to signify *Jacobus Rex* ! His first manifesto had already glanced at his title to the throne, which it was intimated the Duke of Monmouth would not, *for the present*, insist upon ; but no doubt can reasonably be entertained about his real and ultimate object, from the commencement. His officers, however, were now getting clamorous. It was imagined, that by assuming the regal title, he would place his adherents in a better legal position, with regard to the statute of Henry the Seventh, which assures a perfect indemnity to all persons obeying a king *de facto*, whether he may be one *de jure*, or otherwise. It was also hoped, that more of the gentry, and some of the nobility, might be induced to join. Accordingly, on Saturday, the last day but one of the month, he was proclaimed lawful and rightful sovereign of these realms, the true JAMES THE SECOND, defender of the protestant faith ! Crowds now thronged to salute his hand. He was addressed as 'Sire, and his Majesty.' He was prayed for as the genuine monarch. Divers public documents were issued from his camp in royal style, proscribing and threatening with condign punishment all such rebels as should presume to resist his mandates, and ad-

here to the usurping Duke of York. Meanwhile, contempt and indignation were the only responses. Commonwealth men were thoroughly dissatisfied with the mere principle of the procedure: the favorers of hereditary right held it in abhorrence: 'nor even among those who considered monarchy in a more rational light, as a magistracy instituted for the good of the people, could it be agreeable, that such a magistrate should be elected by the army that flocked to his banners, or by the particular partiality of a provincial town.' His strength, therefore, was augmented from two classes of persons alone—those who from thoughtlessness or desperation were willing to uphold any insurrection,—and those who, directing their views to a single point, considered the destruction of popery and arbitrary power as an object, 'which at all hazards, and without regard to consequences, they were bound to pursue.' Monmouth, nevertheless, aped the monarch as well as he could. He cured numbers of women and children by stroking them for the scrofula. He bowed condescendingly, and looked pompously. His troops had augmented to seven thousand strong, within the space of a brief fortnight. Yet still the bulk of the country jeered at his pretensions, describing the adventurer and his rabble, as 'Gaffer Scott, and his shirtless vagabonds!' In other words, with some noble individual exceptions, there was never any soul in the affair, from first to last.

He moved towards Bridgewater on the ensuing Monday, where his reception must have been very gratifying. He was proclaimed at the High Cross by several members of the Popham family, and handsomely lodged in the castle. He had now a life-guard of forty young men, well mounted, and armed, and paying their own expenses. His cavalry had augmented to about twelve hundred, including mares, geldings, colts, and a company of scythe-men, armed with horrible weapons, of which a woodcut is given. Quarters were also capital, and, for the most part, free; for though the rustics were tardy in assisting the catholic king, they were far more willing to aid his rival. Their good wishes outran their intelligence; which could comprehend nothing, but that apparently a champion passed before their eyes, who would rescue them from tyranny and oppression. Alas! how soon was the bitter reality to recoil upon their devoted heads. The next advance was to Glastonbury, Shepton-Mallett, and Pensford, with an idea of attacking Bristol; which last being given up, the invaders proceeded to Keynsham, Bath, and Philips-Norton, where some skirmishing occurred. Regular troops began to surround them on all sides. Rains, such as had been scarcely remembered for a generation, now came on after a season of unusual drought. Roads became morasses, and

fields no places for encampment. News also arrived that Argyle had landed in Scotland, and was ruined. In truth, it was already all over with the Duke of Monmouth, whose spirit descended into the depths of despondency, as rapidly as the bubble which he had raised burst into air. His march to Frome produced immense confusion, without any corresponding advantages. Lord Feversham had been appointed generalissimo of the royal forces, which gradually drove their opponents back upon the route along which they had advanced. Retreat into Cheshire was for a moment dreamt of; when, by way of Wells and Pedwell Plain, Monmouth once more appeared in Bridgewater. Feversham had entered Sedgemoor from Somerton, and encamped with five regiments at a place called Penzoy Pound, close under the village of Weston, and about three miles from Bridgewater. It came into the head of Monmouth that here his antagonist might be surprised under cover of the night, provided he did not entrench himself, and a scout was sent out to ascertain whether this was the case. Word was brought that there were no entrenchments, nor had the royal army need of any. An enormous royne, or rhine, as it is sometimes called, (which is the term for drains forty feet broad, and deep in proportion, employed to dry the peat lands,) effectually protected Lord Feversham on the eastern side; whilst his artillery commanded the high road into Bridgewater. From the lofty tower of the parish church, in that town, Monmouth and his officers reconnoitred the whole neighbourhood for many miles round with their telescopes. It was said, that the royalists were remiss in their watches, that the troopers were in bed, and the infantry drinking; so that the Duke, from having been unbecomingly dispirited, again became elated, promising himself certain success. His plan was to make a circuit over Sedgemoor, and fall upon his adversary on what he erroneously considered his unfortified position. A young woman, connected probably with one of the soldiers, who wished well to the royal cause, happened to learn what was to be attempted, and posted over to Weston with the intelligence.

Feversham, instead of hearing what she had to communicate, offered her personal violence; and in her rage, she therefore concealed what she came to divulge. Thus remaining generally unapprized, guards and sentinels had abandoned their several posts, soon after Monmouth and his forces, plentifully supplied with liquor, had issued forth silently upon the causeway towards Polden Hill. Desertions had diminished his numbers to about three thousand two hundred men, with forty-two baggage waggon. The night was dark; the circuit to be made was six miles; some narrow lanes, with one or two rhines, a couple of

defiles, a cradle-bridge, and a ford, had all to be threaded, before the field of action could be reached. It was long after midnight, when an accidental alarm awoke Feversham from his couch at Weston. The drums of his Scotch regiment beat hastily to arms; whilst his lordship, a Frenchman by birth, with all the characteristic foppishness of his nation, 'would not so much hurry himself as to forget to set his cravat-string at a little paltry looking-glass in one of the cottages!' Monmouth was clearly upon them: but he had now found out his mistake. The great ditch yawned between him and his prey. Volleys of musketry were poured upon his baffled troops from the royalists on the inner side. His cavalry had already commenced their flight, as precipitately as at Bridport. Four great guns, however, did no little execution amongst the regular troopers, and would have done much more, had not the artillery men from Lyme and Taunton, as raw soldiers, fired rather too high. Strange to say, a militant bishop here rescued the forces of Lord Feversham from what might have been indiscriminate slaughter. Doctor Mews, then prelate of the rich see of Winchester, exceedingly loved fighting; and having had a military education, prided himself on his skill as a bombardier. He served in the royal army as a volunteer; and soon discerned that the crisis of the engagement had arrived, which was to be settled not with small shot, but with heavy pieces. He promptly ordered his horses to be taken from his carriage to bring the royal cannons into position from the Bridgewater road. Like Julius the Second, at Mirandola, this warlike divine then opened and superintended the battery. Before morning broke he had changed the whole aspect of the battle. His discharges, scientifically directed, mowed down his antagonists by scores. In vain these last roared out for 'ammunition, ammunition,—for the sake of the Lord, send us ammunition!' The royal horse-guards and grenadiers had crossed the barrier, and thrown the rebels into utter and irretrievable confusion. It was now pursuit and massacre, rather than a continued engagement. Monmouth and Grey were gone. Three hundred of their men lay corpses upon the open moor, where they fought; a thousand others were cut to pieces in the subsequent slaughter; twelve hundred were taken alive, yet with so many severely wounded, that the deaths on the side of the Duke were raised to two thousand; and twenty-two standards fell into the hands of the victors. Captain Adlam, of Wiltshire, with twenty-one of his companions, although himself expiring from his wounds, had to suffer capital execution within a few hours after the action. Four of them were hanged in chains; and the rest, for want of gibbets, had to be suspended from the various

boughs of a large tree at Bussex, adjoining Sedgemoor. Nine hundred of the prisoners were shut up in Weston church for consignment to the tender mercies of the law—then, alas! little less cruel than the sword. All further resistance was at an end for ever.

Monmouth, and his comrade Lord Grey, were hunted like a brace of partridges. His grace, about three o'clock in the morning of the fatal 16th of July, perceiving that the battle was lost, took off his armour and fled. Doctor Oliver, who at first accompanied him, and who survived to be physician of Greenwich Hospital, counselled a retreat into Wales; but Lord Grey overruled every idea of the kind. Fifty dragoons also rode with the duke and his lordship for some distance; until the two latter made for the New Forest, hoping to reach Lymington, and thence get out of the kingdom. At Woodyates Inn, by Cranbourne Chase, Monmouth abandoned his horse, hid his saddle and bridle, and disguised himself as a shepherd. The sum of 5,000*l.* was the price set upon his head. Rumour had already traced his course, and Lord Lumley, with Sir William Portman, were close upon his heels. Amy Farrant, an old woman, pointed out an inclosure into which she had seen more than one suspicious person withdraw. Royal soldiers and loyal villagers beat every bush and brake for the golden prize. At length, about seven o'clock in the morning of the 18th of July, Henry Parkins discovered the brown skirt of a coat, under an ash tree, where the wretched fugitive lay concealed in a ditch, covered up with ferns and brambles. He was in the last extremity of hunger and fatigue, with no sustenance but a few raw peas in his pocket. He trembled all over and fainted away. There was found upon him a manuscript of spells, charms, conjurations, songs, recipes, and prayers, written out with his own hand, and in which he put his trust for not being slain in battle, or for opening prison doors in case of capture! No words can describe the meanness and baseness of his behaviour. That day four weeks he had landed at Lyme Regis, and was he now to complain that justice had not been shown him? Yet he wept, and supplicated, and cringed, like a whipt hound. His letter to the king forms a perfect model of pusillanimity. He bewailed his having been imposed upon by rogues and villains, as if he had not been the willing paragon of all such persons. There was not a friend that he was not ready to betray, nor a deed that he was not ready to do, if only his dishonoured life might be spared. Had he succeeded in his enterprize, it is conceived that the Earl of Sunderland, Minister to James, would have still retained his office, there having been a political intrigue between them! This noble traitor, therefore, as we may

easily imagine, had no desire to run the risk of discovery by preserving the adventurer alive any longer than he could help. He was permitted, however, to write to the Queen Dowager, and Lord Rochester; as also to have an interview with his uncle and sovereign. Again,—and again, he begged for existence, even if it were merely a reprieve for a brief period. His injured duchess visited him in the Tower, with two of his children. Once more he addressed an epistle to his majesty, who never knew how to forgive, even when virtue was the suppliant. He then attempted to excite an interest amongst several catholic noblemen; intimating moreover, that he was inclined to abandon protestantism, as he no doubt would have done, could it have served his purpose. To the very last he confided in a fortune-teller: and though he begged pardon of his consort, with whom he could find no fault, he yet dared to call lady Henrietta Wentworth the choice of his riper years! Well might the catholic clergyman, whom James had sent to examine him, report, that ‘he was very anxious to save his body, but not his soul!’

He was brought out for execution on Wednesday the 25th of July, 1685. The scaffold was wrapt in mourning, and an immense multitude had assembled. Bishops and divines of the Anglican church thought it no prostitution of their sacred office to enforce, upon so solemn an occasion, the doctrines of non-resistance and passive obedience, rather than repentance towards God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ. It was an honest sheriff, named Gostlin, who vainly attempted to convict his conscience of sin. His adultery, for example, had been notorious with Lady Henrietta; yet he had the effrontery to declare that ‘she was a very virtuous and godly woman, and that what had passed between them was quite honest and innocent in the sight of the Almighty!’ He moreover added, that he ‘was about to die with great cheerfulness, for he knew he should go to heaven!’ So utterly deluded was he, that his lips faltered out such falsehoods as these—‘I can bless God, that he hath given me so much grace, that for these two years I have led a life unlike to my former courses, and in which I have been so happy!’ And again, ‘If I had not true repentance, I should not so easily have been without the fear of dying; I shall die like a lamb!’ It is hard to say whether his subsequent demeanour was that of the knave,—the hypocrite,—or the reprobate. He chattered with the executioner, felt the edge of the axe with his finger nail, sent a ring to his mistress, refused the cap of death, fitted his neck to the block, threw off his peruke, and then, amidst obstinate resistance about trifles, and the most strange ejaculations of the prelates and clergy around

him, his soul was solemnly commended into the hands of the 'Omnipotent Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ!' The headman, however, writes a quaint contemporary, proved an indifferent artist: 'the botcherly dog did so barbarously act his pairt, that he could not at fyve stroaks sever the head from the body.' At the first, which made only a slight gash in his neck, the miserable victim heaved and turned about: the second was little better; and the third having failed, he threw down his instrument, declaring with a horrible oath, that he could do no more, since his heart failed him. He 'protested that his limbs were all stiffened, and that he would willingly give forty guineas to any one who would finish the work. The bystanders had much ado to forbear throwing him over the scaffold; but they made him take his axe again, threatening to kill him if he did not perform his duty better. With two blows more, not being able to finish his business, he was fain to draw forth his long knife, and with it cut off the remainder of the neck. He could not hold the head, nor show it more than once to the people.' These ran up in crowds to dip their shirts and handkerchiefs in the blood of the corpse; and that too, notwithstanding the thrusts of pikes and halberts, with which the soldiers pushed at them. The culprit thus fell on the thirty-fifth day from his invasion, and in the thirty-seventh year of his age. His body was put into a coffin covered with black velvet: and after the separated portions had been carefully sewn together, they were privately interred under the communion table of the chapel in the Tower. His character, as must have been seen, was worse than worthless,—an uninteresting compound of infamy, scarcely redeemed by a single ray of virtue, genius, or intelligence. James the Second, however, struck two medals, which his proud, and puerile mind deemed suitable to the occasion;—one representing a person falling from a rock having three crowns upon its summit! Within three years, his own deposition illustrated most strikingly this device of presumption and absurdity. The nation waited for brighter times.

Yet, who could repair many of the mischiefs of this rash rebellion? The Earl of Feversham and Colonel Kirke commenced a reign of terror, when the victory of Sedgemoor, in its fullest extent, had been satisfactorily ascertained. There was soon a range of gibbets between Weston and Bridgewater. Numbers were hanged upon them without even the form of a trial; until one of the bishops, either Ken or Mews, interposed, and took care that 'the poor rogues' should be retained for the tender mercies of Judge Jeffries. Then ensued the horrors of the Bloody Assize! Kirke had proceeded to Taunton, where he sold pretended pardons to some, at the rate of from twenty to

forty pounds a piece; whilst the rigours of martial law raged against those, who refused, or who had not the means to pay. We cannot see wherein his massacres at all differed, either in ferocity or atrocity, from those at Paris in the darkest hours of the revolution. Savage tells us, in his History of Taunton, that, 'while the executioner was performing the mournful duties of his office, the colonel commanded his fifes to play, the trumpets to sound, and the drums to beat, that the music might drown the cries of the dying victims, and the lamentations of their relatives and the populace. The mangled bodies of these unfortunate men were by his orders immediately stripped, their breasts cleft asunder, and their hearts while warm separately cut out, and thrown into a large fire; and as each was cast in, a great shout was raised, the executioner saying, 'There goes the heart of a traitor!' When these had been burnt, their quarters were boiled in pitch, and hung up at all the cross-ways and public parts of the town and neighbourhood.' As much as a thousand pounds were afterwards paid to Jeffries to rescue a corpse from this exposure and mutilation. The two Hewlings had thrice that sum offered in vain for their lives. They died with seventeen others at one and the same time, singing hymns of penitence, and psalms of grateful supplication, with their halters round their necks; and that too, 'with such heavenly joy and sweetness, that many present said it both broke and rejoiced their hearts.' Even the soldiers lamented exceedingly, declaring that they hardly knew how to bear it: for there had been a great fire kindled on the Cornhill, that the victims 'might see the flames that were to burn their bowels. The executioner was ankle-deep in blood!' The sentences passed by the judges were conveyed in these words: 'You must every one of you be had back to the place from whence you came; from thence you must be drawn to the place of execution, and there you must severally be hanged by the necks, every one of you, until you are *almost dead*; and then you must be cut down,—your entrails must be taken out, and burnt before your faces; your several heads to be afterwards cut off, and your bodies to be divided into four parts,—these to be disposed of at the pleasure of the king: and may the Lord have mercy upon your souls!' Now it must be remembered, that this horrific condemnation, more worthy of cannibals than christians so called, was carried into literal and full effect, in all its details, in more than three hundred and forty instances, within the compass of a few weeks, in the west of England! Thirty individuals were so served in one day at Taunton before Kirke and his company. Healths were drank as each prisoner was turned off; and, upon observing that the legs of several quivered, the

brutal commander ordered that 'they should have music to their dancing!' These persons, although guilty of having taken up arms, had every one of them acted upon conscientious principles, in conceiving that it was against an arbitrary government, and the usurpations of ecclesiastical power. Our annals exhibit no scenes more fearful.

Lord Jeffreys, as is well known, took the leadership in the special commission. He had been elevated to the peerage, without any adequate private fortune, and therefore this was to be his harvest. The bribes, fines, and compositions, which he received, enabled him to purchase considerable estates, which in very deed and truth might be said to have been the price of blood! His appetite grew through what it fed upon: his natural temper was as ferocious as his avarice was insatiable: he was generally more or less in a state of intoxication: he was invested with a military as well as a judicial authority: he mingled every day with one of the most tiger-like officers of his age: and was seldom free from the intense agonies of the stone. When to all these particulars we add the master he obeyed,—whose heart, according to the Duke of Marlborough, had ever been 'as cold and as hard as marble,' and who even reproached his sanguinary servant for having spared too many, we can only blush that such a monster should have been let loose on British ground. Like Benjamin in the Pentateuch, he 'ravined as a wolf: in the morning he devoured the prey, and at night divided the spoil.' The trial and cruel murder of Lady Alice Lisle need no repetition: yet they were but a sample far below the average of his malconduct in other instances. At Dorchester, two hundred and ninety-two persons received capital sentence at one and the same time. An immense proportion of them suffered the penalties of treason: some bought themselves off, or got themselves transported as slaves to the colonies. Young women and children endured usage that never can be described. Wiseman, an apprentice at Weymouth, only fourteen years of age, for having merely read one of Monmouth's declarations posted upon a wall, was to undergo a truly Russian flagellation in all the markets of Dorsetshire. It commenced of course at the county town, where the gaoler pitying the early years of his victim, spared him as much as possible. A clergyman, named Blanchard, remonstrated with the man, assuring him that 'he would do his business for him with the lord chief justice for shamming his sentence in not scourging the lad half enough.' The flagellator, exasperated at this clerical interference, replied, 'You talk of the cruelties of popish priests, but commend me to a church of England priest for cruelty: they are like the country justices, who wont believe a poor

creature is burnt in the hand, *unless they can see a hole through it!* Jeffreys, however, was informed of it, and had the youth lashed again the next day to within an inch of his life. It was once more repeated at Melcombe, and there terminated. At Taunton, besides those whom Kirke had disposed of, he executed one hundred and forty-four adult males and females; horribly declaring, that 'it should not be his fault, if he did not depopulate the place!' His whole progress might be traced by the carnage he left behind him. 'Every tower and steeple were set round with the heads of traitors. Wherever a road divided, a gibbet served for an index; and there was scarcely a hamlet, however obscure, to which one limb at least was not sent, that those who survived might never lose sight of their departed friends, nor the remembrance of their cruel punishment. He made all the beautiful west an Aceldama: nothing to be seen, in some places, but forsaken walls and ghastly carcasses. The trees were loaded with quarters, over which crows and ravens hovered. Nothing could be liker hell than these parts; nothing so like the devil as he. Cauldrons hissing, carcasses boiling, pitch and tar sparkling and glaring, blood and limbs bubbling, and tearing, and mangling; and he the great director of all, in a word discharging *his* place, who sent him, the best deserving to be the king's lord chief justice there, and his lord chancellor afterwards, of any man that breathed, since Cain or Judas.' Such are the quaint, yet striking and indignant expressions of an old writer. Having, at length, visited Wells, Bristol, and Exeter, he returned to London from what used always to be called his campaign, boasting that 'he had hanged more than all the judges in England, since William the Conqueror.' He once asked a major how many soldiers he had killed on the field, to which the officer replied, 'about a thousand.' As if those were not enough, Jeffries observed, 'I believe I have condemned as many as that myself!' We had nearly forgotten to mention that Lord Grey obtained a pardon, at the expense of some imprisonment, great alarms, many sacrifices of faithful adherents, and an enormous proportion of his fortune. One slice alone, to a single courtier, was estimated at 17,000*l*.

For these neat volumes we are much obliged to their author. Let us learn from them the evils of popular insurrection, and the still greater evils of popular ignorance. Happily no such tragedies could be enacted now, as those of the bloody assize. Nor could scoundrels, such as those of the seventeenth century, ever obtain influence, or excite permanent alarm. Pretenders to the crown are probably gone for ever. No class, in our generation, would follow a Perkin Warbeck or a Duke of Monmouth, for any purpose, beyond that which recently aroused the

notorious Thom near Canterbury. Fanaticism may, indeed, do immense mischief in secluded or confined districts; but the extinguisher of public opinion never need be far off. What we want to see is an extension of genuine intelligence and godliness throughout the land. Let the operatives and labourers in our manufacturing and agricultural counties learn the value of national privileges and quiet obedience to the laws. The growth of general knowledge will thus become the growth of popular power. Government will be forced to reform where reformation is wanted, and to consider its authority as a mighty trust to be administered for the benefit of all. Mere political party names are already giving way to new and more important combinations. Let our people but be true to themselves, and we then feel certain that the blessing of Divine Providence will continue to be our portion, although an exceedingly unmerited reward. His benediction alone can blend all our jarring and selfish contrarieties into one harmonious union,—so that ‘complaining may cease from our streets,’ and discontent from the land. We ask no more, at the hands of our rulers, than a full and impartial realization of the rights of person,—the rights of property,—the rights of honest labour,—and the rights of universal conscience. The last, we need scarcely say, for almost the thousandth time, are utterly incompatible with the privileged establishment of any form of worship whatsoever. Until that anomaly be abolished, the national mind will possess no permanent security for enlightenment, prosperity, or repose.

Art. VI.—*Works of Edward Polhill, Esq., of Burwash, Sussex.* Ward's Standard Divinity. New Series. No. 1, pp. 359. 1844.

THE extent to which the republication of ancient and modern works, especially theological, is carried, constitutes one of the most striking signs of the times. In every direction there is a re-issue of writings nearly forgotten, or scarcely ever known. There must exist causes for this; and those causes must be worthy of notice. They are partly good, and partly evil. Among them, it would be wrong to overlook the retrospective temper which has been revived and fostered so extensively of late, and which has reached, and powerfully influences, sections of the community not in immediate contact with its teachings and its types. They who, trampling on the pride, as they esteem it, of private judgment, and, with ‘greater pride,’

seek for what ought to be believed in what has been believed, have a powerful reason for promoting the reproduction of the works of the dead. And it is natural that they should affect with their practices many who eschew their principles; or, to speak more properly, that their doctrine should operate where it is disowned. Indeed, that doctrine exists as a principle often where it is rejected as a form. Most men are swayed, in religion, by influences which they do not recognize or submit to in science and philosophy. If the principle of authority had been introduced into the latter, if the belief of natural facts and laws had been made matter of orthodoxy, doubtless theology would not have been alone in its miserable plight. Men are not free to investigate in religion. Their inquiries are checked by a thousand voices professedly discouraging presumption, but really stifling truth. Few are thoroughly independent, and at liberty. Authority is submitted to where it is denied. We all revere a 'catholic consent' upon a small scale, substituting the traditions of the sect or the school for those of the more mystic and imposing thing—the church. Hence theology is stationary. Age after age it remains the same in more than its substance. 'One generation passeth away and another generation cometh, but,' like the 'earth,' it 'abideth for ever.' Its friends do little more than republish at any time, in fact, if not in form, and it is therefore at least honest not to profess to do more. For our own part, we would sooner have Leighton and Howe, Bates and Hall, before us in their own proper shape and dress, than in those of others. In literature we vastly prefer a resurrection to a metempsychosis.

But there is also something of a very different kind operating to the same result of reproduction. The nature of theology favours it. Theology is not designed to encourage, and is not able to gratify, that desire for discovery which other studies feed and foster. Its truths are in a book, revealed in words, not hidden in the depths of the earth or the heights of the heavens. That book has existed in its perfect form for nearly two thousand years. There is nothing in its general principles, its language, or its style, to put its interpretation necessarily beyond the reach of learning and wisdom, diligence, and honesty. Whatever, therefore, may be done in the elucidation of particular texts, the explanation of particular allusions, and the application of particular principles, the nature as well as the history of the case does not afford the hope of many or great discoveries, properly so called. The Bible is a revelation, not a thing to be revealed. And we are therefore battling to-day about the same things, and in much the same way, as the believers of the gospel three, or thirteen hundred years ago.

This, it seems to us, is the principal explanation of the fact with the mention of which we began our remarks. We are grown out of old books on many subjects by the progress of knowledge, but in religion it is not possible so to advance.

That such advancement has not taken place, whatever reason be assigned for it, is a simple fact which all may perceive. It may be tested by any one who chooses to compare the theological works of former, with those of the present, times. He will be struck with a difference between them, but that difference will appear not so much in the general sentiments, as in the modes of putting them; and we are mistaken if, with the exception of the polish and propriety of our own age, he do not give the preference to our forefathers. The religious treatises that now issue from the press are, for the most part, inferior, in the more substantial and sterling qualities, to those of olden times. The activity of the age is unfavourable to profundity of thought; and when almost every man is his own author, books daily coming forth, which their writers alone read, and their printers alone profit by, authorship must fall. It is not, therefore, with pain, but the sincerest pleasure that we behold the re-appearance, in a modern form, of works which otherwise would stand a poor chance of being known at all by the mass of modern readers. The late lamented Mr. Ward deserved well for his zeal and enterprize in commencing and continuing the series of re-productions that bears his name. The book before us is the first of a new series, which has the advantage of a 'Committee of Consultation,' containing a large number of names that afford the best possible guarantee of a wise and useful selection of works. It is beautifully got up, and very cheap.

The writings of Polhill deserved thus to appear. Of himself, and his history, very little is known—not even enough to form the materials of a 'life,' when so small a matter goes so great a way; when it is deemed necessary to make public revelation of all private things; when the press has become, in some sort, a confessional; and, in not a few instances, biographers almost deserve the application to themselves of Sheridan's celebrated taunt, of being indebted to memory for their images, and to imagination for their facts. That he was a country justice of the peace; that he was a member of the church of England; that he was learned, and highly esteemed; that he lost his sight before his death; and that he died before 1694; these are nearly all the facts known respecting this able and erudite man, whose name is so well and worthily associated with the theological literature of his country. But, if we have not his life, we have, which is far better, the results of labours that made his life valuable.

The treatises contained in the present volume are four in number:—‘A View of some Divine Truths, which are either practically exemplified in Jesus Christ, set forth in the Gospel, or may be reasonably deduced from thence’—‘The Divine Will considered in its Eternal Decrees, and Holy Execution of them’—‘Precious Faith considered in its Nature, Working, and Growth’—‘A Preparation for Suffering in an Evil Day.’ In reference to the treatment of all these subjects one caution should be given to the modern reader—let him not be frightened by the appearance of pedantry which the author’s style, in common with that of his cotemporaries, presents. Here is abundance of scholastic phrases, and Latin and Greek quotations. In saying that a sinful action has ‘three things considerable’ in it, the author ‘means’ the ‘anomy or ataxy, the entity, and the order of it.’ ‘The will’ is explained as being ‘free’ ‘in the act of willing, not in respect of its self-motion, but in respect of its lubency and spontaneity; what it wills, it doth incoactively will according to the dictate of the understanding.’ Justification is thus ‘distinguished of’—‘there is a double justification; constitutive justification, whereby God maketh us just in this life; sentential justification, whereby God pronounces us just at death and judgment.’ And as to authorities, he must be greedy of them indeed who remains unsatisfied with the rich and various supply provided for the entertainment of his taste, or the nourishment of his faith. A reverence for the fathers ancient or modern will find abundant scope. Every sentiment is backed by the ‘words of the wise.’ If it be taught that sin should never be done, Bradwardine says so, not even ‘*pro quantiscunque bonis lucrandis, aut pro quantiscunque malis præcavendis.*’ Christ’s words are quoted, ‘My mother and my brethren are those which hear the word of God, and do it;’ and St. Ambrose tells us, on them ‘*Religiosiores copulæ mentium quam corporum.*’ The question is asked, ‘If God be for us, who can be against us?’ Devils can, wicked men can; but Aquinas expounds the words, ‘*Quis contra nos læsive et prevalenter?*’ Persecution is the topic, and the author concludes ‘with that of St. Cyprian:’ ‘*Quanto major persecutio, tanto gravior pro persecutione vindicta.*’ And all this is done, not with the effort of a strange and arduous work, but the ease of a natural habit. Nor is it that the cited sayings suggest the thoughts, but that a well furnished memory is ever ready with ‘wise saws, and modern’ or ancient ‘instances,’ to illustrate and enforce the conceptions of a vigorous intellect. Readers now-a-days will think that these citations might be often dispensed with, especially in the original, inasmuch as the sense is always given literally or loosely in English. But so did not think our

forefathers. Different ages must be allowed to have their own fashions. In two or three centuries hence the style of writing that now appears so correct and proper, without superfluities and without deficiencies, will doubtless afford much occasion of censure or complaint to our wiser descendants; it will be condemned by the malicious, and smiled at by the benevolent; its excellencies will be deemed wonderful, considering our circumstances, its faults excusable in people who lived so long ago. Let us remember this, in perusing the works of our ancestors, and, having in view the time when we shall occupy their place, 'do unto others as we would that others should do unto us.'

We do not say all this because our author needs a vindication more than most of his fellows, or because there is any deficiency of good matter to render these peculiarities more important than they would be in themselves. Most conscientiously can we say that our reason is widely different from these. Anxiety that the volume should be widely circulated, and carefully pondered, is our only motive. Seldom has there been a reprint deserving more earnest commendation. The book is a body of divinity, of the best kind. It has in it the 'seeds of things.' The comprehensive range of the author's mind has secured a reference to almost every topic of theology, and if there be not a mention of each specific truth, there is a plain and powerful exposition of the principles of which every truth is the expression and application. There are few exercises more pregnant with good than would be the thorough mastery of such a book as this, by Christian people generally. If they would be persuaded to 'read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest' it; to think its thoughts, and reason with its reasoning; to work its sense and truth into the material of their mental processes and spiritual faith, it would be impossible to exaggerate the beneficial results to individuals or the church. It would supply them with a defence against errors of many different kinds; it would give a healthy vigour and independence to their intellectual and moral habits; it would free them from the need, and the action, of much of the spurious and pernicious excitement of the present day; it would build them up a race of manly and intelligent Christians. A people who had made the contents of this book their own, would not be 'ever learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth,' but, unmoved by passing winds of doctrine, would prove themselves rooted in the truth by receiving into a loving heart, and embodying in a holy life, principles too large to be comprehended, and too ethereal to be relished, by the common mass of saints. Whoever wishes 'to make ready,' such 'a people for the Lord,' may rejoice in the present appearance of 'Polhill's Works.'

The theology of Polhill was thoroughly orthodox. It is not meant by this that we are ready to defend all his views, but that he held, and held as vitally important, the great evangelical doctrines. There are some statements which find no echo in our minds, there are more reasonings employed in their support, that we fail to perceive the force of, and there are still more illustrations that appear to express rather 'conceits, miserable conceits' than true and proper analogies; but the great roots and foundations of his faith are such as we most cordially accept. And our agreement with him is much more full than his mere forms would permit. Like many others, he could often more easily get rid of an erroneous notion, than its consecrated shrine. Hence not only is the language in which it had been wont to be expressed sometimes used, but pains are taken to fill up the outline which it presents, when it might have been seen that its substance was really gone. For instance, our author heads a chapter thus: 'Of God's decree of reprobation, as touching men'—a heading which might startle many timid readers. But what is his idea of this terrible decree? What does it mean and effect? 'In this decree the divine will hath, as I may so say, a triple act: for, 1. It purposes, not to give grace and glory to some persons, and this is called among divines, preterition, or non-election; and is of all others the most proper act of reprobation, as it stands in opposition to election. 2. It purposes to leave them to final sin. 3. It purposes to punish them with eternal damnation for their sin.' All this is obviously nothing more than an attempt to make a show of substance in the doctrine. After all, the decree is only a decree to do nothing, and it would be quite as proper to speak of God's decree that the world should not be uninhabited, in addition to his decree that it should be inhabited, or of his decree not to do the opposite of anything that he has decreed to do, as to speak of his 'decree of reprobation,' *with this meaning*. Again, our author says that 'our sins being laid on Christ, he suffered the same punishment, for the main, that was due to us for them'—a proposition that seems, notwithstanding the qualifying expression 'for the main,' to suggest his adoption of the mercantile theory of atonement. But how does he meet the objection—'Christ did not suffer the same punishment, for he neither suffered eternal death, nor yet the worm of conscience?' 'As to that of eternal death, I answer by two distinctions. 1. In eternal death we must distinguish between the immensity of the sufferings and the duration; the immensity is essential to it, but the duration is but *mora in esse*, and accidental. Christ suffered eternal death as to the immensity of his sufferings, though not as to the duration of them; he paid down the *idem*

as to essentials of punishment, and the *tantundem* as to the accidentals: what was wanting in the duration of his sufferings, was more than compensated by the dignity of his person, for it was far more for God to suffer for a moment, than for all creatures to suffer to eternity. 2. We must distinguish between punishment as it stands in the law absolutely, and punishment as it stands there in relation to a finite creature, which cannot at once admit a punishment commensurate to its offence; and so must ever suffer, because it cannot satisfy to eternity.' 'As to that of the worm; I answer, the worm attends not sin imputed, but sin inherent; it is bred out of the putrefaction of conscience, and that putrefaction is from the inbeing of sin. Now Christ being without spot, suffered punishment, not as it follows sin inherent, but as it follows sin imputed; and so he suffered the same punishment (for the main) as was due to us.' What is here stated in reply to the objection respecting Christ's sufferings, is unquestionably true, but then it is just as true that it concedes the force of the objection. It is made very clear that Christ did *not* suffer the same punishment as was due to us, and, in maintaining that proposition, we should not desire better arguments than those furnished by our author himself. There is but one way of accounting for the phenomena to which we have thus adverted, and that is by supposing the existence of a contrariety between the clear view of the understanding and a lingering theological prejudice. It would be a serious mistake to attribute it to confusion of mind. The author was a man of powerful and acute intellect. Order was the law of his thoughts. 'There were no mobs allowed amongst his ideas.'

It is impossible for us to give a view of the general contents of this book. We must satisfy ourselves with an extract or two. The first relates to that most knotty point, the freedom of the will, and while it furnishes a fair specimen of the author's style of writing and reasoning, it will also give the sum of what is even now known upon the subject, after so much inquiry and discussion as have taken place respecting it since his day:—

'Liberty is double; ethical, as to that which may be done, *de jure*; and physical, as to that which may be done *de facto*. God is perfectly free both ways. ethically, because under no law but the perfection of his own nature, and physically, because Almighty. Man is not ethically free, because under a law; nor yet altogether physically free, for some things he cannot do, if he never so much will the doing thereof, because they are not within his power. '*Libertas*,' as the learned Camero hath it, '*est facultas faciendi quod libet*,' or more largely, '*facultas quod quis tantum possit quantum velit, tantumque velit quantum esse volendum judicavit*;' it is that faculty in man, whereby, within his own sphere, he can do as much as he wills, and

will as much as in his understanding he judges fit to be willed. Now that this is a right definition of human liberty, doth appear, three ways.

' 1. It is bottomed upon scripture.

' 2. It is commensurate to the nature of the thing.

' 3. It is proportionable to both the acts of the will.

' 1. It is bottomed upon scripture. In scripture there are various expressions touching liberty, congruous to the several parts of this definition. In the definition liberty is a faculty of doing, and in scripture it is a having a thing in our power, (Acts v. 4); or in the power of our hand, (Gen. xxxi. 29). In the definition it is a faculty of doing as much as we will; and in scripture it is a doing according to our will, (Dan. xi. 36), or all that is in our heart, (2 Sam. vii. 3). In the definition it is a power of willing as much as in our understanding we judge fit to be willed; and in scripture it is doing what is right in our own eyes, (Judg. xvii. 6), or what seemeth good and meet unto us, (Jer. xxvi. 14). Thus all the definition is founded on scripture.

' 2. This definition is commensurate to the nature of liberty. What is liberty in man in the full compass of it, but that whereby he becomes κύριος της πράξεως αὐτοῦ, lord of his own act, and such he truly is, when within his own line he can do as much as he will, and will as much as in his understanding is fit to be willed. When the scripture points out that glorious τὸ ἀντὶθέσιον, or supreme liberty in God, what doth it say, but that 'he worketh all things according to the counsel of his own will,' (Eph i. 11), and 'doth what he pleaseth in heaven and earth,' (Ps. cxxxv. 6). Wherefore if a man can work according to the counsel of his will, and do what he pleaseth within his own sphere, he must needs be truly free; and so much is allowed by this definition.

' 3. This definition is proportionable to both the acts of the will. There is *actus imperatus*, an act commanded by the will, such as speaking or walking, or the like; there is *actus elicited*, an act produced in the will, such is the act of willing. Now *quoad actum imperatum*, the definition says, that a man can do as much as he wills; and *quoad actum elicited*, it says, that he can will as much as he judges fit to be willed. These two acts must be carefully distinguished, for the will is not alike free in both: as to the imperate act, the will is the mistress and commandress of that that proceeds from it, *per modum imperii*, and it is truly said to be done *quia volumus*; but, as to the elicited act, the will is not properly the mistress or commandress of that that proceeds not from it, *per modum imperii*, for then it should be *actus imperatus*, rather than *elicited*; neither can we be said truly to will *quia volumus*, for so the same act of willing should be the cause of itself: wherefore the liberty of the will, as to the act of willing, doth not consist in a self-motion, for the will doth not move itself. To which purpose I shall quote two testimonies.' * * *

' And, indeed, if the will do move itself to the act of willing, then (because it cannot move itself, as quiescent) it must move itself by

some act, and what is that act but an act of willing? Therefore, by an act of willing it moves itself to an act of willing, which is very absurd.'—pp. 200, 201.

If this passage be deemed dry by some of our readers, let them not suppose that the author is destitute of imagination, or that he fails in the more important and practical things of the human heart, and of spiritual religion. 'The Preparation for Suffering,' in its adaption to brace the soul for patient endurance and manly bearing, may be ranked with the most valuable spiritual treatises that have ever been written. It would be easy to shew this, but with one more extract giving a view of 'God's all-sufficiency and condescension,' we must close our notice of the volume.

'God all-sufficient must needs be his own happiness; he hath his being from himself, and his happiness is no other than his being radiant with all excellencies, and by intellectual and amatorious reflexions, turning back into the fruition of itself. His understanding hath prospect enough in his own infinite perfections; his will hath rest enough in his own infinite goodness; he needed not the pleasure of a world, who hath an eternal Son in his bosom to joy in, nor the breath of angels or men, who hath an eternal Spirit of his own; he is the Great All, comprising all within himself: nay, unless he were so, he could not be God. Had he let out no beams of his glory, or made no intelligent creatures to gather up and return them back to himself, his happiness would have suffered no eclipse or diminution at all, his power would have been the same, if it had folded up all the possible worlds within its own arms, and poured forth never an one into being to be a monument of itself. His wisdom the same, if it had kept in all the orders and infinite harmonies lying in its bosom, and set forth no such series and curious contexture of things as now are before our eyes. His goodness might have kept an eternal Sabbath in itself, and never have come forth in those drops and models of being which make up the creation. His eternity stood not in need of any such thing as time or a succession of instants to measure its duration; nor his immensity of any such temple as heaven and earth to dwell in, and fill with his presence. His holiness wanted not such pictures of itself as are in laws or saints; nor his grace such a channel to run in as covenants or promises. His majesty would have made no abatement, if it had had no train or host of creatures to wait upon it, or no rational ones among them, such as angels and men, to sound forth its praises in the upper or lower world. Creature praises, though in the highest tune of angels, are but as silence to him, as that text may be read. (Psalm lxxv. 1.) Were he to be served according to his greatness, all the men in the world would not be enough to make a priest, nor all the other creatures enough to make a sacrifice fit for him. Is it any pleasure to him

that thou art righteous? saith Eliphaz. (Job xxii. 3.) No doubt he takes pleasure in our righteousness, but the complacence is without indigence, and while he likes it, he wants it not.

‘That such an infinite All-sufficient One should manifest himself, must needs be an act of admirable supereffluent goodness, such as indeed could not be done without stooping down below his own infinity, that he might gratify our weakness. These two Hebrew words, *נפש*, which imports flesh or weakness, and *נצח*, which is to annunciate and declare good tidings, are of a near affinity. In the mystery of the incarnation, God came down into our flesh; and in every other manifestation of himself, he comes down, as it were, into the weakness of creatures or notions, that we, who cannot hear or understand the eternal word in itself, or enter the light inaccessible, might see him in reflexes and finite glasses, such as we are able to bear. Every manifestation imports condescension. The world, as fair and goodly a structure as it is, is but *instar puncti aut nihili*, like a little drop or small dust to him. Creature reason, though a divine particle, and more glorious than the sun itself, is but a little spark for the infinite light to shew itself in. No words, no, not those in the purest laws and richest promises, are able to reach him; who, as an ancient hath it, is *ὑπέρσπιος, ὑπεράγαθος, ὑπερσοφος*, essence, goodness, wisdom, all in hyperbole, in a transcendent excess above words or notions. His name is above every name; nevertheless, he humbles himself to appear to our minds in a scripture image; nay, to our very senses in the body of nature, that we might clasp the arms of faith and love about the holy beams, and in their light and warmth ascend up to their great Original, the Father of lights and mercies.’—p. 1.

Art. VII.—1. *Lachrymæ Ecclesiæ. The Anglican Reformed Church and her Clergy in the Days of their Destitution and Suffering, during the Great Rebellion in the Seventeenth Century.* By the Rev. George Wyatt, Rector of Burghwallis. Cleaver.

2. *Shepperton Manor. A Tale of the Times of Bishop Andrews.* By the Rev. J. M. Neale. Cleaver.

3. *Mary Spencer. A Tale for the Times.* By A. Howard. Seeley.

4. *The Church Visible in all Ages.* By Charlotte Elizabeth. Seeley.

5. *Henry Homeward. A Type of a New School of Teachers for the People.* (No. 2 of the tracts entitled ‘The Church and the People.’) Simpkin and Marshall.

WE have classed together these five little works, because, although referring to various periods, and to different ranks of society,—although, too, advocating widely opposed views, they

all agree in subject,—the church of England,—and are all written by members of her communion. They are moreover important, as showing the eager spirit of proselytism that is abroad, (for we could as easily have made our list twenty-five as five only;) and they are yet more important, as showing the great and irreconcilable differences of opinion among writers, who equally claim to be sincere disciples of a church, which boasts she has maintained at such high cost her uniformity. ‘Hear the church,’ saith Dr. Hook: now we think our readers, with these five books alone, will be fairly puzzled as to what they are to hear. We will proceed with a short *épitome* of them, giving precedence to ‘*Lachrymæ Ecclesiæ*,’ as it professes to be no work of fiction, but veritable history.

From the lachrymose title of the first work, we naturally expected a history of ‘mother church,’ detailed in a strain of moving pathos that should not merely awaken the sympathies of young ladies and gentlemen, but, like the tale of Troy divine,—

‘Mollify the hearts of barbarous people,
And make Tom butcher weep.’

We were, therefore, agreeably surprised at finding that, notwithstanding its lugubrious designation, the book is as free from the mournful as any we ever read, the genius of the reverend author inclining him strongly to ‘King Cambyses’ vein,’ and the subject affording him peculiar advantages for the display of a style which can only be described by borrowing one of his own felicitous compound epithets—as, ‘teeth-gnashing ribaldry.’

‘*Commençons au deluge*,’ said Moliere’s antiquary; but the worthy rector of Burghwallis aims at a far higher antiquity in his opening paragraph, for, determined to trace things up to their beginning, he acquaints us that ‘the devil was the first dissenter—the first to resist and disobey the divine will—the first to seduce others into the same path—the first to foment disorder, disunion, and contention, where God had intended to plant ‘unity, peace, and concord,’ so that these malevolent sectarians, who take so much pains to disturb the peace of the church, may know whose work they are doing’!

The deeds of the first dissenter are however not detailed at length; but, leaping over thousands of years, the reverend gentleman at once proceeds to detail his doings in England in the seventeenth century, evidently considering these, as among his chief works,—although in the true spirit of philosophical caution he remarks, ‘it is, however, difficult to say on what occasion the first dissenter has been most triumphant.’ Still the learned

writer points out the great rebellion as Satan's masterpiece, because the Long Parliament, 'from beginning to end, breathed out threatening and slaughter against the church of God,' and, O! unheard of wickedness, called the common prayer a grievance, the bishops a grievance, and the venerable surplice 'a rag of popery!' What could be expected in such times? and what could be hoped for, from such men as Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton, who, (we should think, for the first time) are discovered to have received an inadequate punishment! or with such leaders as Pym, 'who deserved to be buried with the burial of an ass.' But the pure gold sustains the fire, and so we are told did the church, and as 'a similar spirit is up and stirring,' the story of her calamities, 'unmixed with any political relations,' is here given, as compiled and abridged from that variegated work, which even high church historians are ashamed of, Walker's 'Account of the Numbers, and Sufferings of the Clergy of the Church of England in the late Times of the Grand Rebellion.'

The notion of giving a history of a church so closely linked with the state, without reference to 'any political relations,' is certainly a unique way of writing history; for by this method every charge brought against Charles, Laud, or Strafford, of unconstitutional conduct is disposed of, and the active criminal becomes a mere passive martyr. But even with this advantage, the tale of the sufferings of the clergy is but a dull one. There are plenty of stories how parsonage windows were broken and parsonage gardens spoiled, but none of men imprisoned, much less, put to death, for what they deemed God's truth. Even those bishops distinguished beyond their brethren for hostility to the puritans, and determined resistance of the parliament, escaped with imprisonment alone. But then *we* being doubtless blinded in our minds by 'the first dissenter,' are not aware of the peculiar 'divinity that doth hedge' a bishop,—a divinity, fully equal, in the opinion of our learned rector, as the following extract will show, to that of the holy sabbath!

'The 'Root and Branch' Committee aimed, as we have already seen, chiefly at the ejection of the bishops from the House of Lords, and the total abolition of the episcopal order altogether. The former object they finally effected. This was the same spirit which, at another time, showed itself in the French revolution at the close of the 18th century. That nation, thinking to act by its own proud and puffed-up inventions, independently of all divine ordinances, would fain have abolished for ever the ordinance of the *seventh* day Sabbath, substituting in its place the *tenth* day. For a short season this *tenth* day was recognized, just as the suspension of episcopacy was for a season accomplished by these factious Puritans; but when more

wholesome days returned to the French people, the absurd tenth day Sabbath (if it may be so termed) fell into desuetude. It became a non entity, and the legitimate seventh resumed her proper position. *That* was an ordinance of God, and however many portions of the christian world, and most especially the popish portion, may much undervalue and abuse such an ordinance, yet it is from its very nature and origin unabolishable by any human influence. Just so of episcopacy in the times we are now alluding to. Episcopacy is, through Christ, an especial ordinance of God, the apostles being the first bishops, and their episcopal or official, though not their miraculous, endowments being, by divine decree, transmitted from successor to successor down to the present time, and so to be continued as long as the kingdom of Christ shall endure upon earth. It was therefore by a satanic device, by a 'strong delusion,' that the episcopal office fell, for a season, into retirement. Bishops (like the seventh day Sabbath,) were set aside for a time; but on the return of more healthy days, episcopacy soon returned to her own legitimate position, no human power being competent, either then or ever, to extinguish it.—pp. 62—61.

Little after this 'satanic device,' remained to be done, for the pulpits were soon filled with raving fanatics; but, alas! the same spirit is even now abroad!

'The Cases, the Marshalls, the Prynnes, the Bastwicks, and the Burtons of former times, still speak in the language of some modern dissenters, with their accustomed coarseness and hatred against the Reformed Church; and still would they play the same game again with her temporal and spiritual privileges, if opportunity and power should encourage them to the work.'—p. 76.

We have next a moving account of the destruction of crosses, 'which is very painful to read.'

'But in adverting to the doings of these fierce Iconoclasts, and their Puritanical coadjutors and brethren, who, as Dr. Johnson very ingeniously remarks, 'seem to have made it a part of their despicable philosophy to despise monuments of sacred antiquity,' one is struck with the congeniality of spirit which existed between their religious notions and usages, and their taste in church architecture, with other kindred accomplishments. A rough, low, coarse vulgarity of feeling and sentiment distinguishes both—an absence of all sensibility to what is venerable, consistent, chaste, or beautiful. There is no sectarian, scarcely even the stiff, prosaic, homespun Quaker, who is so insensible to the sacred associations, the touching beauties, the elevating and celestial tone of ecclesiastical architecture, as your thorough-paced Puritan—such as these Iconoclasts were, and such as we sometimes find among the dissenters, and even among certain puritanical churchmen, of the present day. So great was their affectionation of spiritual purity, so great their infatuation with the unchaste

piety of the conventicle, and the rhapsodical out-pourings of the pulpit, that their sensibilities to all external appendages and appropriations in their places of worship, became rude and blunted. They cared nothing for the loveliness, solemnity, or beauty of the Lord's house.'—pp. 99, 100.

And who pray did *then* care for these beautiful structures? the bishops, who named them Gothic as a reproach and a byword, who fixed a Corinthian portico to old St. Pauls, and abetted Inigo Jones in all his destructions of some of the most perfect middle-age remains? The clergy? No; they saw as little beauty in the despised Gothic as John Dowsing himself did. *One* writer alone viewed them with a poet's eye, and he gazed along—

‘ The high embowered roof,
With antique pillars massy proof,
And storied windows richly dight,
Casting a dim religious light.’

struck with the *poetry* of that unsurpassed school of architecture, but *he* was the fierce opponent of lord bishops—the puritan John Milton.

With ‘the slaughter of the king,’ as there was ‘no longer a recognized monarchy, so there was no longer a recognized church.’ ‘The first dissenter,’ therefore, had it all his own way, and the presbyterians having turned nearly all ‘the loyal and orthodox clergy’ out of their livings, ‘the independent faction’ had less to do. Walker himself, however, is compelled to admit that these deposed ministers were allowed a fifth of their incomes,—an example of charity which the restored church thought it scorn to follow when two thousand holy men were set adrift in one day, *not* for political opinions, as was the case of the clergy deprived by the parliament, but for religious scruples alone. Still, that the episcopal clergy were at all molested, was, according to Mr. Wyatt, an unheard-of wickedness. But they suffered for ‘their blessed church,’ and therefore he doubts not but they had much inward peace. We rather doubt this, for even by Walker’s own showing, the outcry they made about their personal losses was far more like men irritated at being turned out of good situations, than like patriots or martyrs. However, on this part of his subject our author calls in the aid of poetry—a portion of one of Wordsworth’s noblest sonnets.—

‘ Their altars they forego, their homes they quit,
Fields that they love, and paths they daily trod,
And cast the future upon Providence.’

This is, indeed, unscrupulously trying to help out a bad cause,

for this very quotation refers to the *nonconformists*—the men who throughout this little silly book, are attacked with the grossest abuse, and the coarsest language. Here is the sonnet, and we quote it, not only on account of its intrinsic beauty, but because we would wish our brethren to be more familiar with the works—the sonnets, especially—of our venerable poet, who, although a decided churchman, and holding some high notions, is no Puseyite, and, (though indeed, how could the *poet* be so?) certainly no bigot. The title itself is honourable to the writer, for it is ‘Clerical Integrity.’

‘Nor shall the eternal roll of praise reject
Those unconforming; whom one rigorous day
Drives from their cures, a voluntary prey
To poverty, and grief, and disrespect,
And some to want—as if by tempests wrecked
On a wild coast; how destitute! did they
Feel not that conscience never can betray;
That peace of mind is virtue’s sure effect.
Their altars they forego, their homes they quit,
Fields which they love, and paths they daily trod,
And cast the future upon Providence;
As men the dictate of whose inward sense
Outweighs the world; whom self-deceiving wit
Lures not from what they deem the cause of God.’*

Wishing the writer of this delectable little book, who cannot come honestly even by his poetical quotations, the success he deserves, we now pass on to ‘Shepperton Manor,’ a story of a pattern clergyman, a popish recusant, and a puritan,—no other than Master Prynne, and written for the express purpose of exhibiting the church in her palmy days, when Wren, Morton, and Andrews, ministered at her altars, and when under the shadowing wings of the Star Chamber, ‘none dared to make her afraid.’ Of story, there is little, scarcely so much indeed, as in the same writer’s ‘Herbert Tresham;’ but then there is a great deal of description, and a great deal of speechifying. What will our readers say to the following picture of the service as performed in St. George’s Chapel, Windsor, before the high and mighty King James?

‘Presently we came into the choir, the vergers and beadles going before, with crosses and staves, to marshall us thither. Now, of the laity, none may come into this part of the chapell, except his Majesty and certain of the nobles that are in attendance on him; as for the rest, they have their places without the screen, where for them there be both seats and benches provided. The choir was decked out with spread carpets, and green rushes were plentifully strewed in the

* Sonnets, p. 408.

nave. As we did enter, two prebendaries were diligently censuring the altar with silver censers, according to their custom, and thereon were two silver candlesticks, with great array of gold and silver plate: Here it is to be noted, that reverence is made unto the altar of all men, both at coming in and going out, of the poore knights more especially; and when one crosseth over from one side to the other, then straightway boweth hee to the same. This is marvellous ill taken of the Puritans. Presently did the kinge enter in: all menne standing up to do him reverence. With him was the Prince of Wales and divers lordes; the king goeth untoe a seat prepared for him between the stalles and the altar, with a cushion to kneel upon, and a stand afore him, and as hee went, hee also bowed to the altar, all other menne bowing unto him. The Litanie was sweetlie sung of two canons, kneeling accustomedly on the faldstool, which ended, silence was kept some short space. Then wente their Lordshippes of Ely and Chester forth of the church, for they were to minister the Communion that day, and presently came back, arrayed in gorgeous copes, the like of which for beauty did I never yett see, and then went up to the altar with three obeisances, to wit,—one at the lowest step, one a litel further on, and one at the topp of all. But herein, as I heare, they agree not altogether; for Bishop Morton saith, that he boweth not unto the Table of the LORDE, but unto the LORDE of the Table; but Bishop Andrewes saith that he boweth unto the altar representatively, that he may adore the LORDE really. Then my Lord of Ely, taking the censer, censed both the books and the altar, and then did he begin the service, the serges being lighted. With great melody of organs was the Nicene Creed sung, at the end of which came a verger with his rodd of office, and conducted mee upp unto the pulpit.—pp. 91—93.

Well might Andrew Melville compose his indignant epigram.

The worthy Dr. Lenton, from whose letter the extract is taken, is much tried on his return to his parish, by the wicked doings of Prynne, then a very young man, and one Fenton, the constable, who fancies he has a call to preach. Not at all aware, of what we should have thought the merest schoolboy in the religious history of the seventeenth century was acquainted with—that the presbyterians denounced lay preaching as bitterly as episcopalians could, Mr. Neale actually makes Prynne urge the constable ‘to distribute the crumbs of the gospel to such as shall be willing to gather them from his lips!’ This alone is sufficient to prove that the author of ‘Shepperton Manor’ is wholly unacquainted with Prynne’s writings, and indeed with the writings of the puritans altogether. Dr. Lenton’s proceedings against the schismatical constable are however painted with appalling solemnity.

‘On the Sunday morning following, Fenton came, as always, to church, and took his usual—though it was not an unappropriated,—

place. His seat happened to be somewhat a conspicuous one ; it was towards the east end of the nave ; and as there are no aisles in Sheperton church, and his position was commanded by the transepts, almost every worshipper had a clear view of the Puritan. This, on former occasions, had been attended with a bad effect ; for the behaviour of Master Fenton was notoriously irreverent ; he never bowed towards the altar on entering the church, nor made obeisance at the Holy Name, and in the Creed would turn sideways, or look towards the door, as if to mark his contempt of the custom of turning to the east. But on this particular occasion Dr. Lenton could have wished for nothing more fortunate than the conspicuous position of the Puritan. On one side of him sat our old friend, Master Giles Corbet ; on the other, an aged man named Antony Palgrave.

'After the Nicene Creed, Dr. Lenton, coming forward to the highest step of the altar, for there were no rails, said,

'GOOD PEOPLE,

'It is ordered by the Canons of our church, that any man, who to the subversion of all order, and in contempt of the church of England, shall set up a conventicle, and not having received authority to do so, shall either pray or teach in public, shall be excommunicated if he persist in this his evil course, and not restored until such time as he shall have acknowledged and renounced his wicked error.

'Now, whereas John Fenton, of this parish, hath several times, that is to say, on the 21st and 28th days of the last month, and on the 4th and 11th of this instant month, being a layman, prayed and taught in a certain conventicle, holden at his own house in this parish, and after admonition by me given, hath nevertheless persisted in this his evil practice ; by the authority in me vested, I do hereby declare him, the said John Fenton, to be excommunicate and cut off from the body of the church, and he, the said John Fenton, is hereby excommunicated and cut off as aforesaid. And I require you, good people, to take notice hereof ; always remembering what the apostle saith of such an one, 'Receive him not into thy house, neither wish him God speed, for he that wisheth him God speed is partaker of his evil deeds.'—pp. 180—185.

We should like to know how this reverend gentleman would have managed with the apostle, who went 'teaching and preaching from house to house?' Fenton, who was but a sorry puritan after all, was however so 'conscience stricken that he slunk out, covered with shame.' Now this is arrant nonsense ; for the man who would brave popular opinion at this early period by having public worship in his house, must certainly have 'counted the cost' rather more accurately than to have been overborne by 'the great swelling words of vanity' pronounced by the rector, or by the gaping horror of a country congregation.'

Fenton's situation however became, we are informed, most pitiable. The superannuated Antony would have nothing to

say to him, the boatman at the ferry refused to carry him over, the baker feared he would bewitch his flour, and as the pathetic climax, 'both the Anchor and the White Lion were closed against him'! In such a sorrowful strait, unable to get a horn of ale either for love or money, what could a poor outcast do? save to humble himself before his spiritual ruler, and meekly pray for re-admission into both the church and the White Lion. This he does; and a festival day being at hand, Fenton on the morning took his place in the porch, clad in the customary white sheet—white linen by some inexplicable mystery being equally appropriated by the church to holy priests ministering at her altars, and excommunicates shivering in the doorway,—and then—but Mr. Neale must tell it in his own words.

'Service proceeded, as before, to the end of the Nicene Creed; and then Dr. Lenton came forward and said:

'GOOD PEOPLE,

'OUR LORD and SAVIOUR did give, among sundry other powers unto his apostles, that of binding and loosing sinners: saying, 'Whosoever sins ye remit, they be remitted unto them; and whosoever sins ye retain, they be retained.' Which power yet abideth in His church: and by it, we did of late see fit to bind a notorious offender, if so be, that being cast out of the Body of all the Faithful for a season, might tend to humble him, and to lead him to true repentance. We are now given to understand that the said offender is truly sorry for that his fault, and is willing to make public profession of the same unto God and before you.'

'Fenton was then brought in from the porch by one of the churchwardens, and standing in a white sheet in the middle of the nave, he read as follows from a paper which had been given him:

'I, John Fenton, do protest, that I abhor and abjure that wicked and schismatical doctrine and position that there is, or can be, any other church in this kingdom, besides that one church, commonly called the church of England. And I profess that all they, who, not having received holy orders in it, do nevertheless go about teaching, or making public prayers, and all they that stir up the minds of others against the doctrine and discipline therein taught and professed, are guilty of great and grievous sin. And I do here, in the presence of God, and in the face of this congregation, profess my true sorrow and hearty repentance for having been guilty in the same matter myself; and do promise, if I may be received again into the communion of the church, by God's grace, utterly to eschew and avoid all such like crimes for the time to come.'

'Then Dr. Lenton continued:

'Seeing now, dearly beloved brethren, that this man hath professed his sincere sorrow for the sin he hath committed, humbly beseeching of us to restore him unto those privileges which were bestowed on him at his baptism, and to bring him again into the

communion of the holy church, and give him a part in the society of all christian men, by the authority in me vested, I absolve him from his excommunication, in the name of the FATHER, and of the SON, and of the HOLY GHOST.'—pp. 192, 193.

We fully agree with Mr. Neale, that, after this impressive scene, 'church authority was felt in Shepperton to be a really active and influential power.' This, truly, it has always been; and wielded by such hands as these reverend gentlemen's, we have no doubt it would soon become so 'active and influential' a nuisance, that the whole system, and its abettors, would be speedily driven from the land.

Of a diametrically opposite character to the two former is the third work on our list, 'Mary Spencer,' a remarkably well written, though unpretending little book, intended to warn young persons of the insidious nature and dangerous errors of tractarian theology. The earlier portion of the work, describing the struggles of a reduced family, and the happy death of the parents, displays so much pathos, and calm and gentle christian feeling, that we almost regret when Miss Howard leaves these scenes to enter on controversy. The character of Mr. Norman, the Puseyite rector, and that of his enthusiastic sister, are however very well drawn; and from the mode of conducting her arguments, we can plainly see that Miss Howard has *read* the writings of the party she opposes; unlike the two clerical writers before noticed, who have given in their gross blunders most emphatic proof that they have read only their own side of the question. The following is a good specimen of the style of argument, and it is distinguished too by a spirit of christian liberality, which indeed characterizes most honourably the whole volume.

'I do not think Mr. Norman acts, in this instance, from mistake,' said Jane Graham; 'it would be false charity to say so, for he had a long conversation with my father, the day he called on us, and he spoke much about the sin of dissenters, and said, that churchmen should hold no communion with their ministers, lest they also should perish in the 'gainsaying of Korah,' of whose sin he affirmed, all nonconformist ministers were guilty; and he classed most of the reformed churches on the continent with dissenters.'

'How,' inquired Emma, 'did he prove the poor dissenter to be guilty of crimes so dreadful, as those of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram?'

'He said that they opposed our ministers, who received their authority in a direct line from the apostles, and wanted to usurp their office, just as Korah, Dathan, and Abiram did that of Moses and Aaron.'

'He must have forgotten,' said Mary, 'that Korah and his companions were themselves ministers, set apart to minister before the

Lord; and that Moses rebuked them, by saying, 'Seemeth it a small thing unto you, that the God of Israel hath separated you from the congregation of Israel, to bring you near to himself, to do the service of the tabernacle of the Lord, and to stand before the congregation to minister unto them? And he hath brought thee near to him, and all thy brethren, the sons of Levi with thee: and seek ye the priesthood also?'

'Why do you keep saying, 'He must have forgotten,' Mary?' said Emma: 'he is not like a man who forgets much. He is always on the watch—always on his guard. I do not think Mr. Norman ever forgets anything.'

'My father reminded him (interposed Elizabeth) that the rebellious Levites were ministers already, and therefore, their sin must be one of which a lawful minister could be guilty. 'And in our own day, (continued my father) I believe those in the church to be acting the part of Korah, who are copying so closely the example set them by the priests of Rome. Moses was the lawgiver, and Aaron the high-priest of Israel; both types of Christ, who is now the only Lawgiver and High-priest of his people: but those misguided men who call themselves the successors of the apostles, without possessing their spirit of meekness and lowliness, usurp the sovereignty of Christ while they talk loudly of ministerial authority, and are fain to bind a yoke upon the neck of their disciples in the name of a fallible church; and think you not, (he went on) they might, if their ears were not closed, hear their Master saying to them, 'And seek ye the priesthood also?' for his eyes can see their communion-tables turned into altars, and his own appointed feast of remembrance gradually becoming a propitiatory sacrifice, that they may stand by as officiating priests.'—pp. 112—114.

We just notice the next work, 'The Church Visible in all Ages,' to remark that it possesses the usual faults and excellencies of Charlotte Elizabeth's writings. From her really morbid horror of the name of popery, she has in this work greatly weakened her argument, by claiming for the visible church during the middle ages only those sects who either did not belong, or actually departed from her communion; forgetful of the many worthy men who denounced papal errors, and taught a purer faith, without *formally* withdrawing from the Latin church. Surely the puritans who preached in the parish churches during Laud's primacy, are to be considered as conscientious puritans as those who some years after gathered separate congregations. They saw the errors of the church as clearly as their successors,—we learn this from their writings,—but they felt they had a wider field of action where they were, and waited their time. Just so did many good men during the middle ages. Another error of Charlotte Elizabeth's,—and indeed it belongs to all the writers of her school—is, conceding to the church of Rome her darling

claim, that she has been '*semper eadem*,' instead of showing that the Latin church has varied in her doctrines, and in her observances, more than any other. The endeavour to link together in the minds of the young, the notions of persecution and false doctrines, is also greatly to be reprobated. It is true, corrupt churches have been persecuting ones, but have not the reformed been nearly equally so? How easily might an opponent of Charlotte Elizabeth's views take up this little book, and story by story oppose well authenticated stories of persecutions of the orthodox party by placing the cruel massacres of the early Arians in antagonism with the slaughter of the Paulicians; the burning of Joan Boucher against that of Alice Penden; and the persecutions unto death of papists, brownists, and baptists, during almost a century, in highly favoured, reformed England, and by rulers and members of the English church? That writer must indeed be a superficial student of history who can apply persecution as the test of a true or a false church.

We pass on to the last work on our list, a little *brochure*, but important, as being one of a series professing to found 'a new school of teachers for the people;' and important too as an attempt to work out, by means of narrative, Dr. Arnold's notion of a national church. The writer, however, has more of poetry in his nature than that excellent, though on this subject, paradoxical man, and unfortunately also a tinge of German mysticism, which often makes it very difficult to know what he really means. The following extracts perhaps give the clearest view, and though mystical, they have great power and sweetness.

'When I was about fourteen years of age, I was, one day, struck with the thought that I had not read my Bible enough; and I wrote down a resolution in my pocket book that I would take a walk, every evening, along the bank of the river that flowed near our school, and read over, very carefully, a portion of the Gospel according to St. John. It struck me now very forcibly that there was a great difference between talking about religion and its doctrines, and having religion mingled with one's very life. Religion itself, thought I, must be a very simple matter, whatever the science of religion may be. They tell me that the laws of motion are of very difficult study; but I am moving every moment, without the trouble of understanding them. It came suddenly to my mind that, to have a right view and true feeling concerning our blessed Lord, must be the sum of all Christianity. Apart from this, said I to myself, disputes about doctrines and systems are only like so many discussions about the peculiar flavour of a peach, for one who has never tasted the fruit itself.

'So I read the Gospel, the Word of Life, as I paced along the bank of that calm-flowing river (which I love for the sake of those holy, happy hours): and one evening, as I read in the ninth chapter

the account of our Saviour's conversation with *the man born blind*, I found everything that I had been seeking for—all in that chapter! And when I came to the words, 'Jesus heard that they had cast him out; and, when He had found him, He said unto him, Dost thou believe on the Son of God?' he answered and said, 'Who is he, Lord, that I might believe on him?' and Jesus said unto him, 'Thou hast both seen him, and it is he that talketh with thee;' I heartily joined with the man born blind in saying, 'Lord, I believe;' and I worshipped Christ. I heard the Truth speaking in me and to me; and there arose in my soul a light to shine in every thought, and a warmth to glow in every feeling—a truth that might be always with me—a voice always heard—a beauty always seen—a central thought, round which the busy world might roll and not disturb it—a peace passing all understanding—a universal consecration, and a perpetual blessing. The central light was now opened in my soul, and beautiful reflections poured in upon me from every point I observed. The heavens and the earth had now a new meaning for me. I everywhere felt

‘A presence which disturbed me with the joy
Of elevated thoughts.’

‘Oh, that I had known all this before!’ I exclaimed. My joy was mingled with sorrow, not only for positive sins against the pure light which now shone upon me, but on account of hours of life spent in listlessness and indolence; for I felt that my whole life ought to be one continuous act of adoration and thankfulness.

I remember well that, now also, first awoke in my soul that sentiment which is called a love of nature. I do not remember that, in my early boyhood, I cared anything for descriptions of scenery; nor did I ever talk enthusiastically of mountains, rivers, forests, and beauteous vales. All these loves had slept in my soul; but now I loved so much, that everything akin to love greeted me as a brother, and the mountains faced me with their ancient foreheads seeming full of peaceful thought, and I heard a voice of gladness in the streams; and when I saw fair cottages sprinkled over the distant landscape, I thought, ‘There live some whom I could love, and with whom I could be happy!’ and I began to read Milton, and loved Adam and Eve; then I followed, in all her pilgrimage,

‘Heavenly Una, with her milk-white lamb;’

and I even said, ‘I, too, am a poet,’ and wrote an Ode to the River, and a multitude of irregular sonnets.’—pp. 6, 7.

Here is an extract from one of Homeward's poems, it is very beautiful,—

‘Why should I a stranger be
In my Father's dwelling,
While hill and river, rock and tree,
Of his love are telling?’

Always heard, their simple voice,
 Bidding childlike hearts rejoice,
 Whispers us that love is near:
 What we seek in yonder sphere,
 Love can find it now, and here.

' Why should angels wing their way
 To tell this simple story?
 What could seraph-minstrel say,
 Singing in his glory?
 Could he more than whisper 'Peace,'
 Bid our vain repining cease?
 Could his music sweeter be
 Than the mystic harmony
 Round this ivied tower sweeping
 O'er the graves where friends are sleeping,
 Breathing life and death's true lore,
 Saying—' Love lives evermore?'

' Shadows are about us here,
 To veil our eyes from sorrow:
 Why, to-day, in sunshine, fear
 Cloudy skies to-morrow?
 See how every tree and flower,
 For a century or an hour,
 Rests in one upholding Power:
 All their food to them is brought,
 Nothing wanted, nothing sought:
 Why should we, with anxious thought,
 Mar the good our Father wrought?

' If there be sore strife and care
 In the world below,
 Restless spirits never there
 Could chase away the woe.
 Let the storm that raves about us,
 By our faith be kept without us;
 Let us from our troubles cease
 Power and conquest dwell in peace.'—pp. 11, 12.

Strong in the faith of the resistless power of a religion solely of activity and cheerfulness, Henry Homeward sets forth, as parish priest, to convert and elevate his rustic parishioners by the Arcadian means of pretty flower-gardens, pretty talking, and, we must say, *more* than pretty—very sweet, poetry. In this system he is, according to the book, completely successful. But then his converts are mere shadows of the mind—grotesque enough some of them—witness Mrs. Warknaught, the born and bred daughter of the church, whose first husband was a baptist, whose second was a quaker, and whose

religious notions are therefore represented as being a compound of all three! Arguments like the following might be influential with such an addle-brained personage, but would they convince the earnest seeker after truth?

‘ ‘Mrs. Warknaught,’ said Mr. Gleaming, ‘it is not your duty to trouble yourself concerning all these evils and inconsistencies which you seem to find in the christian world, any further than may serve to urge you to counteract them, according to the rule, ‘Overcome evil WITH GOOD.’ If the errors of men who have given cause of offence, and of those who have been too easily offended, have interrupted that full communion of christians which ought to prevail, we must still faithfully hold fast to all that remains of that communion, and we shall best tend to restore the reign of the good in the world by acting with hearty faith in the power of the good that remains among us. It surely is good to hold communion with all who do not, by wilful errors, exclude us from their society : and if the church has retained the essential principles of christian communion, and is open to receive you, I cannot see how you will defend yourself from the charge of offending against the welfare of the church, if you refuse her fellowship.’

‘ And thus Mr. Gleaming expostulated with the old lady, until she was really a little frightened, and began to suspect that the separatistic tracts upon her table were not quite so good and true as they ought to be.’—p. 42.

Now this paragraph alone, shews that the writer knows little enough of the ‘separatistic tracts’ to which he refers, for the ‘if’ is the very point in question. ‘If the church had retained the essential principles of Christian communion,’ we would certainly join her; but our answer is, she has not, and that in forms, polity, and doctrine, she is corrupt. Nor is it any answer to point with Mary Hale to ‘the drunken blacksmith who would beat his wife, and then thumb the scriptures,’ we can point to reverend clergymen who do the same. It is, indeed, surprising that an intelligent and well-informed man can think of waving aside,—somewhat with the air of papa, who tells his little boy not to go near a pond lest he should fall in—inquirers, as well acquainted with secular and ecclesiastical history as himself, lest, forsooth, they should come to harm by having an opinion of their own, and thus breaking the unity of the church.

‘ ‘We must begin with the lowly, common duties of disciples, and acquiesce in all the due claims of the church upon our faith and obedience, and never abandon the *general duties* of patience, forbearance, and charity, on account of *particular opinions* of our own concerning some details of doctrine.’

‘ ‘But, Mr. Gleaming, is the mind to go to sleep?’ asked Mr.

Hobbeling. 'Are we to seek nothing more than what the priest tells us? Are we to give up all *private judgment*, all *investigation* of doctrines?'

'No,' replied Mr. Gleaming, 'I did not say so; but I am arguing that these enquiries should be kept in due subordination, and never be allowed to offend against the *great, primal, practical duties* of a CHRISTIAN COMMUNION. It is in such investigations as those to which you have addicted yourself, that the minds of men are *necessarily* led in diverse directions, and brought into *controversy*. If, therefore, you desire the peace and unity of the church, you *must* abandon the ways of disunion, you *must* sacrifice the importance which you have attached to your private speculations, you must put the *simple and practical* rules of GOOD CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP in the place of first importance which you have allowed to your *peculiar opinions*. You can never come round to the way of truth and unity, by persevering in the course of error and separation. In one way, Mr. Hobbeling, the doctrine of Christianity is *always understood*; but, in another way, it is *never understood*. I mean, that while the *mind rests in the great leading ideas of the system*, without an effort to master the numerous little difficulties which attend some of its doctrines, it is in possession of the *harmonious truth of the whole system*; but, when from this point of union the mind goes out to explore the *exterior definitions* and separations of doctrines, it may find plenty of incitement to everlasting enquiry, but can never come to rest and confidence, save by returning to the point from which it set out.'—pp. 49, 50.

Now, 'the great leading ideas of the system' will infallibly teach each man to inquire and judge for himself; and, although recommending clean cottage windows and clean faces, and encouraging the sowing of sweet peas and sun-flowers, may all be very well in their places, yet, the mind that looks thoughtfully upon the world, must feel that more powerful motives than an awakening sense of beauty and order, are needed for its regeneration.

We should scarcely have bestowed so much notice on this little work, but we have reason to know that the views advocated in it are rather popular with a class who, while they repudiate the high assumptions of Puseyism, are fascinated with the notion of a one undivided church, commensurate with the length and breadth of our land; and also with the many poetic observances which found a place in the religion of the middle ages. It is, in short, a kind of religious young Englandism that is advocated here; and, as it has been wisely suggested, that although 'young England' would make poor work on a large scale, it might still be usefully employed in superintending cottage allotments, and providing recreation for the people; so we think, that although the amiable and poetic Henry

Homeward would do but little good when he attempts with his tiny cruse of oil to calm the fierce waves that are chafing and foaming around him, still, in the pleasant and truly Christian task of pointing out the simple yet lofty pleasures which lie in our daily pathway, and in hymning the goodness of God, as beheld in His beautiful creation, we believe his success would be great. Poetry is the 'vocation' of the writer of this little story,—sweet, heart-cheering poetry,—not a wayward, though poetic philosophy, which seeks to curb leviathan with a straw, and turn men 'from darkness unto light,' by a mere love of the beautiful. Let him write many more such songs as this for children, and many more such sonnets as this for the thoughtful, and his 'mission' will be well fulfilled:—

'Sing beside the cheerful streams!
They are singing as they flow—
Through green shades and golden gleams,
Downward to the sea they go.
From the hill-top blue and high,
While day and night go round the sky,
Through the vales they haste along—
All their life is merry song!

'Rippling, rolling, gliding, winding,
Round the hills their courses finding,
Caring not to lose their name
In the sea from which they came;
Bringing blessings where they may,
They laugh and sing along their way,
And mingle in the mighty sea—
Let us sing as merrily!' (p. 77.)

'In deserts of the Holy Land I strayed,
Where Christ once lived, but seems to live no more.
On Lebanon my lonely home I made:
I heard the wind among the cedars roar,
And saw, far off, the Great Sea's solemn shore:
'But 'tis a dreary wilderness,' I said,
Now the prophetic spirit hence has fled:
Then, from a convent in the vale, I heard,
Slow-chanted forth, the everlasting Word,
Saying, 'I am He that liveth, and was dead,
And, lo! I am alive for evermore.'
Then forth upon my pilgrimage I fare,
Resolved to find and praise him every where.—p. 26.

Art. VIII. *Elements of Physics*. By C. F. Peschel, Principal of the Royal Military College at Dresden. Translated from the German, with Notes by E. West. Illustrated with diagrams and woodcuts. London: Longman and Co.

We have derived both pleasure and profit from the perusal of this useful and well-digested 'Elementary Treatise of Physics.' In its plan it is intermediate between the mere popular enunciation of physical facts, and the rigorous mathematical demonstrations of the more scientific writers on this department of human knowledge. It is, therefore, well calculated to meet the wants of those who, though unable to grapple with the mathematical difficulties presented by the latter, are, notwithstanding, too inquisitive to be satisfied with the dogmas of the former. Germany at the present time may be regarded as the focus of all useful knowledge relating to the pure and mixed sciences. Its writers are at once profound thinkers, universal enquirers, elaborate expositors, and comprehensive compilers; they are indefatigable in research, and being generally acquainted with most of the European languages, acquire an early knowledge of all the discoveries which are made in foreign countries, while their aptitude for condensation, enables them to present, in the form of elementary works, the views of the most enlightened philosophers.

In the volume before us we have an illustration of the German character in this respect; for the book, though small in size, contains more matter than is found in many ponderous volumes, and, notwithstanding the quantity of matter compressed into a space so limited, the style is perspicuous, and the sense clearly expressed.

With respect to the translation, it is not too much to say, that Mr. West is of a kindred spirit with the original compiler, for he has rendered the work into English at once terse and explicit, and free from idiomatic expressions. The clearness and precision of the translation is strikingly manifested in the more severe investigations, in which, although the mathematical expressions need no translation, yet a thorough comprehension of the reasoning (as well as of the language) is requisite to carry out the demonstrations, when the symbolic language gives place to verbal argument. In passages of this description the ease and perspicuity of the translation convey to the mind of the reader the impression, not of interpreted ideas, but of thoughts conceived in the language in which they are expressed.

The original work consists of two volumes. The one before us is a translation of the first volume, which is confined to the

investigation and illustration of the properties of ponderable bodies; thus embracing a wide range of inquiry, comprising the 'physical properties of bodies,' the 'laws of motion' as applicable to solid bodies and nonelastic fluids—the properties and phenomena of *elastic* fluids—the nature and theory of vibrations, &c. In fact, it furnishes an intelligible synopsis of the leading principles of mechanics, hydrostatics, pneumatics, and acoustics, with a section on chemical affinity, in which the principal chemical phenomena are elucidated, while the laws of combination and decomposition, together with the effects of chemical agencies generally, are clearly explained.

The volume is printed in a very convenient form, in good clear type; the illustrative diagrams are well executed, and placed in the pages to which they refer. Valuable tables are interspersed through the work, containing summaries of scientific facts and deductions, which the translator has judiciously reduced to English measures.

This will be found an useful book in schools where the pupils are well instructed in the elements of mathematics, embracing algebra, geometry, trigonometry, and conic sections; and will prove a valuable text book for lectures on natural philosophy to the senior scholars.

Hoping the translator will be equally successful with the second volume as with this, and calling his attention to the discoveries which are continually being made in relation to the phenomena pertaining to *imponderable* bodies, such as light, heat, electricity, and magnetism, in order that it may be adapted to the *present state* of these sciences, we cordially recommend the work, as well deserving the attention of those by whom a respectable knowledge of the elementary principles of natural philosophy is desired.

Art. IX.—*The Mission of the Church: or, Remarks on the Relative Importance of Home and Foreign Missionary Effort in the Present State of the World.* By Peter Rylands. Pp. 30. London: Ward. 1845.

It is obvious that the Gospel leaves us to the dictates of our own reason as to the best modes of diffusing it throughout the world. It gives us the solemn charge to seek its universal propagation,—it excites the disposition which is necessary to the execution of this commission; but as to the particular plans and

orders of proceeding which may be required for this end, it is silent. Beyond the intimation that the proclamation of the truth is the great means of salvation, that the accounted 'foolishness of preaching' is God's instrument of spiritual power, it affords no information. What are the institutions most adapted to secure this proclamation, which is the best way of working them, and what are the best localities for planting them, are questions to be answered by ourselves. We do not speak, of course, of christian churches, although our remarks would be applicable, in a considerable degree, to them, but of the methods and rules which christian churches should adopt for the evangelization of the world. In the beginning of the Gospel, there was special guidance vouchsafed to the servants of Christ. A supernatural influence enabled them to select the most fitting plans and places for their labours. They were 'sent forth by the Holy Ghost' in one case: 'the Spirit suffered them not' in another. They were 'obliged by the Spirit' to go there, and 'forbidden of the Holy Ghost to preach' here. But these miraculous suggestions and influences are no longer granted, we have no such visions or voices; and though the Holy Ghost has still the administration of christianity, he works not in so plain and palpable a way. We are thrown apparently upon our own reason and resources, and to get possession of his wisdom, are obliged to use our own.

But it is important to remember that we *are* to use our wisdom, and not neglect it. The case is one in which sense and skill are imperatively demanded. Calmness of judgment, breadth of view, foresight, intimate acquaintance with the facts and the philosophy of human nature, as well as a knowledge of the Gospel, are necessary in the guides and leaders of the christian enterprise. If the conduct of social schemes, of political organizations, of martial operations, demands a noble order of mental endowment, how much more the conduct of the great plan of God for the renovation of our entire humanity? If *any* attributes are needed in us, the most exalted are. If inspiration be afforded, we have only to bring our active energies to tell upon the plan made ready to our mind, but if there is no inspiration, if the devices of our own minds are a matter of any relevance and importance, we repeat, there are no gifts of intellectual and moral worth and greatness that 'The Mission of the Church' cannot employ, and does not need. Perhaps few would formally deny this doctrine. Yet is it often virtually impeached. And in no instance is the impeachment of it more marked and miserable, than in the different modes in which the terms 'theoretical' and 'practical' are employed and applied. Never were two words more ill used. Never

were two good and worthy ideas more effectually concealed by the signs intended to indicate and express them. In many cases, and religious cases too, the 'theoretical' man means the fool, and the 'practical' man him who does least or nothing. He who can only see just before him, to whom facts are facts, and nothing more, who has a morbid craving for immediate effect, judges of adaptation from a view simply of outward circumstances, and always appears busy and bustling, passes for the practical man; whereas, he who proposes the comprehensive and long-sighted aim, works out the noble generalization, lays the broad basis of solid and permanent principles, and deals in the generous argumentation that would, if fair play were given to it, invest the whole mind, and 'unite' the whole 'heart,' may deem himself safe if he escape the repute of one whose plans may be very clever but are very impracticable, whom it may be pleasant enough to listen to, but utterly impossible to work with, until the failure of petty schemes and mere societies show that nothing is so expensive as parsimony, and that the greatest haste must be made most slowly.

It is obvious that, in seeking the evangelization of the globe, or of a portion of it, we are not to look simply at immediate results, and should shape our proceedings with a view to future and remote consequences. The worth of efforts does not depend upon their amount alone, but their appropriateness. It is not mere force that is to be regarded, but its direction. There may be laboriousness in doing nothing. And the question should ever be asked, not, what are likely to be the effects produced, within any particular period, but at last, and on the whole. The apostles, in whom was the Spirit of the Lord, did not expend their energies any where and any how. They did not labour just where they happened to be, or happened to go. Theirs was not a chance course or a chance conduct. They felt it their duty to pass by some places in order to attend to others. Asia must be left for Europe, and Ephesus for Philippi. They went and worked under the influence of a profound and far-seeing sagacity. They sought the abodes of civilization. The centres of population were the scenes of their efforts—and thus after towns were christianized, the *villager* was the *pagan*. All this is worthy of serious attention. It is indicative of a class of large and momentous principles—and principles which have not always been recognized in the missionary proceedings of the christian church. Looked at in their light, many things will appear unwise, and even injurious, which to good but short-sighted men may seem to embody true wisdom, and to possess strong claims.

These remarks involve the grounds of Mr. Rylands's reason-

ings and counsels as expressed and expounded in the pamphlet before us. Whatever difference of opinion may exist between him and ourselves as to the particular suggestion which he enforces, we are quite one as to the general principles on which he proceeds. Mr. Rylands is not one of those men who look at appearances only. He is not bewitched by words. He does not adopt, of course, the current notions of the day. He dares to examine the most approved maxims—and dares to reject them. Possessing great solidity and independence of mind, he scrutinizes what many receive implicitly. The present publication sufficiently evinces this. The mere announcement of his views will shock many minds. It is not, however, for the sake of shocking them that he writes. He believes, and therefore speaks. We ourselves are not, by any means, prepared to follow or approve the course he recommends. But the subject deserves and calls for attention. His aim is evidently to provoke a discussion of its merits. And whatever may be the result as to his proposal, good cannot fail to proceed from the investigation. The weight of many of his arguments may be admitted, while his conclusion is rejected. They are such as Englishmen ought to ponder, and cannot ponder, without a deep impression. If he succeed in winning for them a due regard, his success will be abundant, nor will he care for being 'struck,' if he is but 'heard.'

The plan of Mr. Rylands is the entire concentration, for the present, of British efforts, upon the conversion of our own country. He is not opposed to the conversion of the globe. He admits the claim of 'every creature' to have the gospel. He has no excuse for indolence or parsimony in connection with the salvation of men's souls. He does not deem the present rate of gifts and deeds at all commensurate with the obligations of Christians. But he considers that as all that might be wished, cannot, as a mere matter of fact, be done at once, as there must of necessity be selection somewhere, it is plainly our business to choose the scenes that are most important in themselves, and in their relation to the whole world, and Britain appears to him, on these accounts, to afford the proper sphere of present exertion. It is not, therefore, as a substitute for foreign missions, that he advocates home missions. It is with a view to this—believing that the great end, the conversion of all men, would more speedily be brought about by seeking exclusively, in the first instance, that of our own people. He would concentrate effort now, only for the sake of its more effectual diffusion hereafter. That he is not alone in this view of the church's 'mission,' that many minds are sympathizing with it, that there are probabilities of its extension, and that it is utterly impossible to

prevent the subject coming fairly and fully before the christian public, we have reason to be well assured of, and therefore take this opportunity of making some remarks upon it.

The main points of Mr. Rylands's pamphlet are the following. The most civilized nations are the most powerful, and Great Britain occupies a position of pre-eminence among civilized nations in respect of power. Not only is its aggregate influence so superior, but the average influence of each individual exceeds that of the less cultured of other lands. The mental faculties of a civilized European, are vastly above those of savages. Additional advantages are derived from education, wealth, &c. It becomes, therefore, immensely important that civilized nations, and especially our own, should themselves be christianized. Their influence cannot be restrained. National inter-communion will lead to great evils, if not great advantages. The apostles were actuated by such considerations in the planting of the church, selecting civilized states as the objects of their mission. In addition to this, the crowded population of Great Britain presents a wide field peculiarly favourable for the diffusion of religious truth. Manchester alone containing a population *three times as great* as the forty islands in the South Seas, in which forty or fifty European missionaries, assisted by native teachers are labouring. Many difficulties which exist abroad, are not found at home. Languages, customs, &c., have not to be learned. Labour is just as much required to evangelize our fellow-countrymen, as any of the heathen tribes, and there is just as good a prospect of its being successful. The expenditure of time, talents, and money that have been devoted to Raratonga or Tahiti, would have been more successful if spent in our own country.

These, we repeat, are considerations that few will deny, and that should be pressed with all the power that can be employed upon British minds. As to the plan of giving up foreign missions for the sake of home, we are inclined to apply the saying of Christ upon another subject, 'These things ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone.' No man can imagine that British christians have reached the utmost limit of liberality. When we consider what is kept, as well as what is given, and call to mind how large an amount of property is devoted to things that are unnecessary, and even hurtful, some single luxuries, which injure both mind and body, costing as much as is contributed to the conversion of mankind, it is impossible to suppose that the question is one of substitution of sphere. There is no need to abandon China, India, or the South Seas, in order to attend to Britain. Were there, the case would be somewhat different. We are not to be carried away by the mere

force of words. A great confusion of ideas prevails in the minds of many christians respecting the relative claims of different spheres of labour. The power of terms is nowhere more strikingly displayed than in connexion with missions. 'Britain' and 'the world!' How small the one, how great the other! Who would compare the two? Twenty-five millions of souls, and a thousand millions of souls! There is no room for argument. The case is closed. To put the first in the place of the last is sheer ungodliness! Thus are men moved. But it is easy to see, nevertheless, that all this has nothing whatever to do with the question. The comparison is false. To say nothing of *ultimate consequences*, it should be drawn *between the number of souls that can be acted upon at home, and the number of souls that can be acted upon abroad*. It is not Britain and the world, but Britain and a *portion* of the world. Foreign missions do not comprehend all that are not comprehended by home missions, but only some, and comparatively a few, of them. It may be that British christians can influence within their own shores, as large a number of minds as they can influence in all other parts of the earth put together, while the relative importance of English conversions vastly exceeds that of conversions in distant lands. If, therefore, we were obliged to choose between Britain, and the world, as it is called, and were left free to act simply on *our own* convictions of the matter, our choice would soon be made. But we do not think or feel that such a choice is forced upon us.

Mr. Rylands says, 'The question may be put, 'Why cannot sufficient means be raised to support *both* Foreign and Home Missions?' We should rejoice if they could. But as long as the necessary amount of money and the requisite number of efficient preachers are *not* supplied, we contend that the first claim belongs to the British Isles, and until that paramount claim is satisfied, we do wrong if we scatter our efforts elsewhere.' In answer to the plea, that enough money and men might and ought to be furnished for both objects, our author takes his stand on the fact that *it is not*. We think the same answer may be made to his own proposal. If it be alleged that what is now spent abroad might be spent at home, our reply is, *it would not be*. It is comparatively easy to advise that one course should be substituted for another, but it is not so easy after the one has been abandoned to secure the adoption of the other. It may be true enough, that if all British christians would do as much for home as they do for the whole world, they would do as wisely and as well, or even more so. But we have the most intimate persuasion that they would do no such thing if they were to give up the world. Foreign missions are,

in our view, so much clear gain, and a source of gain. The history of missionary operations reveals this fact, that regard for souls abroad is one of the best stimulants to regard for souls at home. When the heathen were neglected, Britons excited but little commiseration. And the churches most devoted to foreign efforts, as a general rule, are most solicitous about their own countrymen. Nor is it difficult to explain the reason. We have to do with human nature, and with that nature not as it may become, but as it is. It is the attribute of that nature to be excited by the new and the distant. Things definite and well known do not move it most powerfully. There must be a moral perspective. Familiarity destroys interest. The same object is not the same here and thousands of miles away. In the one case there is literal truth, in the other there is room for the imagination. There is the gratification arising not only from perception, but creation. The mind can dress up the object. Thus it is with the heathen. Clime, colour, custom, religious opinions, and many other things afford scope for the exercise of the fancy. And then the vastness of the field! True, it cannot be occupied. But it is only wise men that take that view of the matter. The adult is content with stretching out his hand to objects that are within his reach; the babe holds out its tiny fingers towards objects it can neither reach nor grasp. The mass of christians are, in this respect, infants. The world is a great thing, and they must needs, though they know not well how, aim at its conversion. But while christian efforts, denied to home, will, for these reasons, be expended abroad, it is easy to see that such efforts cannot be thus expended without preparing and fitting their authors for home engagements. The great thing is, to get men to think and feel. Right thoughts and feelings are nearer the thoughtful and the sensitive, than the thoughtless and insensible. If the heart can be brought into contact with heathen souls, though, it may be, under a wrong perception, its spiritual sympathies will be strengthened, its love and power of action will grow, and it will be in a condition better to care and work for souls at home. Proximity will secure their constant presentation, and the plea of *consistency* will have force and pathos—'Physician, heal thyself: whatsoever we have heard done in Capernaum, do also here in thy country.'

We cannot, therefore, go as far as our author in reference to the exclusive claim of home missions. We are convinced that his plan would fail; what might be withdrawn from foreign labours would not be spent at home. If it were in the beginning, it would not continue to be, while a powerful stimulus to home effort would thus be lost. Most earnestly would we

repeat his advice, 'Let no one withdraw from foreign operations any support that he is not prepared to devote, with new ardour, to the conversion of his countrymen,' but we would say further, 'Let no man divert the course of his benevolence till he is quite sure, looking at his own experience, the philosophy of the human mind, and the history of the church, that he will continue to do as much, as without such a diversion he would accomplish, for the cause of God.'

The principal value of Mr. Rylands's facts and reasonings, we have already intimated, consists in the force of the impression they are calculated to make in favour of more enlarged and energetic efforts for our own land. Far be it from us to deal in indiscriminate censure, or to lose sight of the amount and worth of the exertions already expended upon its evangelization. There is not a little of gross, if not wilful exaggeration, often employed by those who are everlastingly expatiating on *the neglect of home*. They leave out of the calculation, not seldom, by far the greatest portion of home effort. Nothing can well be easier than to contrast the contributions to Foreign Missionary, with those to Home Missionary Societies, and to evince *in this way* the disproportionate attention which they receive. But nothing can be more unfair than such a method of comparison. Home Missions, properly so called, are but a trifling item in the means employed to convert our country. Every ministry that is supported, every sanctuary that is erected, every school that is sustained, every tract that is distributed, every religious visitation, and religious conversation, ought, in manifest justice, to be brought into the account. Still, after all, how much remains to be achieved! And how literally oppressive are the considerations that appeal to our religious responsibility? Would that British Christians solemnly grappled with the religious 'condition-of-England question.'

'Let what will be said, nothing can, by any possibility, disguise or modify the GREAT FACT, *that the large majority of our countrymen are still without true religion*. And though their vices may not assume the same forms as the unbridled passions of a savage, they are in reality in a more responsible state before God, and will be held guilty of greater disobedience. Is it *impossible* to save them? God forbid! WHY, THEN, ARE THEY NOT SAVED?'—p. 29.

Brief Notices.

On the Origin and Ramifications of the English Language; preceded by an Inquiry into the Primitive Seats, Early Migrations, and Final Settlements of the Principal European Nations. By Henry Welsford, Esq. Longman. 1845.

THE leading object of this volume is undoubtedly that which appears secondary in the title-page; viz., to investigate the relations of the chief nations of Europe, and especially to establish that the Celts were not separated from the Sclavonians by an impassable chasm. The work is characterized by rather extensive reading, which however has not escaped the danger of becoming superficial and decidedly ill-digested. So many indications recur, that the author's knowledge is (as might be expected) derived from secondary sources, that we impute it to mere negligence,—that he puts forward, in the tone of a discoverer, derivations which belong to others: as the Latin termination of verbs in 3rd. p. plural in *-nt*, from *hwynt*, the Welsh for 'they,' which he has read in Prichard on the Celtic Languages; and various classical names of nations, in several of which he follows Mr. Kenrick, while in others he produces as new what is well known, and is common property.

The student who is wholly uninformed in the subjects, will find a great mass of interesting information here compiled, and dealt out to him in a pleasant and surprising shape. But he will also incur extreme danger of imbibing principles of investigation wholly fantastical, and will almost inevitably carry off a strange mass of erroneous inference. For Mr. Welsford's industry in accumulating erudition, we must express our respect: but we find ourselves in total and hopeless collision with him as to his mode of reasoning, even when we agree with his general conclusions. For instance, we assent unhesitatingly to the doctrine, that *once upon a time* there was no chasm between the progenitors of the Celts and of the Sclavonians; but we are amazed at the summary proof which he offers of there being no chasm in the days of Herodotus or much later, *because* forsooth some Greek and Latin authors use the words Celts and Scythians confusedly! It is but a few months, since the Foreign Office in Downing Street gave out, that Colonel Stoddart died *at Bokhara in Persia*; and Captain Grover had to remind them, that Bokhara and Persia are totally different countries, separated by a huge ridge of mountains. In speaking of distant nations, the ancients as the moderns, of course, fell into vague modes of speech; a neglect of which obvious consideration is a serious defect in Mr. Welsford. Equally are we opposed to his mode of deriving proper names by the combination of several distant languages, and then founding great conclusions on his derivation. The principle itself is false, and his appli-

cation of it such as to increase the error. Thus* he derives the *Scenitæ* or Beduin Arabs, from *σκήνη*, a tent, and *Arabic*, 'hiat,' life. The latter part is Mr. Welsford's own, and it is grossly wrong. The Arabs never called themselves *Scenitæ*; the Greeks, who invented the term in historical times, knew nothing of the Arabic *hiat*, but derived the termination *-ιτης* from their own language, after the analogy of *πολίτης*, *ὀδίτης*, &c. Nor is it credible that even in the earliest times this Greek termination came from Arabic. The very thought is so unpalatable, as to need the most cogent proof, if true: but, in fact, the *t* of *hiat* [rather *hhayyat*] is not part of the Arabic root, which is *hhayy*, 'living'; nor is there any such similarity between *hhayy* and *-ites*, (even if the former were Greek,) as to suggest a relationship.

Altogether, in those parts of the subject with which we have a more intimate acquaintance, we find so great a want of accuracy and caution,—qualities most indispensable to an etymologist,—that we distrust Mr. Welsford's guidance altogether. In the very first page of his preface, he erroneously states that Herodotus denominated the nations to the north of Greece 'Scythians' or 'Thracians; who are still regarded,' adds the author, 'as the sole progenitors of the Gothic or Teutonic race.' Now the fact is, that Herodotus never confounds the words Scythians and Thracians, and upholds the strongest contrast between the nations, their geographical boundary being the Danube: and he is remarkable for using the word Scythians in so limited a sense as to exclude even their neighbours the Sarmatians, whose fame afterwards altogether eclipsed the Scolotæ or Herodotus's Scythians. What modern inquirers 'still regard' the Scythians as the 'progenitors of the Teutonic race,' we do not know; possibly it is Pinkerton to whom Mr. Welsford confesses his obligation; but certainly it is not the doctrine at all current now in high quarters. Mr. Welsford acknowledges himself greatly indebted to Prichard for his work on the Celtic languages. If he had opened the far more extensive work of the same author, on the Physical History of Man, he would have found that he treats Celts, Teutons, Slavonians, Thracians, Italians, as so many co-ordinate stocks rising out of one root, but *no one the progenitor of the rest*; and we venture to doubt whether there are two opinions on this subject, except that a knowledge of the relation of the Celts to the same family has not had time to be so widely diffused.

We must not omit to add, that Mr. Welsford undertakes to show, that the *Scandinavia*, from which the Goths issued, was not the country which we now so denominate, but had an eastern locality. He believes that the phrase 'Northern Sea' was used by Procopius and

* Even in simple derivations of Latin and Greek, Mr. Welsford goes astray. Thus Strabo explains the name 'Germans,' given by the Romans to that nation, as being the Latin for *true*. Mr. Welsford, forgetting that the Latins have such a word as *germanus*, 'genuine,' rebukes Strabo for deriving it from *verus*! He himself explains it from the Hebrew *yar*, a forest; as if the Romans understood Hebrew.

Jornandes to mean the Euxine, but was misunderstood to mean the Baltic; an error which Grotius strengthened, and Gibbon did not detect. This is possible, and at first sight not improbable. What may be the truth, we cannot here discuss; but we see no reason why Mr. Welsford should so decidedly reject the common view. We believe he is incredulous as to Norway and Sweden having been able to rear so large a population; but the successive migrations of the Goths from Sweden to Prussia, and from Prussia to the Ukraine, in which Gibbon believes, are not supposed to have taken place in a single generation; and a great increase of population may be counted on in the highly fertile provinces of Russia.

We finally give the following derivations of the names of people, as not only ingenious, but also possible, and, we believe, original to Mr. Welsford; premising that most great nations call their more barbarous neighbours by names unknown to the latter.

Milesians (Irish), from the *Melesses*, in Northern Spain.

Galatæ (Gauls), from γάλα, milk.

Scandinavia, from Scanda, the Hindoo Mars

Sacæ (as the ancient Persians called their northern neighbours), from *Sakya*, a name of Buddha.

Sarmatia, from Persian *Sarm*, cold. [Prichard says *Sauromatæ* is pure Greek, Σαυρομματαί, 'lizard-eyed,' descriptive of the people.]

Siberia, from Arab. and Pers. *Sabara*, intense winter-cold.

Cimmerians ('the dark ones') from Egyptian and Hebrew, Ham, Chem, (black). [The word is likely to mean 'dark,' but *the root must be looked for in Greek, if it does*. If Mr. Welsford rightly explains Cimmerian, he is wrong in identifying it with Cymry.]

Tartars, *Touran*, and the goddess *Turanis* of the Scythians, in Lucan, [why not say rather, the *Tauri*, whose goddess she was?]—from the Persian, *Tar*, dark.

Leleges, from Arab. *Lelk*, a stork; compared with *Cicones* from *ciconia*, and *Pelargi* from πελαργοί. Mr. Welsford explains 'storks' to mean, wandering tribes

On the whole, we fear that this volume is rather adapted to popularize information, than to inspire any confidence in the results of modern research.

Education, the Birthright of every Human Being, and the only Scriptural Preparation for the Millennium; exhibiting the Present Imperfect state of Popular Instruction, and the Means of rendering it effectual for the salvation of the country and the world. By the Rev. B. Parsons, author of 'Anti-Bacchus,' 'Mental and Moral Dignity of Woman,' &c. Pp. 162. London: John Snow. 1845.

MR. PARSONS is known as the author of several publications which have met with a favourable reception from the public. He has especially devoted his talents to the treatment of those two most interesting subjects—'Wine,' and 'Woman'—to which he has brought a large amount of reading and reflection; albeit, he has not

always been very *temperate* on the first, nor very *feminine* on the second. As an author, he is sometimes too dogmatic, too paradoxical, too fond of things new and strong, too hasty in arriving at conclusions, and too violent in maintaining them, but he possesses sterling qualities which fit him to be of solid service to his race. His intellect is keen and forcible, he has 'given himself to reading and meditation' above many, and he has a healthy and thorough sympathy with his fellow-men.

The present work was sent to the adjudicators of the prize for the best essay on 'Education,' which, as our readers know, was obtained by Dr. Hamilton; but the author states, that he has been engaged for upwards of twenty years in the education of the operative classes, during which period he has been collecting the sentiments and facts of which it is composed, and that to many of his friends the work has been promised for some time. Any reader of it will readily believe this statement. It bears traces of diligent and lengthened study and observation. Indeed, the volume is faulty in its very fulness. There is too much matter for its size. The thoughts sometimes would not only bear, but be better for, dilation; and the facts are so serious and pregnant as to require to be dwelt upon. This is the mark of all Mr. Parsons's productions. They afford a striking contrast to the flimsy and superficial character of the general literature of the day.

The titles of the chapters are—I. Introduction. II. The Powers of the Mind in reference to Education. III. Man was made to be Educated. IV. Obstacles that have impeded or prevented Education. V. Present State of Education in England. VI. State of Education in other countries. VII. Our Future Operations. VIII. Past Results, Future Prospects. These titles will sufficiently indicate the comprehensive character of the work.

We will only add, that it is dedicated in a highly characteristic address, to the 'Operatives of both Sexes,' with a raciness and an earnestness that, we opine, would greatly shock the nerves of our aristocratic readers—if we have such. The work is remarkably cheap, unlike many works that profess to be written with a view to general usefulness. We wish it success.

Memoirs of Gaspar De Colligny, Admiral of France. With an account of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day, Aug. 24, 1572. Translated and edited by David Dundas Scott. Edinburgh: Oliphant. 1844.

ANONYMOUS memoirs, originally published at Paris, at the fourth pillar of the great hall of the palace (of justice), in the year 1665. 'Of the author,' observes the translator, 'I can say nothing beyond what appears in his work. If not a contemporary, he must have lived very near the times which he describes.' The work appears to be a rare one, probably because it was suppressed as soon as published. To it the editor has also appended an account of the mas-

sacre of Bartholomew's Day, from a work entitled 'Reveil Matin des Français,' as published in Edinburgh, in 1574. The whole forms an interesting volume. The character of Colligny is one which is entitled to the respect and imitation of posterity.

Sketches of Nature : comprising Views of Zoology, Botany, and Geology, illustrated by Original Poetry. By Jane Lucretia Guinness. London : Hamilton & Adams. 1843.

IN the object of the author of this volume we have full sympathy. Her aim has been to unite those technicalities with which, unhappily, the study of science is almost universally connected, with such pleasing and familiar descriptions and pictures of the imagination in prose and verse, as may lure the young student onwards undaunted by many subdivisions and hard names. Her efforts, it appears to us, would be more successful if her style of writing were less diffuse, and her descriptions in prose shorter. She has, however, presented to the young a volume containing much valuable information, accompanied by wise and interesting reflections. Both the prose and verse are respectable, and we shall welcome those future publications which she intimates in the preface may follow the success of the present work.

The Angels of God : their Nature, Character, Ranks, and Ministerial Services ; as exhibited in the Holy Scriptures. By the Rev. Thomas Timpson. Pp. 524. Snow. 1845.

A CAREFUL collection, and for the most part judicious illustration, in forty-five chapters, of the various scripture notices of angelic beings, made up, to a great extent, of the opinions and observations of learned and pious writers, chiefly modern. The author has aimed, he says, to render his work 'not unworthy of the critical reader, but chiefly as the means of edifying the unlearned yet devout christian.' In this aim he has succeeded.

Sketches of Sermons on Christian Missions. Original and Selected. By the Author of 'Four Hundred Sketches and Skeletons of Sermons,' &c. Pp. 360. Aylott and Jones. 1845.

WE do not think much of this kind of books. If the sketches be used, as such, they are simply an evil. No one who is fit to preach, we take it, would be unable to make as good as the greater part of them are. For the purpose of *suggestion*, they cannot be much praised. If a man's mind be well trained and furnished, he will have suggestions enough of his own. Any good, in this respect, is more than counterbalanced by the mischief that cannot well be separated from the publication of such works. There is not, to our mind, a more sickening circumstance in connexion with the ministry, both in and out of the established church, than the greediness with which sermons and

plans of sermons are bought up, and employed, by many who ought to bring forth out of their own treasury 'things new and old.' As far as ministers are concerned, we think it would be a good thing if the present publication were the last of the kind. We do not say this from any special grudge against it. The sketches it contains are of average excellence. Some are very good, as the names of Dwight, Wardlaw, Fuller, Ryland, Wilson, Ewing and others, will sufficiently attest. But the best of such books ever published can only be a good specimen of a bad sort. We wish a 'famine' of them.

Lady Mary; or, Not of the World. By the Rev. Charles B. Taylor, M.A. Pp. 319. Longman. 1845.

THIS book belongs to a class which we have grave suspicions about. Mr. Taylor is a writer of sound principles, good feeling, and a pleasant style. And to those who *will* read religious tales, we can safely recommend his works. But there are many considerations that make us regard the rapid increase of this kind of literature with considerable alarm.

Spain, Tangier, etc. Visited in 1840 and 1841. By X. Y. Z. Pp. 396. Samuel Clarke. 1845.

THIS work consists of letters sent by one of a family party, during a continental tour of between three and four years, 'to a *very near relation*—descriptive of the proceedings of the travellers—the countries—the people, &c.'—from which have been struck out 'not only all that related to *family* concerns, but the names of individuals generally—anecdotes concerning persons in Spain, which, under the present state of that country, it might not be agreeable to them to have published—and also many passages on various subjects, which, however excellent in themselves, might be considered by the general reader as irrelevant.' They were not intended for publication, and the writer 'has been kept ignorant of the editor's intention to publish.' We leave the editor to settle with the writer about this. The work derives no small charm from the very fact of its contents having been written in the freedom and fulness of familiar intercourse. You may fancy you are perusing the entertaining chat of an intelligent friend.

The book is a very readable one. Adding but little or nothing to our knowledge of the countries traversed, yet showing a habit of observation coupled with considerable shrewdness; and written in an easy, flowing, and lively style, we think our readers will feel obliged to us for introducing it to them.

Immanuel: or, the Mystery of the Incarnation of the Son of God unfolded. By James Usher, D.D., Archbishop of Armagh. London: Painter.

THOSE who are acquainted with this sermon know that it is worthy of a reprint, and of a careful perusal, as an able exposition of a most

important scriptural doctrine. The errors in the Greek and Latin quotations in this edition are, however, so numerous and disgraceful, that we are sure it must have entirely escaped the observation of the publisher.

The Improvisatore ; or Life in Italy. From the Danish of Hans Christian Andersen. Translated by Mary Howitt. 2 vols. London : Richard Bentley.

THE recent labours of Mrs. Howitt have greatly enriched the literature of her country. Our popular fiction had become tame, lifeless, and inoperative, save in those cases in which literary taste and moral healthfulness had alike been sacrificed to the morbid cravings of a satiated appetite. Her translations of Miss Bremer's Swedish Novels have recalled us to a higher model, in which the purest sentiments are combined with the finest fancy, and the best affections of the domestic hearth.

The present work will still further extend her reputation, as it increases the obligation under which her countrymen are placed. It is a translation from the Danish of *Hans Christian Andersen*, respecting whom she tells us that he 'is one of those men who, from their earliest youth, have had to keep up a warfare with circumstances ; a man, like Burns and Hogg, who seemed destined by fate to end their lives unnoticed in a village, and yet, through an instinctive sense of their destined preeminence in the beautiful regions of art and literature, and sustained by an irrepressible will, have made themselves a part of the great world.'

The scene of the novel is laid in Italy, the land of song and romance, and the whole colouring of the tale, the personages introduced, and the incidents recorded, are indicative of a high order of intellect and of genuine love of the beautiful. Such a work cannot fail to be extensively popular. It is an imaginative treat, opening up the life of Italy to the dull senses of our countrymen.

A Tract for the Times : the APOSTACY of the Church established by Law. pp. 79. London : Ward & Co. 1845.

A SHARP and vigorous exposure of the insufficiency of the creeds and articles of the Church of England to secure uniformity of faith. Though written by a unitarian, who makes no secret of his views, it contains a great deal which dissenters of all classes may agree in, and the success of the general argument is independent of the writer's theological sentiments.

Diary of Travels in France and Spain, chiefly in the year 1844. By the Rev. Francis French. In two Volumes. pp. 324. Bentley. 1845.

THE author of these volumes is a clergyman of the church of England, the state of whose health rendered a sojourn in the south

of France expedient. Circumstances occurred to enlarge his plan, and the result of his journeyings is here presented in a manner which will certainly not make his readers regret that they took place. There is no peculiar display of talent in these volumes. Anything like genius will be looked for in vain. But a refined taste, a well-furnished mind, and an easy, natural style, will, if we mistake not, secure a favourable reception to the 'Diary.' Two things give a peculiar interest to Mr. French's records of travel. His journeyings 'led through scenes so little known, many of them quite unknown, and really offered such unceasing variety of information' that his volumes possess more freshness than such works in general. And his laudable anxiety, as an evangelical minister, to cherish 'aims and objects,' in accordance with his character; 'to make himself acquainted, by personal investigation, with the state of religion in France;' and to seek out, and minister to, his own countrymen in every locality where they reside, has enabled him to supply many notices, and present many views, that can scarcely fail to interest the pious reader. On the whole we have been much pleased with his work.

Providence, Prophecy, and Popery; as exhibited in the first seven chapters of the Book of Daniel. By the Rev. William White, of the Original Secession, Haddington, pp. 557. Hamilton, Adams & Co., 1845.

A VOLUME of sensible lectures, developing, for the most part, the views commonly entertained of the portion of Scripture explained.

The Glory of the Redeemer in his Person and Work. By Octavius Winslow. pp. 500. London: Shaw. 1844.

THE design of this work is to 'aid the spiritual mind in its endeavours to obtain an occasional sight of the Redeemer's glory, in this vale of darkness and of tears.' Regarded in relation to 'the author's end,' it possesses considerable excellence. Without committing ourselves to an approval of all its sentiments or phraseology, we can safely commend it as being, like all the author's writings, practical and pathetic.

Scripture Conversations between Charles and his Mother. By Lady Charles Fitzroy. pp 218. London: Longman. 1845.

A JUDICIOUS addition to the list of books for Sunday reading with children not under ten years of age. The stories of Korah, Dathan and Abiram, and of Balaam and Barak, are the subjects selected. The *conversations* derive interest and worth from being, as the authoress states, 'copied from nature.'

The Philosophy of Training, with suggestions on the necessity of Normal Schools for Teachers to the Wealthier Class, &c. By A. R. Craig, Barford Street Institution, Islington. London: Mackmillan, Aldersgate Street.

A SMALL volume, containing many sensible remarks on the science and art of education. It is, in fact, a long prospectus of Mr. Craig's establishment. 'One of the objects we had in view in throwing these remarks into the present form,' he observes, 'was that parents and others might see the course of study and the principles of the system of instruction pursued in the institution at Barford-street.' Like publications of this order, there is no want of profession; whether it be realized in practice, or prove only pretence, we are not in a capacity to determine. Many of the evils and absurdities of the common system of education, which have been perpetuated and increased with the lapse of years, are exposed with truth and vigour. The institution of a Normal school for the training of teachers for the wealthier classes is forcibly advocated. In his theory on education Mr. Craig would train, to use a word of which he is fond, the physical, mental, and religious faculties of his pupil—would abolish all corporal punishments, and teach languages very rapidly, as compared with present methods, by interlineary translations.

Those engaged in the practice of teaching will find much valuable dissertation within a small compass. We leave to Mr. Craig to furnish satisfactory proofs to parents of the practical effect of his theory. Such parties may call at Barford-street.

Our Era; a Soliloquy; in Three Parts: Social, Political, Religious. With Miscellaneous Pieces. By W. Leash. Pp. 176. Jackson and Walford. 1845.

ALMOST every man is, now-a-days, his own poet. All that can write prose, and many that cannot, are supposed capable of writing poetry. It is, therefore, with but little interest that we open books of verses in general; and very seldom, indeed, is our interest sufficiently quickened to carry us through them. The greater part do not reach any higher excellence than that of correct composition, and tasteless common-places of sentiment; while many fall short even of that. It would be very wrong to rank Mr. Leash with the multitude of versifiers. He has some things without which it is impossible to be a poet. He has 'reason' for his rhyme. His principles are sound and strong. He has a gift of thought and words. His style is smooth and flowing to an extent by no means common in writers of his standing. Still we would not intimate that he has 'already attained.' What he has done as yet gives good promise of very respectable performances; but to realize that promise he must *work*. Let him propose a high standard—'not make haste'—treat himself with the severity of a hostile critic—practice more than he publishes—and we think he has 'an open door.'

Letters, selected from the Correspondence of Helen Plumptre, author of Scripture Stories, &c. Pp. 531. Nisbet & Co., 1845.

THIS is one of a class of books that bids fair to destroy the entire charm and worth of epistolary effusions. Letters, embodying religious experiences, like diaries, are nothing but as they express the natural and simple thoughts and feelings of the heart. Dismal, indeed, would it be for people in a certain rank, or of a certain class of endowments and attainments, to write nothing except with the impression that it may be published to the world, or else nothing that could be preserved. 'It is hardly necessary to state that the letters comprised in this volume were not written with the slightest intention of being brought before the public.' Then, why bring them? The *public good* is, of course, the plea—a plea that has been used to justify every doubtful and every evil thing. We protest against the practice, and the plea. They are both offensive, but especially so in connexion with religion. Miss Plumptre appears to have been, judging from the 'Letters,' a person not only of real, but eminent piety, coupled with much good sense. Her doctrinal views were what are called 'high.' There are some sentiments in her letters that we should object to; and more expressions. They would have been greatly improved by more strength and less stimulus. As it is, their purity, conscientiousness, and devoutness, may do good to many minds, especially to those that can exercise a sound judgment.

A Memoir of Thomas Harrison Burder, M.D. By John Burder, M.A. Pp. 167. Ward & Co. 1844.

THIS is a brief and judicious account of an amiable and intelligent physician, by one who understood and loved him. Dr. Burder was the youngest son of the Rev. George Burder, and bore much moral resemblance to that excellent man. He was naturally delicate; and his life, through the greater portion of it, was but 'a long disease.' He was incapacitated by the effects of 'intellectual exertion and moral sympathies' for the full and regular practice of his profession, or would doubtless have attained an eminent position. As it was, he adorned his christian profession by a life that profited many, and a spirit that endeared him to all. The 'Appendix,' along with other matters, contains three admirable letters, addressed to a junior physician on the importance of promoting the religious welfare of his patients. The book may be most wisely put into the hands of such as are practising or studying the healing art.

The Ruling Eldership of the Christian Church. By the Rev. David King, LL D., Glasgow. Pp. 248. Hamilton, Adams, and Co. 1844.

ALL who know Dr. King will expect to find in any production of his pen sound sense and shrewd thought couched in elegant and vigorous diction; and if it involve matter of controversy, nothing offensive

to christian taste and temper. The present work will not disappoint these expectations. It is divided into five parts. I. The Office of Ruling Elder. II. The Office of Deacon. III. The Duties of Elders. IV. Qualifications of Elders. V. Encouragements of Elders. It will be seen from these titles that the work is chiefly practical. The portion that is not immediately so, contains a statement of the proof in favour of the ruling eldership which obtains in the body to which the author belongs, and which constitutes one of the distinguishing features of the presbyterian system. Novelty was not to be expected in the discussion of this subject, nor is novelty exhibited; but there is a careful and judicious arrangement and employment of the customary arguments—arguments which deserve serious attention. The practical part of the book is full of wise and important counsels and directions, eminently adapting it for usefulness to the class of officers immediately contemplated, and not to them alone. Ministers and deacons, as well as ruling elders, will find in it much to guide and stimulate them in the discharge of their respective duties. We cannot doubt that it will meet with an extensive and permanent circulation.

The Female Disciple of the First Three Centuries of the Christian Era: her Trials and her Mission. By Mrs. Henry Smith. Pp. 297. London: Longman. 1845.

An elegant little volume, in which a considerable amount of information is brought to the illustration of the position of the early female christians.

Literary Intelligence.

In the press, and will shortly be published.

Memoir of the Life and Writings of Thomas Cartwright, the distinguished Puritan Reformer, including the principal Ecclesiastical Movements in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. By the Rev. B. Brook, Author of "History of Religious Liberty," and "Lives of the Puritans," &c., &c.

Just Published.

The Modern Orator, being a collection of Celebrated Speeches by the most distinguished Orators of the United Kingdom. Sheridan, Part IV.

The Descriptive Testament, containing the authorized Translation of the New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. With notes especially designed for the study of youth. By Ingram Cobbin.

Lectures on the Pilgrim's Progress, and on the Life and Times of John Bunyan. By the Rev. George B. Cheever, D.D.

Woes of War; A Poem in two Cantos, from an unpublished M.S. written in 1813, by a late Medical Officer, R.M.

Alfred. A Drama. By Sir Countts Lindsay, Bart.

The Ideal of the English Church. A Sketch. By the Rev. R. Montgomery, M.A.

Twelve Hundred Questions and Answers on the Bible, intended principally for the use of Schools and Young Persons. By M. H. and I. H. Myers. In 2 Vols.

Legends of the Isles, and other Poems. By Charles Mackay.

The Sick Visitor's Companion, consisting of Selections from the Sacred Scriptures, short Addresses, and Prayers suited to the Sick of different characters, and designed as a Help to Christians who visit the Sick for Religious Purposes. By John Cobbin.

The Grievances of the Mercantile Seamen a National and crying Evil. By Thomas Clarkson, M.A.

The Alphabet of Nature, or Contributions towards a more accurate analysis and symbolization of broken sounds; with some account of the principal phonetical alphabets hitherto proposed, By Alexander John Ellis. B.A.

Servia, the Youngest Member of the European Family; or, a Residence in Belgrade, and Travels in the Highlands and Woodlands of the Interior, during the Years 1843 and 1844. By Andrew Archibald Paton, Esq.

A Supplement to the *Horæ Paulinæ* of Archdeacon Paley; wherein his Argument from Undesignated Coincidences is applied to the Epistle to the Hebrews and the First Epistle of Peter; and shewing the former to have been written by the Apostle Paul. By Edward Biley, A.M.

Saint Oldooman: a Night of the Nineteenth Century, contained in a Letter from the Bishop of Verulam to the Lord Drayton.

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THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW

For SEPTEMBER, 1845.

- Art. I.—1. *Statements on Certain Doctrinal Points made, October 5, 1843, before the United Associate Synod, at their request, by their two Senior Professors, Robert Balmer, D.D., Professor of Systematic Theology, and John Brown, D.D., Professor of Exegetical Theology.* 8vo. 86 pp. Edinburgh: W. Oliphant and Sons. 1844.
2. *Discourses on the Nature and Extent of the Atonement of Christ. A new and greatly enlarged edition, including Reply to Reviewers.* By Ralph Wardlaw, D.D. 8vo. 250 pp. Glasgow: J. Macklehorse. 1844.
3. *Letters on the Atonement.* By Robert S. Candlish, D.D. Free Church Magazine, No. Dec. 1844, and Jan. and Feb. 1845. Edinburgh: J. Johnson.
4. *Minutes of the United Associate Synod for the Years 1842, 1843, 1844, and 1845.*
5. *Irenicum: an inquiry into the real amount of the differences alleged to exist in the Synod of the Secession Church, on the Atonement, and doctrines connected with it.* By Hugh Heugh, D.D. pp. 60. Second edition. D. Robertson, Glasgow. 1845.

Of late years, Scotland, like England, has had its share of religious agitation and controversy. While questions relating to the constituent principles and ecclesiastical policy of the church, considered as a spiritual community, have been occupying, to a large extent, public attention, and dividing public opinion, a very interesting discussion, as some of our readers may be aware,

has been going on for some time back, among certain of the religious bodies in that country, having a reference to the nature and objects of the christian atonement, according to the different aspects and relations in which it is brought into view, in the economy of human redemption. The difference of view existing, or which has been supposed to exist, where the grounds of the controversy have not been very clearly apprehended, has been the occasion, as was to have been expected, of calling forth a variety of publications on the subject, of different degrees of merit, in which, with a sufficiency of the metaphysics for which the Scotch school of divinity is peculiarly distinguished, the sentiments of the opposing parties are zealously advocated. So far as we have been able to gather from some of these publications and other public documents which have come under our notice, the main elements of the question in dispute, although with some differences afterwards to be noticed, appear to be much the same as those which engaged the attention of some of our churches in England about forty years ago, and which gave an opportunity to Mr. Fuller to exercise, with no small effect, in the peculiar relations in which he stood, his controversial pen. The question is, whether the death of Christ sustains any relation, and, if any, what relation to others of mankind besides those who are finally brought to salvation?

For the first four centuries, after the introduction of the gospel, there seems to have been no dispute in reference to the nature and relations of the death of Christ. Adhering to the general language of scripture, the early teachers of christianity appear to have preached a full and free salvation through a crucified Redeemer. The Pelagian heresy, introduced in the beginning of the fifth century, brought the subject into notice, and some of its aspects under discussion. Pelagius held that Christ died for all men equally, and that, in appointing his death, God willed equally the salvation of all men, not designing, for the sake of the merits of Christ, to endow any man with saving and persevering faith, but leaving all to the exercise of their own free wills under the influence of those truths which the word of God reveals, and which, it was contended, were sufficient to lead men to the attainment of salvation. From the time that this doctrine was broached, the reference of the death of Christ became a question in the christian church, some contending that he died, according to the true intention of his death, for all men equally; others that he died for all, but not for all men with the same intention; and others, again, that he died for the predestinate or the elect alone. This last opinion was zealously maintained in the ninth century by Gotteschalcus, who followed, in this respect, the views asserted by the pres-

byter, Lucidus. The same doctrine was afterwards held and earnestly defended by Rhemigius, bishop of Leyden, in opposition to those who, in his time, taught that Christ died, in some view, for others besides the elect. At the time of the reformation, and afterwards, the question divided, to some extent, the Roman catholic church. The controversy was chiefly carried on between the Jansenists and the Jesuits; the Jansenists, who professed to be the followers of Augustine, contending, with great firmness, that Christ died for the elect alone, the Jesuits holding that he died for all men. The discussions which took place at the Synod of Dort in 1618, stirred up afresh the controversies connected with the Pelagian heresy, and brought out in something like a definite and tangible shape, all the points involved in the Arminian scheme of doctrine. By the remonstrants, or Arminian party, who attended the synod, it was maintained that Christ died for all men equally, not with the view of saving any in particular, but of placing all men merely in a salvable condition, by procuring for them easier terms of salvation, together with the influences of common grace, to enable them to comply with these terms. The doctrine which they held regarding the death of Christ as procuring for all men a general, though contingent redemption, was to the following effect:—‘The price of redemption which Christ offered to the Father, was not only in itself sufficient for the redemption of the whole human family, but even by the decree, will, and grace of God, the Father, was paid for all men and every man; so that none is by an antecedent decree of God excluded from a participation of its fruits. Christ, by the merits of his death, has so far reconciled God to the whole human family, that the Father, on account of his merits, without any impeachment of his truth or justice, can enter, and wishes to enter into, and to confirm, a new covenant of grace with sinful men exposed to damnation.’ This opinion the synod condemned and rejected; and it was against the expression of disapproval in regard to this, among other points, that the ‘remonstrance’ of the Arminian party was directed. Although the doctrine of general redemption, as held by Arminians, was rejected by the divines who met at Dort, and that of particular redemption asserted, the all-sufficiency of the sacrifice of Christ, according to the place which it occupies in the constitution of the gospel, was not only not disputed, but clearly and broadly affirmed. In chap. ii. of the Canons, the following is the form in which the opinion of the synod is expressed on this point:—‘It was the will of God that Christ by the blood of the cross, whereby he confirmed the new covenant, should effectually redeem out of every people, tribe, and nation, and language, all those, and those only, who

were from eternity chosen to salvation and given to him by the Father; that he should confer upon them faith, which, together with all the other saving gifts of the Holy Spirit, he purchased for them by his death—should purge them from all sin, both original and actual, whether committed before or after believing, and having faithfully preserved them even to the end, should at last bring them, free from every spot and blemish, to the enjoyment of glory in his own presence for ever.' And, again, 'The death of the Son of God is the only and most perfect sacrifice and satisfaction for sin; is of infinite worth and value, abundantly sufficient to expiate the sins of the whole world. The promise of the gospel, is, that whosoever believeth in Christ crucified shall not perish, but have everlasting life. The promise, together with the command to repent and believe, ought to be declared and published to all nations and to all persons promiscuously and without distinction, to whom God in his good providence sends the gospel. And whereas many who are called by the gospel, do not repent and believe in Christ, but perish in their unbelief, that is not owing to any defect or insufficiency in the sacrifice offered by Christ upon the cross, but is wholly to be imputed to themselves.'

Bishop Davenant, who attended as one of the four deputies from England at the meeting of the Dort synod, adhered to the above document as expressive of the sentiments which he held. His notion, as stated in this document, was, that, 'while it was the will of God, that Christ, by the blood of the cross, should effectually redeem his people,' it was also God's will that 'whosoever should believe on Christ crucified should not perish, but have everlasting life—there being no defect or insufficiency in his sacrifice,' why it should not be an adequate ground on which mercy might be dispensed to sinners under the gospel. Archbishop Usher and other distinguished divines who lived at this period, held the same opinion. Polhill also, who wrote somewhat later, and gave his views to the world on the subject, maintained the intentional sufficiency of the death of Christ as a ground of mercy to all men under the gospel, although it was, at the same time, as he asserted, the appointed means of salvation to the people of God. In opposition to the views of those, who, like Dr. Owen and Witsius, contended that there was no reference in the death of Christ to any but the elect, all of these maintained, that, while the sacrifice of the Saviour was a perfect satisfaction for sin, and secured, as it was intended to secure, the communication of all saving blessings to the people of God, it was also, in respect of its intended fulness and sufficiency, an adequate and righteous ground, on which, without raising the question of election in preaching the gospel, the offer of salva-

tion might be made, and its saving blessings bestowed on sinners of mankind. Where controversy has not prevailed, urging men to the adoption of extreme opinions, and where the conventional phraseology employed in communicating divine truth has been clearly defined, the view now stated, it is probable, will be found to have been that which has been most generally held by evangelical churches in this or in other countries.

This view, however, of the intentional sufficiency with the ordained efficacy, of the death of Christ, is not the only one which, in the progress of opinion, has been taken of the atoning work of our Lord, by those professing adherence to the doctrines of sovereign grace as distinguishing the scheme of redemption. Another opinion remains to be noticed; which is, that Christ died for all men, not to secure the salvation of any by his death, but merely to make it possible that they might be saved. This opinion stands connected with, and derives its support from, certain theoretic views which are held as to the order of the purposes or decrees of God, as these bear a relation to each other, in the plan of redemption. By inverting the order of the divine purposes which has commonly been entertained, a scheme of doctrine has been formed, agreeably to which it is maintained, that the sacrifice of Christ, according to the place which it occupies in the economy of redemption, was offered up solely with the design and to the effect, of removing legal obstacles which prevented the exercise of mercy on the part of God towards sinners of mankind—that Christ, therefore, died equally for all men for the purpose of furnishing a ground on which, in consistency with the principles of God's government, mercy might be offered to all; and, consequently, that it is now a possible thing for all men to attain to salvation by returning to God in the exercise of faith. 'God, however, foreseeing,' it is stated, 'that all men would inevitably perish, though Christ thus died for them, unless some further divine interposition took place on their behalf, elected some of our race to everlasting life, determining, in virtue of this sovereign decree of election, to grant to them the special influences of the Holy Spirit to lead them to believe the gospel for salvation.' Whatever be the merits or demerits of this scheme of doctrine, it is to be observed, that it is not that view of the subject which was advocated by Davenant and others, which has just been referred to. It is of the more importance that this should be remarked, because some of its supporters, in more modern times, have been in the habit of appealing to the names of the distinguished men who have been mentioned, as writers who maintained their opinions, and producing thereby the impression that their views were in all respects identical. Neither Davenant, however, nor

Usher, nor Polhill, nor the many respectable writers who held, along with them, the sufficiency of the sacrifice of Christ, maintained the opinion that Christ, by divine appointment, died for all men equally, nor did they rest the doctrine they entertained on any peculiar views as to the order of the divine decrees. Davenant cautiously abstained from intermeddling with this as a 'thorny question;' and Polhill, although professedly writing on the subject of the decrees, has only alluded to the point in order to intimate that he declined its discussion. The words of the former writer are very remarkable.—'The marshalling,' says he, 'of the eternal immanent acts of the divine understanding or will into first, second, third, fourth, is a weak imagination of men's brain, and so uncertain, that among twenty who give us such delineations of God's eternal decrees, you shall not find two who agree between themselves in numbering them and ordering them, but where one maketh four, another maketh five, six or seven, &c.; and that which one man setteth in the first place, another setteth in the last; and, in brief, every man ordereth them '*secundum suum modum* IMAGINANDI.' To build, therefore, any doctrines of faith upon the priority or posteriority of such decrees, is to build castles in the air.'


The scheme of doctrine, on which we are now remarking, was first propounded by Camero, teacher of theology in Saumur. It was afterwards warmly espoused by Amyraut, who was called upon to defend himself, because of the alleged erroneous views which he had taken up, before the synod of France, at its meeting a number of years after the synod of Dort, the discussions at which had been the means of stimulating inquiry, and of calling forth the opinions of men of speculative minds, on the debated point as to general or particular redemption. Amyraut was acquitted by the synod before whom he was tried, of any charge of heresy, on the ground of the explanations given by him of the doctrine which he entertained; but, on account of the tendency which the language employed by him had to mislead the minds of the people, who could not be supposed to follow his subtle distinctions, he was enjoined to discontinue the use of the expression 'Christ died equally for all men,' which he engaged to do, on being satisfied of the danger that was likely to arise from its employment.

The doctrine of Camero was to this effect:—'that the death of Christ, under the condition of faith, belongs equally to all men.' The truth of this proposition he avowedly grounded on the view taken by him as to the order of the divine decrees. In the one purpose or plan of redemption, there were, as he considered, altogether four different decrees, relating to four different, although connected objects. There was, first, the decree

or determination, generally, formed on the part of God, to restore his own image in our nature which had been destroyed by sin; there was next, the appointment of his own Son, as mediator, as an accessary step in the accomplishment of this purpose; there was then, in the third place, the decree as to the publishing of the gospel to mankind generally; and, lastly, there was the election of a certain number of the human family to eternal life, consisting of a purpose to bestow upon them those influences of divine grace which should effectually secure their salvation. Taking this view of the several purposes of God, and the objects to be secured by them, in the plan of salvation, he was accustomed to maintain, 'that, while the elect are, by an effectual and irrevocable calling, saved through the death of Christ, Christ died for all men with the intention that they may be invited and called to repentance; and that, when so invited and called, it arose from themselves alone, and the hardness of their hearts repelling the means of salvation, that they are not saved.' Amyraut held the same views. In his treatise, *De Predest.* chap. v. he states, 'that since the misery of the human family is equal and universal, and the desire which God has to free them from it by a Redeemer, proceeds from the mercy which he exercises towards us his creatures fallen into destruction, in which we are all equal, the grace of redemption that he has procured for us should be equal and universal, provided we are equally disposed to its reception * * The nature of the thing,' says he, 'proves this; for seeing the affection of the Son must be the same with that of the Father for all men, as his children, so the death of Christ in time, must be conformed to the eternal decree of the Father, as he would not make an atonement unless according to the decree and command of his Father. Therefore, when the decree of the Father respecting Christ's death, proceeded from equal fatherly affection towards all before they were elected to faith, Christ in his death could have no other end and intention than to execute his counsel. * * He died to fulfil the decree of the Father, which *proceeded from an equal love to all.*' The same views, based on the same speculative theory, were propounded by Truman in his treatise, entitled '*The Great Propitiation,*' published in 1672. They were afterwards favourably received, and extensively adopted in America, more especially in New England, where they became the basis of that school of theology of which Hopkins, Emmons, West, Griffin, and other equally well known writers, may be regarded as the representatives. In this country, also, although associated with different shades of opinion on the correlate doctrines of substitution, imputation, and federal representation, they have found some able and zealous advocates.

In the discussion which has recently been going on north of the Tweed, all the opinions now mentioned, it would appear, have their respective supporters. Before advertng to the different theories on the subject, which are thus maintained, it may help to throw some light on the present state of sentiment, and to explain the position which the different parties occupy in relation to the question, to trace shortly, as far as we have it in our power to do so, the circumstances in which the controversy originated, and the subsequent shape which it has assumed.

The religious sentiments of Scotland, it is well known, are, generally speaking, formed according to the Geneva school of theology. The Westminster Confession of Faith and the larger and shorter catechisms, constitute the platform of doctrine and of worship which is all but universally recognised. It is but right to state, however, that these symbolical books are adopted professedly by the churches, not as an authoritative rule of faith and practice, superseding the word of God, but simply as an expression, on the part of the ministers and members of the churches, to themselves and to the world, of what those views of divine truth are, which the scriptures, the supreme standard in such matters, are understood and believed to contain. Although few people have greater advantages than the Scotch, for drawing their instructions fresh from the word of God, both by reason of the scriptural education which they enjoy, and the excellent practice which their ministers follow of delivering regular expository discourses from the pulpit, it is not difficult to perceive that, in the department of what has been termed systematic theology, the compilations now referred to, must have had no small influence, along with other causes, in moulding, to a considerable extent, on doctrinal questions, the national mind. In the Westminster Confession and in the catechisms, both of which were purposely framed in opposition to the Arminian scheme of doctrine, the subject of particular redemption, as a branch of revealed truth, is carefully inculcated. In chap. iii. sec. 6, it is declared, 'that as God hath appointed the elect unto glory, so hath he, by the eternal and most free purpose of his will, foreordained all the means thereunto. Wherefore, they who are elected, being fallen in Adam, are redeemed by Christ; and are effectually called unto faith in Christ by his Spirit working in due season; are justified, adopted, and sanctified; and are kept by his power through faith unto salvation. Neither are any other redeemed by Christ, effectually called, justified, adopted, sanctified, and saved, but the elect only.' And in chap. viii. sec. 8, it is stated, that to all those for whom Christ hath purchased redemption, he doth



certainly and effectually apply the same, interceding for them, &c. It is elsewhere, indeed, asserted, 'that God, in the covenant of grace, freely offereth unto *sinners* life and salvation by Jesus Christ, requiring of them faith in him that they may be saved, and promising to give unto all those that are ordained unto life, his Holy Spirit, to make them willing and able to believe.' Chap. vii. sec. 3. In whatever measure, however, this and similar statements may be understood as qualifying the preceding declarations, and bringing into view the breadth and harmony of gospel truth, there can be no doubt that the strain of sentiment pervading both the confession and catechisms, is in favour of a particular redemption in a somewhat stringent sense. In the national theological nomenclature, accordingly, the influence of this may be very readily perceived. Such terms as atonement, propitiation, expiation, satisfaction, ransom, and the like, are very rarely used by preachers or writers, as is the case in most other countries, to signify simply 'the obedience unto death' of the Son of God as a sacrifice for sin, but that sacrifice viewed in connexion with its blessed effects in the case of the people of God—Christ, their Saviour, being regarded as procuring for them by his death, 'eternal redemption.' However clearly, in other connexions, the ground of a sinner's hope before God is understood and set forth in gospel statement, as consisting of the righteousness of Christ, revealed in the word of God, 'unto all, and upon all them that believe,'—yet, from long established usage—such is the meaning almost uniformly attached to the terms referred to, that, were they employed in a different sense, they could not fail to suggest wrong associations to the mind. We do not mean to say that it is a thing in itself to be commended, thus always to employ scriptural or other terms with one meaning attached to them, when that one meaning may not exhaust the truth in relation to the subject to which they are applied; we merely advert to the fact as it stands, because it is fitted to account, in no small measure, for much of the confusion of ideas and perplexity which the controversy we are now remarking upon has occasioned to many good and pious minds.

The discussion with reference to the doctrine of the atonement was introduced, as we learn, some years ago, into one of the churches of Scotland, viz., the United Secession, by certain parties, now no longer of its communion, promulgating, in the most unqualified terms, that Christ died equally for all men. This assertion, as it afterwards appeared, was based on one of the theories of atonement to which we have been referring, and which, in order to furnish an apparently consistent ground for such a declaration, supposes that, 'in the order of the divine

decrees,' election comes *after* atonement. 'In the order of nature,' it was stated, 'election comes after atonement. God foresaw that all men would become hell-deserving sinners; he resolved, in consequence of his ineffable love and pity, to provide an atonement sufficient for the salvation of all; he resolved to offer this atonement to all: so that all should be able, and all should be welcome, to come and accept it as all their salvation. He foresaw, however, that not one of the whole human family would be willing to be saved in this way—and then he elected.' In a country, where the expression 'universal atonement' had been regarded for upwards two centuries as the *vox signata* of Arminian sentiment on the subject of redemption, it is easy to imagine that such an assertion of doctrine could not be otherwise than highly offensive. Apart from whatever objections might be brought against it otherwise, it was certainly liable to this one,—that, in the circumstances, it was fitted to mislead, and, by occasioning strifes of words, to disturb the peace and harmony of the church. If the doctrine, however, was thus offensive of itself, it could not fail to be regarded with still greater suspicion and disfavour, when it was viewed in connection with the peculiarities with which it was associated. While it was maintained, for example, on the one hand, that Christ, by his death, 'secured salvation to none,' it was strangely asserted on the other 'that if a man saw it to be true, that Christ died for him, as he died for all other men, he became possessed at once of the assurance of salvation.' Christ, it was asserted, had rendered satisfaction to the justice of God for the sins of all men; and the question, accordingly, was put to unbelievers, 'Do you not see that, if God *is* thus satisfied with reference to *your* sins, by Jesus having borne the punishment of them in *your* room, and as *your* substitute, you *are* safe—saved?' Along with this, it was also held, as it would appear, 'that men had power of themselves (as sinners) to believe and to put away unbelief—the only obstacle standing between them and salvation;' and forasmuch as faith consisted in merely 'seeing' that to be true which the word of God affirmed respecting the death of Christ being a satisfaction for sin, (and which constituted 'THE gospel') it was declared, that there was no need why the Holy Spirit should operate, in any peculiar manner, on the *head*, or understanding of men; and, farther, that it was altogether wrong for any 'anxious sinner' to pray to God for grace or for any thing else, till he believed (which he had sufficient power of himself to do), which believing, consisted 'in seeing it to be true, that as Christ had satisfied the justice of God for *his* sins, and God, as a moral Governor, *was* now satisfied with reference to his sins,—he *was* saved'—the alleged truth believed,

giving at once the absolute assurance of salvation. In the public documents from which we have collected these statements, other notions, of a very crude description, are put forth. Such views, it is clear, could not be sanctioned by any church having regard to her character, or the purity of her doctrine; and, accordingly, when all attempts had proved fruitless to reclaim the parties by whom they were maintained, their separation from the fellowship of the church became painfully necessary.

The system, of which the views we have now stated formed the germ, has, since the period to which we have referred, more fully discovered its character, and developed its tendencies. During the progress of the discussion which was provoked, and, which in some quarters, was injudiciously promoted, the 'elective affinity' principle—to use an American expression,—came, to some extent, into operation, attracting from different churches, Presbyterian and Congregational, persons who had been led to adopt and avow similar sentiments. As a proof how rapidly the human mind, under certain conditions, pushes forward the principles it takes up to their legitimate consequences, it may be observed, that the system of which we speak, according to the published sentiments of those who are its proper expounders, embraces unreservedly the following tenets: that God loves all men with an equal love;—that he desires equally the salvation of all men;—that the FACT of the atonement is *the* gospel;—that it is an absurdity to say 'that a sinner is not able to believe God's testimony as to this fact, in regard to Christ's work 'as a finished work;'—that the Holy Spirit is using *all* the influences which our circumstances will admit of to bring *all* men to believe the gospel;—that God is no respecter of persons—so that, if a man perish, it is not because God loves him less intensely than he loves others, but because God cannot, consistently with wisdom and rectitude, and consequently, benevolence, *do more for his salvation than he has done.*'

We have been the more careful to notice the facts now mentioned connected with the origin of the present controversy on the subject of the atonement, in the sister country, and to point out the phases of doctrinal peculiarities with which the movement on the question has been associated, because we have reason to believe that, on this side of the Tweed, they have been but imperfectly understood, and because, on this account, the real state of sentiment, as to the all important points at issue, have, to some extent, been misapprehended. In regular course of judicial procedure, according to the Presbyterian form, the subject was brought under the consideration of the synod of the United Secession Church, at a number of its successive meet-

ings, during the last few years. And, as it may be interesting to know, what views have been expressed, and what conclusions have been come to on a subject so important, by a body occupying so influential a position as that which the United Secession Church does in Scotland, we shall transcribe one or two of its decisions. At its meeting in 1842, when the question relating to the atonement was brought under its notice, the synod held and declared, among other things:—‘That it was an error to assert, that Christ in dying had no special love to his people;—that it was equally an error to affirm, that though the atonement of Christ has a general reference, and opens a door of mercy to all, it yet ‘secures salvation to none;’—and, still farther, that it was an error to hold that *all* the ends to be effected by the atonement were *not* necessarily and simultaneously present to the divine mind in the appointment of the Redeemer to die for sinners, and that all these ends were *not* present to the mind of the Son in making the atonement, nor infallibly secured by it.’ At a second meeting, held in October, 1843, when the discussion was renewed, the synod again adopted the following conclusion: ‘That on the two aspects of the atonement, there was entire harmony among the brethren—namely, that in making the atonement, the Saviour bore special covenant relations to the elect, had a special love to them, and infallibly secured their everlasting salvation; and that his obedience unto the death, afforded such a satisfaction to the justice of God, as that on the ground of it in consistency with his character and law, the door of mercy is open to all men, and a full and free salvation is presented for their acceptance.’ At a subsequent meeting in 1844, it would appear that a memorial was presented by a party who had been absent at the previous meetings, praying that the decision come to might be reviewed and reversed. The synod, in disposing of this memorial, declared, ‘that it saw no reason for disturbing that decision: inasmuch, however, as there was reason to fear that the meaning of the decision had been misapprehended, the synod thought it proper to declare that it was not intended as an alteration of the standards of the church, but rather as an expression of the existence of harmony in regard to the system of divine truth which these standards contain.’ In May last, the whole question having again been considered, for the satisfaction of certain parties, at a very full meeting of synod, a similar deliverance was given on the subject. In a speech distinguished by great clearness and force, and breathing the sentiments contained in this excellent tract, Dr. Heugh moved the following resolution, which the synod adopted; viz., ‘That as none of the recent synodical decisions implied, or were intended to imply,

any alteration of our subordinate standards, which we retain, profess, and believe, as heretofore; that as the synod, by their unwavering adherence to these standards, their condemnation of errors in opposition to them, and their having recently excluded from the fellowship and ministry of the church those who had deviated from its doctrine, have done what seemed desirable, under the blessing of the Head of the church, for guarding our fellowship against Pelagian and Arminian errors, or doctrines having such tendency; and having, in October, 1843, declared the truth of God respecting the relation of the Redeemer and his sacrifice, to those given to him by the Father, as infallibly securing their salvation, on the one hand, and, on the other, their relation to sinners of mankind indiscriminately, being presented in the gospel as sufficient for all, and suited to all, and free to all, irrespective of any distinction betwixt elect and non-elect;—that, for these reasons, the synod do not deem it expedient to enter farther into these doctrinal discussions; they earnestly recommend to the memorialists, and to all under the charge of the synod, to abstain from this unprofitable strife, and they enjoin on all ministers and probationers (preachers), to beware of the use of doubtful, objectionable, and misleading phraseology, in the great work of ministering the grace of God for the saving instruction of men; to speak as they ought to speak, using ‘sound speech, which cannot be condemned;’ and speaking also the truth in love, and, by manifestation of the truth, commending themselves to every man’s conscience in the sight of God.’ In these several decisions, the mind of the synod, in regard to the points which had occupied the attention of the church, was very clearly, although guardedly expressed. The whole proceedings seem to have been characterised by wisdom and moderation; and the sentiments expressed appear in harmony with the tone of doctrine which, from its origin, has prevailed in the church of the Secession. We have had occasion lately to look into the writings of some of the early fathers of the Secession church, and have been gratified to observe, notwithstanding what many, perhaps, might deem the somewhat rigid form of their systematic creed, the apostolic freeness, and earnestness, and unction, with which they promulgated the grand and essential truths of the gospel.

We have left ourselves space to do little more than notice the different theories, on the Calvinistic side of the question, which are now in the course of being advocated, in the present discussion regarding the atonement, in the attempts which are made to exhibit, in their divine harmony, the elemental truths of the gospel. The first theory maintained is, that the atoning work of Christ, in the plan of salvation, has no relation whatever to

sinners of mankind, considered as such, but was undertaken and executed for the elect alone. 'Of all theories,' says Dr. Candlish, who seems to have espoused this view of the question, 'the most inconsistent is that of a universal atonement, or an atonement with a general reference to all mankind, taken along with a purpose or provision of special grace, in regard to its application. To say that, in a sense, Christ died for all, but that, in so dying for all, he stipulated in covenant with the everlasting Father, that the Spirit, without whose agency his death would be effectual for the salvation of none, should be given infallibly to a certain number, and to them alone—this is so manifest an evasion of the real perplexity, so shifting and sandy a refuge, that none can long continue to occupy such a position.' The conclusion, therefore, from this, is, that the work of the Saviour, according to the scheme of redemption, had no relation to any but the elect, whom he purposed to save, and that, under the divine administration, it was intended to subserve no other design than their salvation. Taking such a view of the subject, it might be asked, what are we to make of the gospel constitution, established confessedly on the basis of the work of Christ, and having a relation, according to divine arrangement, to mankind at large? 'It is the command of God,' Dr. Candlish affirms, 'to sinners, as such, to believe the gospel, for salvation.' Believe what? What is *the* truth, it may be asked, which, *in the first instance*, requires to be believed in order to inspire the mind of a *sinner* with confidence towards God, or which is fitted, in the nature of the case, to lead him to embrace the Saviour, and to rely upon him for salvation? Is it not that, it is testified by God, whether he receive it as true or not, that a way of access has been opened up for him, all guilty as he is, unto God—that the righteousness of the Redeemer is revealed as a sufficient ground of acceptance 'for all,' and therefore, as sufficient for him; and that it is the *will* of God, made known in the gospel from the lips of the Saviour himself, 'that *every* one who seeth the Son and believeth on him, may have everlasting life?' If it be 'the will' of God thus publicly and pointedly revealed to 'every' sinner, as such, to whom the word of the gospel comes, 'to believe on Christ,' by receiving and relying on *his* righteousness, instead of his own, as the means, according to the plan of mercy, of 'his justification unto life,' surely this part of God's will must be regarded as a branch at least of that eternal purpose which he purposed in Christ Jesus in appointing him to the office of Mediator; nor can any sinner be warranted to raise the question whether *he* is destined to receive more grace from God, if that grace which *has* been manifested towards him as toward 'all men,' in the offer of Christ, and of salvation by him, 'is

received in vain.' 'The law of the Spirit of life, which is in Christ Jesus,' that is, as we understand the expression, 'the method according to which the Spirit operates in imparting life to sinners, and carrying on this life in the soul,' renders it necessary that the truths of the gospel should be believed for salvation; and it is the work of Christ, undoubtedly, which gives the reality to all those views of the character of God, and those manifestations of his grace, which the gospel unfolds. All this, Dr. Candlish himself seems to admit, when he states—'that to all alike the work of Christ is a manifestation of the divine character; that to 'all alike it is a proof and pledge of the desire, involved in the very nature of God, as originating such a way of salvation at all, to see every sinner return to himself, and to welcome every one so returning,' and that to every one who hears the gospel, assurance (on the divine testimony, of course), of the full and infinite sufficiency of Christ's work for any, and for all, who will come to him.' The testimony of God, in the gospel, as 'to the infinite sufficiency of Christ's work for all,' being true, whether men believe it or not, must surely involve a 'general relation' of the death of Christ to sinners of mankind, committing them to a fearful responsibility in disbelieving or rejecting this branch of the testimony of God, declaring to them, on the word of him that 'cannot lie,' the way of salvation!

The second theory maintained in the present discussion, is, that, while according to the gospel constitution or plan of salvation, the work of Christ is an all-sufficient ground, on which, in consistency with his holy character and government, God, as a merciful and gracious God, offers pardon and acceptance to sinners of mankind, it is, at the same time, by divine appointment, the effectual means whereby he carries into effect his own sovereign purpose of grace in regard to his people, by actually bestowing upon them, for Christ's sake, all the blessings of salvation. This is the theory which is maintained, as we have seen, by the synod of the elder Secession church of Scotland. It takes for granted, it will be observed, that the gospel of the blessed God, according to divine appointment, is to be preached to men, in the first instance, not as elect or non-elect, but considered simply as perishing sinners; that it is a truth, revealed in the gospel to men, that the righteousness of Christ, which is confessedly the means, legally considered, whereby the people of God are justified and accepted, is, by reason of its justice-satisfying and law-magnifying character, the all-sufficient ground, on which every sinner availing himself of it by faith, may be justified and accepted: and farther, that in saving his people, according to his own purpose towards them in Christ Jesus, God saves them not irrespective of, but in accordance with, that consti-

tution of mercy, which he has established under the gospel. In this aspect, the work of Christ, as a work of righteousness, is regarded as possessing a functional character, namely, as designed to reconcile justice with mercy, in the pardon and salvation of sinners under the holy and just government of God. The system of the gospel, in which God makes known his merciful character, is viewed as a system of reconciliation: God in Christ, 'reconciling the world to himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them.' Although the justice of God is regarded as satisfied with the work of Christ, as an all-perfect work, and although God is viewed as having sustained it as a complete fulfilment of the claims of his law, yet, it is not conceived that, in an absolute sense, God is, by reason of the work of the Saviour, already satisfied with every sinner, and already reconciled to him in point of fact, ere he believes the gospel, or is brought into a state of union with the Redeemer. What is meant, is, that the Saviour, by reason of his work, is all-sufficient to reconcile sinners unto God. 'Whom God hath set forth *to be* a propitiation through *faith* in his blood, to declare his righteousness in the forgiveness of sins that are past through the forbearance of God; to declare at this time his righteousness, that he might be just, and the justifier of him who believeth in Jesus.' Those who believe, accordingly, and who receive the benefits flowing from the mediatorial work and office of Christ, can appropriately say, 'we *have* redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of his grace;' 'We joy in God through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom we *have* received the reconciliation;' 'Being justified by faith we *have* peace with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ.' This theory, which presents such views of the nature and design of the atoning work of the Saviour, may be said to be that of INFINITE SUFFICIENCY, with a DEFINITE EFFICACIOUS DESTINATION.' In the words of Dr. Wardlaw in his essay on Assurance, 'the blood of Christ may be infinite in its atoning value, and yet limited in its atoning efficacy; sufficient for the salvation of all, and yet effectual for the salvation of some only.' Dr. Brown, of Edinburgh, who occupies deservedly so very high a place in the United Secession church, and in Scotland generally, both for his learning and his piety, in presenting his views recently in his 'Statement' before the synod, expresses himself to the following effect: 'With respect to the design of the death of Christ, and the atonement for sin made by that death, I am equally persuaded that, by the divine appointment, the death of Christ removes 'the legal bars' in the way of human salvation generally, and 'opens a door of mercy to mankind,' making it consistent with the perfections of the

divine character, and the principles of the divine government, to make a free offer of salvation, through the faith of the gospel, to every human being; *and that*, by divine appointment, the death of Christ secures the actual salvation of those, whom, in sovereign mercy, from all eternity, he has elected to everlasting life.' 'The proposition,' adds he, that 'Christ died for men, has been employed in three different senses. In the sense that he died with the intention and to the effect of securing salvation, I hold that he died for the elect alone. In the sense that he died to procure easier terms of salvation, and grace to comply with these terms, I hold that he died for no man. In the sense that he died, in order to remove legal obstacles in the way of human salvation, and open a door of mercy, I hold that he died for all men; and whether in thus dying for all, he expiated the sins of all, or made atonement for all, depends on the sense you affix to these expressions. In one sense, he did; in another sense, he did not. I dislike all extreme statements, all startling expressions on this subject. As to the whole subject of the order of the divine decrees, I have no hesitation in saying that I dare not attempt so high an argument, or indulge in speculations, which, whether transcending the human faculties or not, certainly do overmaster mine. 'Such knowledge is too wonderful for me; it is high, I cannot attain to it.' In a further 'Statement' made before the synod in May last, the views of this distinguished theologian are thus given with regard to our Lord's substitutionary work:—'Christ did what a certain number of mankind were bound to do, and suffered what they were bound to suffer; he fulfilled the precept, and he sustained the penalty of the law, to which they were subject, and which they had violated. In consequence of this, these persons are redeemed; called and justified, sanctified and saved; and all this was the result of divine appointment, and was the intention of Christ, in obeying and suffering. He was treated according to their obligations, and they are treated according to his deserts—and they are, by the divine appointment, necessarily connected with each other. This is the substitution of Christ in the room of his peculiar people. From the absolute perfection of our Lord's work, it follows, that, in doing what was necessary, and, in connexion with covenant engagements, effectual, for the salvation of his people, that he did, what all men were bound to do, he suffered, what all men were bound to suffer; for this he undoubtedly did, when he obeyed the precept, and endured the penalty of the divine law. In consequence of this, a sincere offer of pardon and salvation is made to mankind sinners, as such. And, in this case, too, every thing is the result of the divine appointment, every thing is according to the intention of

our Lord, in obeying and suffering. The work of Christ is one, but it serves more than one purpose, and it was intended to serve more than one purpose.*—pp. 22—23.

The other theory which has been occupying attention in the present discussion respecting the atonement, is that founded on the hypothesis propounded by Camero, and adopted by others since his day, with regard to a certain order of the divine decrees. According to this hypothesis, election, or the purpose of salvation, 'comes *after* atonement.' The whole human family are foreseen by God as in a state of guilt and misery—a desire of general benevolence or goodness arises in the mind of God to save them. Prompted by this desire, he contrives, in infinite wisdom, a plan of salvation. The Son of God is foreseen all ready,—he undertakes the work of human redemption, is appointed to the office of Mediator. The gospel is resolved to be offered to all men, but is foreseen as having been rejected by all. God then elects a certain number of the human family to eternal life, purposing, in sovereign love, to bestow upon them those special influences of divine grace which shall infallibly secure their salvation. This has been called by its recent supporters, the scheme of INDEFINITE OR UNIVERSAL atonement, with GRACIOUS SOVEREIGNTY IN ITS EFFECTUAL APPLICATION. Our limits do not permit us to enter at present into any lengthened examination of the merits of this theory, or to contrast the principles it involves with those of the other schemes which have been mentioned. Although it has received all justice in its advocacy, by Dr. Wardlaw, in his recent work on the subject of the atonement, it is still considered as open to a number of the objections that have been brought against it. Not to speak of the general ob-

* Notwithstanding the above statements, so clear and explicit in their nature, their author, strangely enough as it would seem, was charged by two of his brethren, at a meeting of the synod of the Secession Church, held in July last, with unsound views on the doctrines of election, substitution, atonement, &c. After being occupied for several days in considering the charges, the following deliverance was unanimously come to by the synod:—'The synod, in reviewing the deliberations and decisions during this and the other sederunts, finds, that all the charges made against Dr. Brown have been disposed of by being severally declared unfounded; finds there exists no ground even for suspicion that he holds, or has ever held, any opinions on the points under review, inconsistent with the word of God, and the subordinate standards of our church: the synod, therefore, dismiss the libel, and while it sincerely sympathizes with Dr. Brown in the very unpleasant and painful circumstances in which he has been placed, and renews the expression of confidence in him, given at last meeting, it entertains a hope that the issue of this case has been such as will tend, by the blessing of God, to restore peace and confidence throughout the church, and terminate the unhappy controversy which has so long agitated it.'

jection brought by Davenant against the hypothesis itself on which the scheme of doctrine is founded, that 'it is a mere imagination of men's brain, and that, therefore, to build any doctrines of *faith* upon it, is to build castles in the air,' it has been considered that, if it proves any thing at all, it proves something too much.

1. It is held as setting aside, and making no account whatever, of the special saving love of God, in the *origination* of the whole scheme of salvation. A general 'desire' of benignity, such as God feels, and must feel, from his very nature, even in the case of fallen angels, prompts the divine mind to devise the plan of redemption. In this general benignity, exclusive altogether of the operation of special love, the entire plan of redemption is represented as having its source—a position, to which it cannot be wondered at that many should feel a difficulty in yielding an assent. If election be *after* atonement, as alleged, the death of Christ procures the special love of God to his people, instead of the gift of the Son of God, for their salvation, being the highest expression and proof of his love towards them. Christ, likewise, could not then be said, as the scriptures assert, 'to love his church, and give himself for it,' but must first be conceived to lay down his life for another object, and then afterwards *begin* to love his people. It has been considered as difficult, also, to conceive of a general cause giving birth to any special effect. In reply to all this, it has been said, that scripture sanctions the representation given, inasmuch as it is declared that the people of God 'were chosen in Christ,' which supposes the recognition of the Son of God as Mediator. It is plain, however, that the choice of our world, instead of fallen angels, to the enjoyment of a constitution of grace, presupposes the same thing. And if the Son of God is presupposed as mediator, *before* our world was chosen to the enjoyment of any advantages from his work, for whom or for what, it may be asked, was he thus contemplated as appointed to the mediatorial office which he was to occupy?

2. The theory has been viewed as objectionable because of its separating, in the divine purpose, the work of Christ from the actual salvation of his people. If, according to the original purpose of God which called the atonement into existence, it, as a means in relation to the end, 'secured the salvation of none,' it has been considered as difficult to conceive how any subsequent purpose could impart to IT (the atonement) an efficacy which it did not originally possess in the case of God's people, or cause fruits of a saving kind to flow from IT, which, according to the design of God in its appointment, it was not intended to impart. To this, it has been answered, that the 'sovereign pur-

pose of God in its application' secures all saving results. The expression, however, of a 'sovereign purpose of application,' has been considered, from the sense in which it is sometimes employed, as one of a rather ambiguous signification. If the one 'design' for which the atonement was called into being was, as is alleged, to 'make it a possible thing *merely* that sinners might be saved,' it might seem that when *this* end was effectually secured, by a ground of pardon being furnished to all, the atonement was as fully applied as it was capable of being applied, and that the purpose, therefore, for which it was called into existence was *entirely* exhausted. If, again, in point of fact, God, according to his purpose of grace, actually bestows upon his people, for the sake of the work of his Son, the influences of the Divine Spirit, leading them to a reception of the truths of the gospel,—and if, on the ground of the same righteous work, God actually pardons and accepts of those who believe in Christ—that is, reckons his righteousness to *their* account, as received on their part by faith, to the effect of *its* being the legal means, under his holy and righteous administration, of their justification and acceptance,—it is not easy to see how the Saviour's work, according to the place assigned to it in the economy of mercy, can be said 'to secure the salvation of none.' And we confess that we are unable to perceive, according to *this* meaning of the expression—the meaning, as we suspect, that was attached to it by Fuller—what the exact difference is, between 'a sovereign purpose of application,' and a 'sovereign purpose of definite destination' in respect of the saving fruits flowing from the atonement in the case of the people of God. The designed destination of the atonement, in its efficacious results, in the case of some, cannot be understood to interfere with its sufficiency as a ground of acceptance in the case of all to whom it is presented in the gospel; and, in no view, can it be conceived as doing this more at least, than does a 'sovereign purpose of *its* application.' It has been said, that the intention or purpose of God is one thing, and the atonement another. Metaphysically considered, this may be conceived of as being the case; but, looking at the work of Christ, in connexion with the ends for which it was appointed, as revealed in the word of God, such a distinction can have no place. The atonement is exactly what the purpose of God has made it, and nothing more. Our meaning is not, that the intrinsic and infinite worth of Him by whom it was made, can be augmented or diminished by divine appointment; our meaning is, that it is the purpose of God which gives to the atonement that constitutional character and efficacy which has been assigned to it in the economy of redemption, whereby *all*

those ends are secured which were contemplated by God, when it was appointed, sustained, and finally accepted. It has been said, that the work of the Saviour in respect of his atonement was a perfect work, and that there is nothing, consequently, in the atonement which gives it any quality that makes it more suitable in regard to one sinner than another. So far as the intrinsic perfection of the Saviour's work is concerned, this may be said to be true. But, granting that the righteousness of the Saviour is a perfect righteousness—that nothing can be added to it to make it more complete than it is—and that, consequently, it is as sufficient to justify one man as another before God, when, as received by faith, God reckons it to his account,—is there any sinner, it may be asked, who *can* be justified, according to the plan of salvation, who is not regarded and treated as righteous in the eye of the law of God by having the work of Christ *imputed* to him to this effect.' If this cannot be, then, although there may be nothing in the work of Christ, considered in itself, as an all-perfect fulfilment of the claims of the law of God, which gives to it any original suitableness, or sufficiency, or applicability, for one man more than for another, it cannot surely be disputed, that the same divine purpose which made the atonement to be what it is in the case of sinners of mankind as such, viz., an available justifying righteousness, has made it also to be what it is in reference to the people of God—the effectual means of salvation: so that God's people, called to the fellowship of his Son, can say, and say with truth, 'In the Lord have we strength AND righteousness.' It was the purpose of God, in originally appointing the work of his Son, that it should be imputed to his people for righteousness; and hence 'the blessedness of the man to whom God,' in execution of this purpose, 'imputeth righteousness without works' as the means of salvation. It has been said by some of the advocates of this theory, that the atonement 'is *the* removal of legal obstacles in the way of the salvation of sinners;' and that this, according to the scheme of divine grace, was all that it was intended to accomplish. But, considered *in itself*—if we must conceive of it thus, as separated from *all* its effects—the atoning sacrifice of the Saviour cannot properly be said to be *the* removal of legal obstacles, any more than it can be said that, according to the purpose for which it was offered, it was *the* 'legal bar' to the final condemnation of the people of God. Who shall lay anything to the charge of God's elect—as interested in this work?" It is Christ that died, that his people might *be* justified. 'For whom he did foreknow,' &c. 'Much more being justified by his *blood*, we shall be saved from wrath through him.' If the work of Christ be, in itself, merely a perfect work

of righteousness in relation to the law of God, then there can be nothing in the atonement which constitutes it '*the* removal of legal obstacles,' any more than there can be anything in it which makes it the effectual means of the salvation of God's people. In both cases, when these things are affirmed of it, the atonement is spoken of, not as it is in itself, but according to its effects,—the effects secured by divine appointment, being put for the means by which they are produced. If it be said, therefore, that it '*is the* removal of legal obstacles,' it must be because the purpose of God has made it so, in subserviency to the 'design' for which it was appointed; and if so, then it must be admitted, on the same principle, that the same purpose has made it in effect *the* redemption of the people of God. It has been stated, that the atonement would remain 'inert and powerless' but for the influence of the Holy Spirit. The influence of the Holy Spirit is not to be denied as leading the sinner to the saving knowledge of Christ, and to an apprehension of him by faith as he is offered in the gospel. But, though it be customary with some to speak of the Holy Spirit's influence being communicated by 'a separate arrangement,' from that arrangement in which the atonement is included and its influence exerted, when it is said that the atonement would be actually 'inert and powerless,' but for the influence of the Spirit of God, the statement must surely be made in forgetfulness of the active and all-prevailing mediation of Christ, through whose intercession, grounded on his own sacrifice, the influence of the Spirit, according to the promise of the Father, 'is shed down on us abundantly.'

3. It has been objected to this theory, farther, that, to say the least, it has some very doubtful tendencies. In teaching that the entire plan of mercy originated *solely* in general love to mankind, it has been conceived to lay the foundation for doctrinal views not in harmony with the sovereignty and supremacy of divine grace, as 'this grace reigns, through righteousness, unto eternal life by Jesus Christ' in the case of every sinner's salvation. If God loved all men equally at first, he must (and this is acknowledged) have 'desired' the salvation of all men equally; and, if this really was the case in the origination of the scheme of salvation, it may seem to some minds somewhat difficult to account for any change of the plan, at any subsequent stage, either in its supplemental reconstruction or operation.

In answer to these and similar objections, we are aware, that it may be said, that the view as to the order of the divine decrees, on which the scheme of doctrine now alluded to has been founded, is mere hypothesis, and is only a mode of con-

ceiving of the operations of the divine mind according to what *we* think is, or ought to be, the order of nature in their arrangement. But if it be the case, as it is admitted, that, in the mind of God, there is neither past nor future, neither priority nor posteriority, but one eternal *now*—if this, we say, be admitted to be an indubitable fact, then surely it might be as well not to teach, by way of hypothesis, that there *is* such a distinction, or to familiarize the mind with exhibitions of doctrine founded upon it, as if it really were a matter actually revealed in the word of God. There is no necessity for such an analysis of the truths of the gospel by tracing each up to its separate purpose in the divine mind, when it is admitted that all the doctrines which the gospel contains have their foundation in the will of God as made known in his word. With what is secret, as a rule of life, we have nothing to do. Between what is secret and what is revealed, in the plan of salvation, there is, we may believe, a perfect harmony, although this harmony we may not be able in every instance fully to trace. It is enough for us that we receive the plainly accredited facts which God has revealed. That theory must ever be the safest and the best, which embraces at least all the facts of the case, however these may be attempted to be accounted for or to be reconciled with one another. Although true philosophy must ever be in harmony with the principles of religion, there is a danger, where speculation is pushed too far, of resting our faith too much on a mere philosophical basis, instead of the direct testimony of God, and of shaping the truths of the gospel in such a manner as to mould them into a conformity with the plausible theories we ourselves may have formed. Our blessed Lord has furnished to us an example how we ought to conceive, and how we ought to speak in regard to such matters, when he exhibits, in its combined aspects, the will of God for our salvation, as connected with his own mission into our world. ‘I came down from heaven not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me. For this is the Father’s will who hath sent me, that of all which he hath given me I should lose nothing, but should raise it up at the last day. And this is the will of him that sent me, that *every one* who seeth the Son and believeth on him may have everlasting life; and I will raise him up at the last day.’

Art. II.—*Travels in India, including Siade and the Punjab.* By Captain Leopold Von Orlich. Translated from the German, by H. Evans Lloyd, Esq. 2 vols. 8vo. London: Longman & Co.

THESE volumes are full of information, and will be read with interest by all who are desirous of accurate and diversified information respecting our Indian possessions. The author, a Prussian officer, having obtained the permission of his own sovereign, and of the British government, proceeded to Bombay in 1842, with a view of joining the army, then supposed to be engaged in a long and perilous contest. His object was the acquisition of military experience, for which the peaceful state of Christendom happily afforded no opportunity: and it strikingly exemplifies the vitiated order of sentiments prevalent throughout Europe, that such a man, whose general feelings are obviously virtuous and honourable, should, for such a purpose, voluntarily take part in a struggle, which had its origin in the worst vices of our Eastern government. For wars strictly defensive, something may be pleaded; but the military spirit which we cherish and applaud, and by which honourable men are induced to place themselves at the disposal of others, to be employed in the work of devastation and death, wheresoever, or against whomsoever they please,—the virtuous indifferently with the vicious, the patriotic defenders of their country, equally with the servile hordes which fulfil a tyrant's bidding; this is a state of things so hostile to the Christian faith, and so obviously inconsistent with our personal responsibilities, that we may well marvel at its prevalence. Its gradual disappearance will be the inevitable result of the prevalence of christian sentiments, until religious men will esteem the *profession* of arms to be as incompatible with christian discipleship, as any of the other, and more generally admitted forms of immorality. We have been led to these remarks by the author's brief preface, and must return to his volumes.

The progress of the British arms was much more rapid and decisively successful than had been anticipated. The disasters of Cabool were, to use the current phraseology, retrieved by the victories which followed, and our author consequently did not join the British forces in time to take part in their struggles. 'He saw,' he tells us, 'how well the laurels graced the brows of the victors, but with the mortifying reflection that he had come too late to witness how they had been won.' The main purpose of his journey being thus defeated, he wisely determined to avail himself of the opportunity furnished, to collect information respecting that 'remarkable country which has been visited by

very few of his countrymen.' The volumes before us contain the result of his observations, communicated in the form of letters to his friends. These letters are strictly descriptive, and contain little beyond the form of the epistolary style of composition. After narrating his voyage from Southampton, his journey across the desert, and his ultimate arrival at Bombay, on the 6th of August, Captain Von Orlich proceeds to describe the manners, occupations, moral habits, and superstitions of the Hindoo races, with the condition and prospects of the British power amongst them. His letters of introduction secured him ready access to the best European society, and the friendly offices of all with whom he mingled, were at his service. Much was thus accomplished in a short time, and the whole is portrayed in an easy unembarrassed style, which contributes greatly to the pleasure of his reader. We have often heard of the feats of the Indian jugglers, some specimens of which were exhibited to our author, and are thus briefly described :—

' Having determined to undertake a journey to Poonah, in company with the younger son of my excellent host, the general's lady contrived to let me see some specimens of the dexterity of the natives. First of all, several men, women, and children appeared in the garden, to exhibit their skill in balancing; it is impossible for you to form any conception of the agility, distortion of limb, and pliability of body of these people: our rope-dancers would have been quite abashed in their presence; but I can tell them, for their comfort, that they would have displayed more grace in their exhibitions. They represented almost all kinds of remarkable animals, in doing which several bodies were so interlaced, that the different individuals could scarcely be distinguished. They also performed feats of strength, and one man bore on his shoulders six others, standing two and two above each other. These performances were succeeded by a band of jugglers, consisting of a long-bearded old man, accompanied by three boys and several women. They first exhibited various tricks with tamed serpents, among which was the venomous cobra de capella; these animals sometimes danced to the sound of a pipe, twined themselves together, and then suddenly disappeared. They then exhibited the most extraordinary transformations, some of which were wholly inexplicable. Thus, a strapping boy fifteen years old, contrived to creep into a round basket, two feet high and three feet broad, in such a manner that when the basket was opened there was nothing to be seen of him; he must have managed most cleverly to cower down into the veriest nook on that side of the basket which was nearest us. The exhibition closed with thrusting daggers down their throats, and flames issuing from their mouths.'—Vol. i. pp. 58, 59.

At Poonah, whither he speedily proceeded, our author had an opportunity of witnessing the reception given to the new governor, Sir George Arthur, by some of the more wealthy Hindoo

merchants. The ceremony was to him both interesting and unique, and the description he gives is illustrative of Hindoo manners, and of the relation subsisting between the natives and their English rulers.

'Amid the sound of unharmonious music, the host received his distinguished guest at the threshold of his gate, which opened into a quadrangle surrounded by open arcades. A narrow, dark staircase led to the very simple, low, reception room on the second floor. Here the gentlemen of the family and the servants were standing. As soon as we were seated on divans and chairs, the music (consisting of a small drum, a pipe, and a kind of guitar) immediately struck up. Some of the Bayadères commenced dancing, while others at the same time crowned us with wreaths of flowers, and sprinkled us with otar of roses. At the desire of the host, the company were presented with various kinds of gilded spices on silver salvers, and the beetle-nut, neatly folded in beetle leaves and mixed with catechu and chunam, were handed round. The Bayadères were very much ornamented with jewels, and wore massive rings in their ears and noses and around their ancles: they were dressed in gay garments, which fell in ample folds around them; and a scarf of the finest texture covered their neck and bosom, while their beautiful silky black hair hung down in braids over their shoulders. During their dance, which consisted partly in a revolving movement, partly in a springing step, they flung the shawl in various graceful forms about the body, and accompanied the music with a monotonous song. To heighten the beauty of their eyes, they had blackened the eyelids with antimony. Their hands and feet were small and delicate, and the contour of the figure and of the countenance extremely elegant and noble: if not actually beautiful, these Bayaderes had a very attractive, feminine appearance.

'After we had looked at the dancing for about a quarter of an hour, our host conducted us to the interior small flower garden, enclosed by the Zenana, in the centre of which was a basin with a fountain. Festoons and garlands, interspersed with innumerable lamps and painted paper lanterns, diffused a magic charm over the whole scene. While gazing around on these elegant decorations, we saw the wives and daughters of our host peeping through a wooden lattice in the second story; but no sooner did they perceive that they were remarked, than they immediately vanished from our inquisitive eyes. After taking leave of our host, we visited several other persons of distinction, and everywhere met with a similar reception: the more wealthy, of course, displayed greater splendour and profusion in the decorations of their houses, and likewise brought forward more numerous Bayadères.'—*ib.* pp. 67, 68.

Accounts having reached the government of disturbances in Sind, the departure of troops was hastened, and Sir Charles Napier, who was appointed general, having offered him a place on his staff, Captain Von Orlich embarked in the *Zenobia* steamer for the Indus. The cholera made fearful ravages

amongst the soldiers during the voyage, but they arrived at length at Kurrachee, whence they made excursions into the surrounding country, in order to see whatever was remarkable. One of these was to the Alligator Pond, about ten miles north of the town, where a singular spectacle was witnessed, illustrative of the grosser superstitions of the people. The pond in question was about two hundred paces long, and fifty broad, overgrown with grass and weeds, and contained but little water.

'In this pond above fifty alligators are kept, several of which are more than twenty feet long. These animals are accounted sacred, and the pilgrims must offer a goat to obtain a sight of them, and to satisfy their rapacity. They are under the special charge of fakirs, and we had scarcely dismounted, when several of these dirty, naked men came to offer their services. One of them broke off some reeds to keep at bay the eager alligators, and cried in a mournful tone, '*owh! owh!*' 'come! come!' Above thirty of these reptiles instantly crept out of the water, and, like so many dogs, lay in a semi-circle at the feet of their master. It was a strange scene to see these animals with wide gaping jaws, not more than four steps from you: but they were so docile that they drew back at the slightest touch with the reed. Meantime our guide had purchased a goat for a rupee; it was slaughtered on the spot, and thrown in large pieces to the alligators, which greedily tried to snatch the morsels from their companions, and in so doing their scaly bodies struck with such violence against each other, that some of them rolled completely over. After they had finished their repast, the fakir drove them back into the pond. The largest and most sacred of these alligators, which we estimated at nearly twenty-five feet in length, was kept by itself in the basin.'—*ib.* pp. 83, 84

At Hyderabad he was introduced to the Ameers of Sind, whose subsequent misfortunes have invested them with an interest, which induces us to give the following brief sketch of their appearance:—

'After we had passed through the gate and ascended the platform, the Ameers, headed by Meer Nasseer Khan, surrounded by many of his chiefs, came out to meet us. When Mr. Mylne presented me to them, they all shook hands with me, and Nasseer Khan invited me to take a seat, which was placed opposite to him. The Ameers had taken their places on a long silk divan, around which were ranged the chiefs in picturesque groups, either standing, or sitting cross-legged upon carpets, each with his sword or gun before him, and all eyes turned upon us; the moon shed a magic splendour over this scene, every object, even in the far distance, was perfectly distinguishable.

'Meer Nasseer Khan, the eldest son of the Ameers, who has a revenue of eleven lacs, is so extremely corpulent, that he is incapable of any bodily exertion, and even on the chase prefers the slow camel to the fleet horse. His highness is, however, considered by his Be-

looches to be the handsomest man in the country. Meer Mahomet, an elderly man with a long, flowing, grey beard, is somewhat disfigured by a harelip: he is the same who boasted to Sir Alexander Burns that he had promoted his journey through Sindé, and vaunted himself upon being a great friend of the English. He carried in his hand a magnificent sword, richly adorned with jewels, and a snuff-box which was in constant requisition. Meer Shadad and Meer Hussin Ali are brothers, the former is distinguished by remarkable beauty of person, and highly polished manners. He was leaning on a blue velvet cushion, adorned with brilliants; and when he passed his hand over his carefully trimmed black beard, and raised his dark, flashing eye, I felt involuntarily drawn towards him. His younger brother, who is only seventeen years of age, is shy and mistrustful. Meer Sobdar Khan was not present; he is no on good terms with his colleagues, and desired to receive me alone. They all wore velvet Sindé caps, embroidered with gold; coloured silk garments, pantaloons, and red shoes; pearl necklaces and valuable rings were their only ornaments.—*ib.* pp. 111, 112.

The British army of reserve assembled at Ferozpoor, whither our author proceeded, and where Lord Ellenborough made his entry on the 9th of December, attended by one hundred and twenty elephants, and seven hundred camels. The scene witnessed was animated in the extreme, and in its gorgeousness and parade, admirably suited the temper of the titled representative of British sovereignty.

In front of the tent of the Governor General is a road 150 paces broad, along which are pitched tents of the superior civil and military officers, and aide-de camps, composing the administration: above forty clerks belong to the department of the secretary of Government alone. At the end of this road or street is the tent which has been put up for me: it is divided into three compartments, with double walls and roofs, thirty feet long, and twenty broad. The Governor-General has a body guard of two officers and 120 cavalry soldiers, and hundreds of servants. A regiment of cavalry, another of infantry, and a brigade of artillery, do duty in the camp.

Lord Ellenborough's Durbar tent, consists of three large tents, and is 168 feet long, thirty-two broad, and twenty-eight high. The apartments are covered with the most costly carpets, and are lighted up in the evening with chandeliers; iron stoves impart warmth and cheerfulness; and a canopy, in front of which the standard of England floats on a lofty pole, marks the entrance. From this Durbar tent, a glass door leads through a covered passage to the dwelling and sleeping tents. When we sat down to dinner, which was served on silver, the band of the Governor-General struck up 'God save the Queen:' a servant in a scarlet livery stood behind the chair of each guest, while two stately Hindoo attendants fanned his Lordship with a chowree, made of the tufted tail of the Hindoo ox, in a slow and measured movement.

'A few days after the arrival of Lord Ellenborough, the irregular cavalry made trial of their skill in the presence of his Lordship. The Governor-General, as well as all the superior officers, and the ladies, were seated on a long row of elephants, while a number of spectators were ranged on horseback. The riders, dressed in red and yellow, first riding at full gallop, fired their matchlocks at glass bottles, nine of which were struck; then, continuing at their utmost speed, they thrust at the tent pins with the lance—a feat which required great dexterity and bodily strength: all sorts of equestrian exercises concluded the interesting spectacle. Lord Ellenborough presented the victors with handsome arms; such as guns, sabres, and bows.—*ib.* pp. 186—188.

Such spectacles are well adapted to effect the delusion for which they are designed. In the glitter and show, the perpetual stir and excitement exhibited, they effectually conceal the real character of war, and stimulate those passions of which ambition makes profitable use. Some dark spots, however, are discernible, even in the bright picture sketched by our author. A red striped tent at the south corner of the barracks at Lahore saddened his mind, by recalling the fate of the dreaded Affghan princes, who resided there, in extreme poverty. 'There is, probably,' he remarks, 'no country in the world which can produce such sudden changes of fortune as India.' Surely the time is coming when men will be too intelligent, and reflecting, to be deluded by such miserable cheats.

The reception given to General Sale and his brigade, on their return from Jellalabad, is vividly described, and presents a picture of Indian life, which few Prussians have had an opportunity of witnessing. The Affghan dress, which is eminently picturesque, must have contributed greatly to the influence of the scene. We give the account in our author's own words:—

'On the following day General Sale crossed the Sutlej, and advanced to the camp of the army of reserve: Lord Ellenborough had invited me to ride thither with him upon his elephant. It was perfectly dark when our cavalcade of elephants left the camp: we were, therefore, preceded by torch-bearers, while the body-guard followed. The army of reserve lined the road on both sides, and close to the bridges stood 200 elephants richly trapped and painted. On Lord Ellenborough's approach, these sagacious animals saluted him, by kneeling down and raising their trunks in the air, a mark of respect which they had been taught by their Mahouts. The bridges were adorned with flags and streamers; and at the side of one of them a gallery was erected, under which we took our places. Several Indian princes, and many ladies on elephants and on horseback, imparted a picturesque and poetic charm to the scene.

'At eight o'clock General Sale's brigade defiled, the bands playing 'God save the Queen,' amid the thunder of the artillery and the

enthusiastic cheers of the army. A joyous, yet affecting, sensation pervaded the whole assembly, when the officers and soldiers, led by the heroine of the day, Lady Sale, mounted on a magnificent elephant, saluted their friends. The brave warriors who followed showed not a trace either of the privations of a protracted siege, or of the fatigues of a long march. In the rear of the troops came the baggage, the whole presenting the most strange, but most faithful picture, of a march of crusaders. Invalids mounted on elephants and camels, and others, more seriously ill, in palanquins or doolees; camels, oxen, and asses heavily laden; here an Afghan female closely veiled, with trellis embroidery before her eyes, and wrapped in a white robe, which merely exposed her small feet, covered with gold-embroidered slippers; there a mother with her child on a camel; children on ponies, fondling a cat or a dog, or watching pigeons and fowls in baskets; fettered game-cocks and fighting rams; men, women, and children in the strangest costumes; Afghan chiefs with their families; merchants and servants of the most diverse nations and professions, flocks of sheep and goats, and waggons drawn slowly by oxen.

'The passage of this motley train of one brigade, across both the bridges lasted full four hours! We were never tired of looking at this diminutive emigration of the nations, and remained nearly an hour longer lost in contemplation and reflection. We afterwards assembled at breakfast, in a tent, pitched near one of the bridges, where these varied scenes were again brought before us.

'In the evening the Governor General gave a most splendid entertainment in his tent to the valiant defenders of Jellalabad, and, according to the English fashion, there was no lack of fine speeches and toasts. Lady Sale was present at this feast: she has passed nearly the whole of her life in India, and is a soldier's wife in every sense of the word; but she has the appearance of a worthy matron rather than of the bold determined heroine of the day.'—*ib.* pp. 189—191.

Captain Von Orlich, at the invitation of Lord Ellenborough, accompanied the British embassy to Lahore, 'the most brilliant court in India.' This city contains 80,000 inhabitants, and is about eight miles in circumference. Its first appearance is imposing; but on closer inspection, the streets are found to be narrow and dirty, the houses which are brick built, with flat roofs, are high, and a trench running down the middle of the streets, renders them almost impassable in rainy weather.

'The bazaars are the most animated part of the city, though nothing remarkable is to be found there; they furnish little beyond eatables, to which our elephant very unceremoniously helped himself with his trunk as he went along. The people ran to the windows and the platforms to look at the strangers; even the women and girls appeared without their veils, so that we could readily distinguish the women of Kashmir, by their fair complexion, from the natives of

India. Very few of them could be called pretty, but they all had fine bright eyes; they had, however, blackened their eye-brows, and had even painted little patches of antimony on their cheeks, and were covered with a superfluity of jewels and rings. They laughed and made sportive remarks upon us, which seemed to be provoked by my friend's eye-glass, held fast by the eyelid.'—*ib.* p. 218.

During the residence of the embassy at Lahore, a grand review of the native army took place, from our author's description of which, some notion may be formed of the military resources of the Indian empire. It will be observed that several of the officers in the service of the Maharaja are European, principally French. This is an important feature in the policy of Indian princes, and if followed out to any considerable extent, would materially affect the character of Indian warfare, and shade our prospects.

'The grand review was fixed for the 10th of January. About two o'clock his highness appeared before our house to conduct us to the camp, and was dressed entirely in white muslin trimmed with gold lace. Dheean Singh was seated in the howdah behind him, holding an umbrella over his head, a matter of some difficulty, as it was six miles to the place where the troops were assembled. After a full hour's ride we reached the camp, where the Maharaja and the ambassador mounted another elephant, richly caparisoned, and carrying a gold howdah on his back.

'The troops, amounting to 60,000 men with 200 pieces of cannon (of which, however, only the half had horses affixed to them), occupied a line of eight miles, and had passed the whole time, from five o'clock in the morning till now, before they could be arranged in this manner. In spite of the remonstrances of the European officers in Shere Singh's service, Heera Singh had chosen this position, in order, as he said, the more clearly to exhibit the great number of the warriors.

'The procession was opened by the three carriages of his highness, among which was the large state carriage, built by Runjeet Singh, drawn by six horses, and surrounded by a verandah in which there is room for twenty Bayaderes, who were obliged to amuse the one-eyed hero during his journeys. The turbaned coachmen were dressed in the manner of English grooms, and looked more like the outriders of troops of equestrian performers than the whips of a state carriage. Next followed the riding horses, with gold bridles and saddles and velvet trappings, embroidered in beautiful patterns, with pearls and rubies. Before the elephant of the Maharaja rode the provost of the army, in the uniform of an English officer of the general staff, except that a huge turban took the place of a hat and feathers.

'Something more than a third part of the army which was assembled here consisted of regular troops, and of these about 5,000 were

cavalry. They are divided into divisions and brigades, and are under the immediate command of the European officers. The command is given in the French language, but the tactics differ in the various brigades; those which are under French officers being trained on the French system, while those under British officers, according to the English tactics. Thus unity is wanting, and discipline is defective. A single mishap would cause a complete disruption of these troops, and endanger the lives of their commanders. This, in fact, happened to General Court, who, on the accession of Shere Singh, faithful to his oath, refused to do homage till the ex-regent had absolved him from his allegiance to her; on this, the general was attacked in his own house by his own soldiers, and had a most miraculous escape.

‘ These troops are better paid than those of the East India Company, but not so regularly, and two rupees per month are besides deducted from their pay for their maintenance. Their uniform is red and blue: some regiments wear chakos, but most of them turbans; they are armed in the same manner as the English. The cavalry is in general well mounted, and consists of cuirassiers and dragoons. With respect to the artillery, the guns are scarcely inferior to those of the English, but their horses are very indifferent. Their movements are rapid; their firing very unskilful, for of six shot from six-pounders only one hit the mark at a distance of 800 paces.

‘ The irregular troops consist chiefly of cavalry, who are obliged to furnish their own horses, weapons, and clothing; some are armed with spears, shields, and bows, and the greater part of them have matchlock guns; they are excellent soldiers, brave and vigilant, and are quickly rallied after a defeat. The irregular infantry, armed with guns and spears, can make no resistance in the open field. The most distinguished among them are the Chagaris, led by the Akalees; they are clothed in black and have black standards, with a lion embroidered on them.

‘ We were a party of between forty and fifty elephants, and rode along the front. Generals Ventura and Court's division was on the right wing; each regiment had its own band of music, and presented arms as we approached. Almost every one of the Sikh officers of these regular troops was dressed according to his own taste; some in English, others in French uniform, or in a mixture of both; some wore turbans, or caps with shawls wrapped round them, and others helmets and chakos: some had high boots with coloured tops, others shoes; some wore white, and others coloured pantaloons. It was altogether a strange medley; General Court wore a French general's uniform, and joined us on his elephant. The irregular cavalry, about 10,000 strong, looked very picturesque,—nay, antique.

‘ As we approached the Akalees, those savage hordes set up a scornful shout; some galloped out of the ranks and, with uplifted hands, abused the Maharaja; his highness, however, who appeared quite used to this sort of thing, took no notice whatever, and said

he was glad that they had not pelted him with mud, as they had frequently done to Runjeet Singh on similar occasions. My elephant, unfortunately, became tired just at this juncture, which afforded these ruthless clamourers a welcome opportunity to manifest their insolence. I sent my servant to Major Skinner, with the request that he would let me join him on his, but I had scarcely seated myself when the strength of that animal likewise failed. Dheean Singh observed our embarrassment, and immediately despatched an officer to fetch the state carriage, in which we took our seats, and were joined by General Churchill and Captain Somerset. As the review was over, and nothing remained but for the artillery to fire a salute, we returned in Runjeet Singh's Bayadere coach, to our camp.—*ib.* pp. 227—230.

The observations of our author on the materials of the Anglo-Indian army, have all the advantage of his professional knowledge, with the candour and freedom of an impartial bystander. He does full justice to the British officer, 'High spirits, thirst for glory, conscious independence, self-confidence, a practical mind, and the ability of quickly accommodating himself to every circumstance,' are represented as his characteristics; while the strict discipline of the army is affirmed to be the basis of its marvellous success. A broad line of distinction is traced between the Hindoo and the Mahometan portion of the troops, from the latter of whom, most danger is anticipated. His remarks on this subject deserve attention, and as illustrative of the character of the people, will be read with interest:—

'The Mahometans of India, both in the army and in towns and villages under the British dominion, as well as those of foreign states, are every where the same. They belong to one great family, united by the same religion and the same interests, and will always be ready to defend their national cause with their services and their money. Religion and government are never divided in the mind of the Mahometan, and he will never forget that his supremacy in India has been totally overturned by the English.

'The eyes of the whole Mahometan population of India, will be turned upon him who preaches a crusade against the infidels, and the result will be followed and supported with as much anxious expectation and interest in the remotest village of the Deccan, as in Calcutta or Delhi. Symptoms of such a disposition have frequently appeared, even in the army. Yet it is difficult to determine the impression which it would make on the Mahometans in the ranks of the British army. They are more observed by their officers and their Hindoo comrades, than the inhabitants of the towns can be, and we may be certain that they would be the last of the Mahometan population, to join in any such movements.

'At present this is not to be apprehended, nay, it is almost impos-

sible that a general rising of the Mahometans in India can take place; they have lost all hopes of it; and if the Mahometan does not acknowledge it, yet he feels most sensibly that there is now no existing power to which he could attach himself. Beside, the Mahometans of India are already so infected with Hindooism, the customs and manners of which they have imbibed from their childhood, that they have neither energy nor decision enough to divest themselves of it.

'The war against the Afghans (the preceding, as well as the latest combats,) has amply proved the efficiency and capability of the native soldier. The Mussulman is not so effeminate, yet as brave, trustworthy, and enduring as the Hindoo: but he is not so temperate. Both, however, require to be led by an European officer; if they lose their confidence in him, they give themselves up for lost. They are ready to risk their lives for their officers, of which I have been told many instances: and are filially attached to them.'—*ib.* pp. 241, 242.

It may not, perhaps, be known to all our readers that the leopard, like the falcon in former days, is trained to minister to the amusement of man. He is employed in hunting the antelope; and of his habits, when so engaged, our author gives the following brief account:—

'On the 17th of January we set out for the village of Deerbah. We followed in the rear of the troops and the camp, who covered the whole road of thirteen miles in extent, and we had considerable difficulty, and were obliged to go a good deal about, before we could wend our way amid this vast multitude. We were accompanied by some of the Sikh rajahs, one of whom had an elephant with him, which was only six months old, and was born in a domestic state; another of the rajahs had a leopard, which had been trained to the chase of antelopes, and we arranged for a hunting party with it immediately after our arrival. On these occasions the leopard is hoodwinked as the falcons are; as soon as the huntsman is near enough to the game, the cap is taken off from the leopard, the leader strokes his hands several times over the eyes of the animal, and turns his head towards the antelope. Scarcely does the leopard perceive it, when he immediately springs forward, but, if he does not succeed in overtaking the antelope in two or three leaps, he desists and quietly lies down. His leader again takes him up into the cart and gives him some meat and water to strengthen him. The attempt is then renewed, but, if he fails a second time, he is quite discouraged, and is unfit for the chase for some days. The antelope possesses such elasticity that it makes leaps of thirty to forty paces, and, therefore, easily escapes from the leopard, and hence it is indispensable to get as near to the game as possible. But if the leopard succeeds in catching the antelope, he leaps upon its back, clings to it with his paws; it falls down; he thrusts his fangs into the neck of the

hapless victim, and sucks the blood, and then quietly follows his leader.

'We were on two carts, drawn by oxen, and the leopard with its leader was on a third. The weather was clear and cool, for we had only 69½° F. at noon. Two miles from the camp we perceived a herd of antelopes, and we succeeded in getting within fifty paces of them. The leader feared that the antelopes would not stand still any longer, and let the leopard loose, but the ground was too much covered with thorns, and the antelopes made such tremendous leaps, that the leopard, after making two bounds, gave over and lay down. A second attempt was equally fruitless, and we were obliged to return unsuccessful.'—*ib.* pp. 261—623.

On the 5th of February, 1843, Captain Von Orlich entered Delhi, the ancient capital of the Great Moguls. The governor-general and his attendants, amongst whom our author was included, were mounted on elephants, and the chief men of Delhi, on about fifty of these noble animals, were ranged in a line by the road-side, waiting their arrival. 'It was really,' we are told, 'very imposing, to see so many richly-adorned elephants, with silver howdahs, in which sat the first men of the ancient Mogul empire, richly dressed, decked with jewels, and wearing a cashmir shawl, thrown like a toga over the right shoulder, bowing with great reverence to Lord Ellenborough, and touching their forehead with their right hand, thus saluting us with their salam.'

The following casual reference to the progress of the christian faith, will not be uninteresting to our readers, and awakens a desire to know something more of the history and character of the convert referred to. Our author is writing at Delhi.

'Here, on the following day, I witnessed a scene which is certainly very uncommon in India, namely, a religious discussion. A Brahmin, who had embraced the Christian religion, met with a Mahometan priest in the tent of one of our party. Both equally enthusiastic, and, penetrated with the truth of their belief, were solicitous to prove that theirs was the only true faith. Their conversation grew more and more animated; the Christian seemed superior to his opponent both in spirit and conversational powers, and was frequently so impressed with the truth of his words that he cast round a triumphant look, believing himself to be the victor: but the Mussulman would not admit the validity of his adversary's proofs; and their discussion might have degenerated into acrimony, had not the bystanders interfered. I much regretted my inability closely to follow this learned religious controversy.'—vol. ii., p. 7.

Captain Von Orlich contends strenuously against the notion of the British power having attained its full elevation in India. 'There are,' he informs us, 'everywhere indications of a further

development, founded on duration and stability,' and he proceeds to argue that the necessity of the case will compel us to make the Indus, or the chain of the Himalaya, the boundary of our empire. Thus it has ever been, that one wrong has led to and been pleaded in justification of another. The fears of the oppressor have excited to injustice, which, being met by reproaches or resistance, has been represented as needful for self defence, and prompted only by a considerate and sagacious policy. It would be well for the permanent interests of our country if a deep sense of the obliquity of our past policy in India, were to induce the uniform resistance of every temptation to extend our empire, which the course of events may furnish. The consolidation and improvement of that which we have, furnish ample employment for the utmost energy and skill. We have already done far too much in the one direction, and have attempted but little in the other.

Returning from Delhi, by way of Agra, to Calcutta, our author sold his horses, tents, and other effects, and resolved to travel by palanquin. From the one city to the other, there is, he informs us, a road which may compete with the best in Europe, so that it would be easy to establish another and more speedy mode of journeying. The habits of the natives, however, are averse to change, and the English are as yet compelled to content themselves with this slow mode of transit. Referring to his journey, our author tells us:—

'On these dawk roads, are small houses (dawk bungalows) at intervals of every twenty miles, in which the traveller, for a rupee per day, finds accommodation and attendance, and may refresh himself with a bath; but some necessaries, such as tea, sugar, wine, and bread, he must take with him in his palanquin. As there are no inns whatever, the traveller in India is compelled to have recourse to the hospitality of the English, which, in truth, cannot have been exercised to a greater extent in the earliest times of our ancestors than it is here in the present day. Every where, even without letters of recommendation, you find the most hearty welcome, and the most hospitable reception. The longer the guest is pleased to remain, the greater is the satisfaction which he gives to his host. Yet I have often thought, however unwillingly it might be owned, that it must be a great burden upon those who are particularly noted, for their hospitality.

'I had engaged eight bearers to carry my palanquin, and six for the doolee of my attendant Werner. Besides these, I had four Banghybûrdars (men who are each obliged to carry forty-pound weight, in small wooden or tin boxes, called Petaros, with the help of a long bamboo cane, resting on the shoulder,) and two Massalchies or torch-bearers. For my journey to Agra, 137 miles, I had to pay 140 rupees, which is equal to the expense of travelling post with six horses in our country.

'On the 15th, at three o'clock in the afternoon, I left our camp, attended with the good wishes and blessings of all my friends. There are two roads to Agra; the shortest, which is the worst, by way of Mathura, and the better one by way of Alighur. I, of course, chose the latter: my bearers carried me at a rapid pace, through the Cashmire gate, and past the palace, immediately behind which a bridge of boats, which is taken up in the rainy season, is laid across the Jumna. After crossing this bridge, we proceeded a full mile, when we reached a road bordered with trees. This road is made of Cancar, a compost of gravel, loam, and clay, which is found in most parts of India, from three to four feet below the surface of the ground; it gradually becomes hard, and is the best material that can be employed for this purpose. From Agra to Delhi there are twelve stages, the longest fourteen, the shortest ten miles. An express acquaints the post-masters beforehand of the approach of travellers, so that the new bearers are always found ready. I was, however, advised not to give any gratuity when the palanquin was set down to change the bearers: this is said to be the best means of preventing a delay; for if any such occurs, the traveller must pay the bearers at all the following stages for their lost time.

'The country between Delhi and Agra is perfectly level, and for the most part cultivated: at this time the sight of luxuriant fields of wheat and barley, was very refreshing to the eye, and an unclouded sky with bright moonlight favoured my journey. When we met with any travellers we saluted each other, calling out *Ram, ram!* and whenever we approached a new stage all the bearers set up a shrill cry to announce that they were coming. After the usual salutations, and a few questions, the bearers, panting and blowing, proceeded rapidly: the torch-bearer runs by the side, occasionally feeding his cotton torch with oil, which he carries with him in a wooden bottle, or a bamboo cane, and the oldest of this indefatigable crew, on taking leave, adds a petition for money; '*Sahib, bakshich*' (sir, a present, a gift), is the petition reiterated at every stage.'—*ib.* pp. 38—41.

The history and practices of the Thugs, have recently engaged much attention. The reports which first reached us respecting them, were regarded with incredulity, but they have been fully authenticated by subsequent inquiries. The proceedings of this diabolical sect, which perpetrates the grossest atrocities under the forms, and with the assumed sanction of religion, constitute one of the darkest and most revolting chapters in the history of the human race. Our author gives a condensed account of their organization, the rites with which the aspirant is admitted to their fraternity, and the mode in which their crimes are effected. Happily for the interests of humanity, they have at length engaged the attention of the government, and there is reason to believe that their day of slaughter is past. The criminal statistics of India, however, furnish a more favourable view of the people

than might have been anticipated, though it must be borne in mind, that, from the circumstances of the case, the effectiveness of the police can bear no proportion to that of Europe. This consideration should be remembered in reading the following summary :—

‘In the presidency of Bengal, the population of which is forty millions, the number of persons sentenced to death was 38 in the year 1838, 25 in 1839, and 27 in 1840, exclusively of the Thugs ; whereas in England, during the same years, the numbers were 116, 56, and 57. In the same years, 81, 72, and 103 criminals were sentenced, in Bengal, to transportation or imprisonment for life ; and in England, the numbers who suffered the same punishment were 266, 205, and 238. The number of persons condemned in 1837, including offences against the police, amounted to 38,902, which makes 1 to 1028 of the population ; and in the year 1840, in which 42,785 were sentenced, 1 out of every 935 souls.

‘In the presidency of Madras, the population of which is 13,050,000, there was in the first half of the year 1839, 1 criminal to 609 souls ; and in the latter half, 1 to 633, of whom 21 were sentenced to death ; while in England and Wales, 56 persons were condemned to death : in 1840, 20,622 were found guilty in this presidency, of whom 31 were condemned to death, and 69 to transportation ; in England and Wales 27,187 were sentenced, of whom 77 were punished with death, and 238 to transportation.

‘In the presidency of Bombay, which contains 6,300,000 inhabitants, in two years and a half, from the 1st of January, 1838, to the 1st of July, 1840, 15 on an average were annually sentenced to death, 45 to transportation, and 7 to imprisonment for life. The total amount of all crimes and misdemeanours, including those under cognisance of the police, was 91,999 in the space of four years in this presidency, making nearly 23,000 in a year, or one criminal to every 273 souls’—*ib.* pp. 164, 165.

The extracts we have given will sufficiently acquaint our readers with the style of Captain Von Orlich's volumes, and the character of their contents. Though primarily designed for his own countrymen, they cannot fail to interest the English reader, whom they will amply repay for the labour of an attentive perusal. For a lively and graphic sketch of Indian life, a picturesque description of the persons, customs, and manners of its princes and rulers, together with a truthful delineation of the style of intercourse between them and their British conquerors, they possess merits which have been rarely surpassed. The work, moreover, abounds in wood-cuts illustrative of the customs and habits of the people.

Art. III.—*Hans Sachs, ernstliche Trauerspiele, liebliche Schauspiele, seltsame Fastnachtspiele, kurzweilige Gespräch, sehaliche Klagreden, sonderbarliche Fabeln, sammt andern lücherlichen Schwänken und Posen, bearbeitet und herausgegeben von J. G. Büsching.* (Hans Sachs's serious Tragedies, delightful Dramas, wonderful Shrove-tide Farces, merry Discourses, pathetic funeral Orations, wonderful Fables, together with other amusing Tales and Farces. Carefully revised and edited by J. G. Büsching.) Three vols 8vo. Nürnberg.

SATIRE is one of the departments of literature, in which the Germans have successfully distinguished themselves, and in which, no doubt, they would have become more perfect were it not that their political constitution offers the greatest obstacles to their attaining complete mastery over this branch of 'Belles Lettres.' Owing to this circumstance, there is a certain air of embarrassment and an excess of caution in some of the German satirical writings, which not unfrequently almost borders on servility, so as to cause to the reader a rather painful sensation. This cautious and embarrassed tone, this display of an evidently fettered mind, is the immediate result of the iron sway which is exercised over the press, and public opinion in general, by the many rulers of Germany.

What hurts the public spirit in Germany most,—what, in fact, contributes to weaken, if not to destroy its powers and energies, and creates that unnatural apathy, phlegm, and indifference so often perceptible in the German character, is, that remnant of popish and inquisitorial invention, the *censorship of the press*. The humiliation of submitting one's literary productions to the scrutiny of censors, who not seldom treat works of the deepest thought and inquiry as though they were the exercises of mere schoolboys, submitted for the inspection of their preceptors, is destructive and revolting in the extreme. How often are the terms 'admittatur,' 'toleratur,' and 'prohibetur,' misapplied?—The first permits the book to be read by all classes, the second permits it to be read by the learned only, and the third prohibits altogether its being published. How often have these terms deprived Germany, nay, the world, of works which would have proved an honour to the country that gave them birth, and might have been useful to mankind? Thoughts of a straight-forward and uncompromising character, which would prove the destruction of prejudices and abuses, and shine like lightning in the dark night of universal ignorance, appear to the censors unusual, yea, dangerous. They, therefore, strike them out, because it is the *safest thing they can do*, since they are answerable for every article which appears in print. Of course, it is need-

less to state, that no respectable man, or that no author of any dignity and honour (it matters very little whether a Menzel and others make an exception to this rule) would sell himself to so degrading a purpose, and that the whole band of censors, generally speaking, is composed of men who either cannot or will not pursue a more honourable line of life, or at all events of such as have made common cause with the government whose creatures they are, by whom they are well paid, and through whom likewise they expect to be raised to some more honourable public office.

How long all this nuisance may last, and what course the German government will have to pursue in the end, cannot be pointed out with any degree of certainty. But judging from appearances and from the changes that have lately begun to take place in Germany, in favour of mental freedom, we are inclined to think that this censorship is decidedly on the decline. The noble examples set by the liberal governments of Prussia, Württemberg, Saxony, Baden-Baden, and other places, with regard to the freedom of the press, cannot fail to produce a favourable influence upon the other German powers. In speaking thus, we allude chiefly to Protestant Germany. Austria, justly termed the European China, Bavaria, and other Roman catholic parts of Germany, are not yet ripe for the blessing; so at least their ministers, both temporal and spiritual, say. But when will Roman catholic countries, generally speaking, be ripe for the emancipation of the mind? There is but one answer, viz., the moment they cease to be the slaves of Rome and of her priesthood, but not until then.

We have thus far designedly digressed, in order to point out the disadvantages under which German writings in general, and those of a satirical nature in particular, have been and still are produced. We now proceed to the details of the subject in question. But in so doing, we shall in the first place briefly allude to the earliest German satirical authors, and give such specimens as occasion may require to show their excellencies and beauty: and in the next place we shall confine ourselves chiefly to the more recent writers, and among them to such only as have gained a universal celebrity, and whose works have become the fashion of the day. Wherever we can do it with propriety, we shall point out the chief causes that gave rise to productions of particular eminence and merit.

The ancient Germans, besides their usual war songs and other poems, such as songs of praise, &c., which were generally composed in honour of their heroes, possessed satirical poems, in which they attacked all those whom they regarded as

destitute of courage and honesty. These satirical productions were termed 'Gesanglichter' and 'Mondlieder,' *i. e.*, moon-songs, a term derived probably from the season of the day at which they were sung or recited. The most ancient German satires of any eminence, however, are those which emanated from the 'Minnesängers,' or love-singers, and the 'Meistersängers,' or master-singers, who followed the former at a much later period, and who were not dissimilar to them.

It was customary in former days for the German emperors, like other powerful princes and barons, to keep in their retinue bards or minstrels, men whose duty it was to perform, in the presence of valiant knights and fair dames, either on the cithern or the harp, and to sing, or rather recite, their so-called 'Minnesang,' *i. e.* love songs. These bards were distinguished as men of genius and learning, and constituted a corporation of poets, forming a kind of German Troubadours, known in German history as the 'Zunft der Minnesänger.' They were the first, who, under the Suabian emperors, especially Conrad III. (1138), of the house of Hohenstauffen, besides in lyric poetry, made also an excellent and highly successful attempt in satirical composition, and who even at so early a period poignantly though laughingly attacked the pope and the clergy. The most distinguished among them were,—Hartmann von der Aue, Walter von der Vogelweide, Conrad von Würzburg, Wolfram von Eschenbach, Heinrich von Ofterdingen, Meister Heinrich Frauenlob, &c. To this period, among other excellent lyrical and ironical compositions, belongs 'Salomon und Markolf,' which is a kind of novel, and is full of beauty, genius, and caustic wit.

Among the satirical writers who followed these 'Minnesängers,' was a native of Würzburg, Master Hugo von Trimberg, whose chief production is the 'Renner,' *i. e.* the Runner, a work in which he handles rather roughly both clergy and laymen. Another equally powerful satirist belonging to the same period was Hammerlin, a native of Zürich, who it seems felt a particular calling to chastise the corrupted monks of that period, by exposing their vicious habits in a severe and spirited manner. But when he himself had unfortunately some time after fallen into the hands of the holy fathers of a Franciscan monastery at Lüzern, they in their turn scourged the unfortunate culprit, who, in all probability, expired under the lashes inflicted on him in their vaults in the year 1448.

Germany, generally speaking, during the middle ages, possessed a great number of excellent satirical writers, almost all of whom at a later period have been neglected, or been

totally forgotten. The priesthood, with its immorality, pharisaic hypocrisy, pride, and ignorance, as also the courts, courtiers, pedants, and women, afforded plenty of scope for the caustic wit of many superior and enlightened minds. The language of these writers, it is true, is not unfrequently uncouth, nay, even rude; but this fault, which was peculiar to the age in which they lived, was owing to the liberty then enjoyed. Freedom and rudeness, have been at all times, cousins-german, only with this difference, that obscenity in former times was considered as wit by the generality of people, whereas, in more modern times, it is characteristic of the lowest and least cultivated classes of society. In the days we are speaking of, emperors and princes, nay, even prelates and the heads of churches, did not consider it beneath their dignity to make tom-fools of themselves, and to salute or address each other in terms at once the most foolish and gross. This became still worse previous to and about the time of the Reformation, when not only slothful and immoral characters, especially the priests, were unmercifully scourged by means of the coarsest, yet biting lampoons; but when the pope himself, and the 'Tiara,' became the butt of every kind of wit. What emperors, kings, and popes were unable to do, viz., to abolish the most atrocious and flagrant vices of a monkish rabble, because the whole nation—poor misguided victims—clung to it: all this was achieved by laughing satires. Hence Leo X., who was well aware of their effects, referring to Erasmus, feelingly said:—'*Erasmus nobis plus nocuit jocando, quam Lutherus stomachando.*' But the best of the joke was, that the stupid and ignorant monks believed for a long time the '*Epistolæ clarorum virorum*,' and many other admirable satires, to have been written in their favour, and even purchased scores of copies in order to present them to their superiors.

Of all such writings produced during the middle ages, the highest rank is due to '*Rynke de Voss*,' i. e. Reynard the Fox, which is justly considered the *chef d'œuvre* of ancient German political satires. Having recently devoted considerable space to an English version of this remarkable production, we shall not dwell upon it here as we should otherwise have certainly done. We may, however, observe, that there is a most excellent and meritorious continuation of this poem, written by Renner, under the assumed name of Sparre. This continuation is entitled '*Hennynk de Han*,' i. e. Hennynk the Cock, and is well worthy of a careful perusal.

Another humorous satire, or satirical novel of great repute, belonging to this period, is '*Till (or Tyl) Eulenspiegel*,' or '*Tyell Howleglass's Merry Jestes*,' (as the ancient English translation

of it is entitled). This book so universally admired—though, now and then, it is perhaps a little too free—is less the result of serious reflection and observation, than of a powerful mind and a natural flow of spirits; and contains an inexhaustible fund of humour, fun, and somewhat untutored wit, which, however, very frequently assumes the air of genuine and sparkling facetiousness. The real value of this work becomes enhanced the more, inasmuch as every rank and profession in real life is represented, with wonderful truthfulness and precision; each character, being described with rustic simplicity and great spirit. The following specimen, headed, ‘HOW HOWLEGLASS TOOK UPON HIMSELF THE BUSINESS OF A SPECTACLE MAKER,’ borrowed from Mr. Roscoe’s work, entitled, ‘German Novelists, Tales, &c.,’ will show that we have not given the author greater credit than his production merits.

‘It happened that the electors were one day at variance in their choice of an Emperor of Rome, and the Count of Supplemberg was finally elected. But there were others who wished to elect themselves by force of arms; and it was requisite for the newly chosen potentate to station himself, during three weeks, before the town of Frankfort, waiting the attack of any who chose to encounter him. Owing to this, a vast concourse of people had assembled; hearing of which, Howleglass said:—‘There will be a grand assemblage of lords and great people, who will surely give me something; were it only a silver medal, and most certainly I will go.’ So when he arrived near Frankfort, he there found the Bishop of Treves, who observing him so oddly habited, inquired who he might be?

‘Howleglass replied, ‘Sir, I am a maker of spectacles; I am coming now from Brabant, but I can no where find any custom; our trade is become worth nothing.’ ‘I should think, on the contrary,’ said the bishop, ‘that your business ought to go on daily improving; for, truly men grow more weak-sighted every day. Therefore they ought to apply to you for spectacles.’ Howleglass replied, ‘My much honoured lord, you say very true; but one thing hurts our trade, which I would mention, were I not afraid of offending you.’ The bishop replied, ‘Say it boldly, man, and fear nothing; we are pretty well accustomed to hear such men as you.’ Then Howleglass said, ‘My reverend lord, what most hurts our trade is the apprehension that in future it will be good for nothing. And for this reason, that we observe you and other great lords, along with popes, cardinals, bishops, emperors, kings, dukes, justices, and governors of all lands—all of whom God amend—have got a trick of looking through their fingers (instead of spectacles), and hiding their eyes from the sight of justice, except she come arrayed in gold and precious stuff.

‘Formerly great men used to study the laws, in order to learn to whom to administer justice and do right. At that period they wore spectacles, and our business flourished. Priests, too, studied more

than now, and spectacles indeed were in great request. At present they read their lessons by heart; and never open a book for weeks together. This fault is so frequent throughout the country, that even the peasants themselves study through their fingers.' Now the bishop could read this text without any glass; so he said to Howleglass, 'Follow me to Frankfort; I will give you my arms and livery;' and Howleglass remained with him until the emperor was inaugurated, and afterwards returned into the land of Saxony.'

Not less amusing and as great a favourite, is the 'Narrenschiff,' i.e. The Ship of fools, a satire, written in rhyme, which has been translated into many foreign languages. It is the composition of Brandt (1453—1520), formerly a professor of law in the university of Strasburg, and also town-clerk of that city. This Ship of Fools, on which Lectures were delivered by the greatest men of those days, is certainly a splendid production, and one which would have done honour to any age and country. The celebrated Geiler (1445—1510), a 'Pietist' preacher, did not disdain to deliver sermons on themes taken from it. Every sermon bore the inscription, 'Stultorum numerus est infinitus,' and, in his views, he went farther than even Brandt himself, who enumerates one hundred and thirteen kinds of fools only, at the head of whom he places himself as one of the class he designates the 'Büchernarren,' or, book-fools. Brandt well knew that a mirror of fools would safely and more easily bring every individual of that peculiar class to a better self-knowledge, to an infallible 'Nosce te ipsum,' especially by showing to him in a true light the class, of which he constitutes a member. This, the pious Geiler, seems to have considered as being true, and as being well worthy of an experiment. To it, therefore, we are indebted for a collection of excellent sermons, known under the title of 'Das Schiff des Heils,' or, the ship of salvation. These discourses are distinguished for a sincere, though perhaps *mystic* piety and learning, and discover a vein of excellent and brilliant humour.

The best, and most correct, but scarce edition of Brandt's 'Narrenschiff,' is that of 1494; all the modern editions are less free from errors.

The noble-minded Hutten, a man full of zeal for art and science, and one of the greatest supporters of the Reformation, was another satirical writer of eminence. A sojourn at Rome, had produced upon his mind an effect, similar to that which it had upon Luther. To it we owe his 'Vatiscus' and 'Pasquillus exul,' both of which were directed against Rome. Among his other satires deserve to be mentioned 'Aula,' 'Febris,' 'Inspicientes,' 'Fortuna,' and 'Triumphus Capnionis,' some of which either preceded or succeeded those already mentioned. Frösch-

lein, or Frischlin, is another satirical writer of this period. The game this clever author was particularly fond of hawking at, were either the *sacrosancti*, or the landed nobility. Against the former he wrote his 'Facetiæ,' a work full of *vis comica*, although its tone is rather unchaste, and against the latter he produced the satire entitled, 'Vita Rustica,' a work which contains many highly witty passages. 'Pharma,' 'Priscianus Vapulans,' and similar other productions, are written more in the form of satirical comedies, and are still favourites with the reading world of Germany. Bebel, an admirable Latin scholar, and superior poet, besides many other satires, wrote his famous 'Triumphus Veneris,' a poem, which is divided into six Cantos, and in which the author collects under the standard of Venus, all ranks and classes of society, and excepts neither popes, monks, nor even nuns. This *exposé*, like all the preceding, is crushing, and must have contributed very much to eradicate the then existing social evils. 'The Narrenbeschwörung, Schelmenzunft und Gauchmette,' written by Murner, a Franciscan monk, of Strasburg, was another great favourite of the age we are speaking of. Folly, roguery, vices of all sorts and conditions, are the butt of the clever author's wit. This production, well illustrated by Waldau, was published in Halle, 1788. 'Der Froschmäusler,' by George Rollenhagen, who lived between the years of 1542 and 1609, as also 'Der Spiegel des Regiments,' by Morsheim, and 'Der Barfüßermönche Eulenspiegel und Alkoran,' by Alberi, either satirize in allegories, or in plain and unsophisticated language. Politics, the abuses of religion, philosophy, and manners, are the chief matter of these satires, which afford much more amusement and instruction than many similar recent productions. It seems, indeed, as though the wits of those days by far surpassed our modern ones in portraying and scourging human vices and follies. Hence the immense success which attended their creations.

One of the chief ancient German satirical writers, is Johann Fischart, sometimes called Menzer, (1550—1610). This author, who is not unjustly styled, the German Aristophanes, sometimes discovers an almost boundless vein of humour, and although his language is now and then a little too harsh, which is no doubt owing to the too great liberties he takes in forming the drollest, most extravagant, and lengthened compounds; moreover, though his puns very often show too great a freedom, which has been justly considered as one of the sins of his day, yet his humorous ideas, his pointed wit and pungent satire, observable more or less in all his works, make up for these defects. His 'Gargantua,' written in imi-

tation of the style and satirical humour, of Rabelais, is an admirable production, and well deserves to be read. The 'Bienenkorb des heiligen Reich,' a severe attack upon the Romish church and the priesthood, is masterly throughout; and so are likewise his 'Aller Praktik Grossmutter,' 'Podagrammisch Trostbüchlein, and the 'Philosophisches Ehzuchtbüchlein.' Inferior and less happy are the 'Glückhaftes Schiff von Zürich,' in rhymes, and the 'Flohhetze,' i.e., the flea-hunt. The immortal humourist, Jean Paul Richter, was one of Fischart's most enthusiastic admirers.

Hans Sachs (Lautydorfer), the chief of the Meistersängers (1494—1576), another distinguished humorous writer of that period, though, by profession, a shoemaker, has left a rich store of amusing and excellent satirical poems. Carlyle, speaking of honest Hans, says: 'He is not without genius, and a shrewd irony; and, above all, the most gay, childlike, yet devout and solid character.' In another place, the same critic says: 'His best pun known to us,—and many are well worth perusing—is the 'Fastnachtsspiel' (Shrove-tide Farce) of the 'Narrenschneider,' where the doctor cures a bloated and lethargic patient by cutting out half-a-dozen fools from his interior!

There is hardly a department in the range of poetry, in which this ingenious shoemaker has not tried his skill, and in some, too, with signal success. His works, numerous and full of mirth and truth, consist of four hundred and twenty songs, twenty-eight comedies, many tragedies, one thousand seven hundred fables, seventy-three allegories, besides a host of sacred hymns. Those of our readers who may be desirous to know something more about this universal genius, are referred to the work placed at the head of this article, as also to Mr. Carlyle's 'Miscellanies.' The celebrated Wieland speaks of him in terms the most endearing and affectionate. A contemporary of Luther, Hans Sachs was one of his greatest supporters, and most enthusiastic admirers.

Moscherosch, properly Kalbsdorf, or Philander von Sittewald (1600—1669)—thus he styles himself in his works—is the satirist we next have to deal with. This learned man has left a book, entitled 'Die Visionen' (the visions), which claims our admiration, inasmuch as it is a production of great intrinsic worth. True it is partly an imitation of the Spaniard Quevedo's work, which bears the same title; but whilst the latter contains seven visions only, the former has double that number. Besides, Moscherosch's whole style is so highly moral and luminous, his seven additional visions, and the paraphrases of the original passages, are so elegant and refined, that the whole may justly be considered as an original produc-

tion. Every one of the fourteen visions is devoted to some particular theme or subject, such as hypocrisy, vanity, &c., of which those describing the 'Hofschule,' i.e., court-school, and the 'Soldatenleben,' or, the soldier's life, are by far the best. The whole work, even at the present moment, will be found to be superior to hundreds of modern novels, and similar other 'superfine' creations. This admirable writer was the greatest favourite of his day.—With the authors we next introduce to our readers, a new era begins in the history of German satirical literature. Here, therefore, let us rest awhile, and inquire into the causes that gave rise to the writings published during this period, and those following it.

If we closely examine the character of each of the satires then produced, we shall find that almost all of them are as unlike as can be to similar productions of other countries. One class, for instance, satirizes the silly, yet dangerous innovations, which at one time took place in the church and in the system of German theology, and thus endeavours to counteract their pernicious influences. Another class keeps a watchful eye on the corrupted system of philosophy, which about the same time was forced upon the Germans, and which, in consequence, threatened to destroy every atom of native philosophical inquiry, and moral principle. A third class deals with the abuses practised by a contemptible and imperfect system of policy, which at one period rendered the Germans a nation of slaves. A fourth class deals with the faults and weaknesses of the Germans in general; so that all the classes, too numerous to be mentioned in this place, have separate, and weighty subjects, on which they enlarge with admirable skill and point. We shall endeavour to point out, in as brief a manner as possible, the occasions that gave rise to them. What Luther aimed at, when he achieved the Reformation, was to break, by means of the power of a reasonable faith, the chains of an ignominious superstition, and a contemptible system of falsehood. Reason, so emancipated, was to counteract the machinations of Satan, and destroy the effects of false legends, and of similar other inventions of popery. But scarcely had men begun to shake off that degrading yoke, under which they had been labouring for centuries; and to indemnify themselves by the study of holy writ and of the ancients, for their long deprivation of mental food, when the spirit of destruction made its appearance in Germany, and raged with a fury, unparalleled in history, during a space of thirty years, known as the thirty years' war.

Throughout this period, Germany presented a sad, heart-rending aspect. Devastated and pillaged, with hardly a trace left of her former greatness and wealth, it resembled a country

newly conquered by a horde of savages. It had the appearance of a battle-field, inhabited by foreign invaders, who were amusing themselves at the expense of the lawful possessors of the land. With this foreign power were introduced foreign customs. The still existing remnant of the former inhabitants, now powerless and crushed, imitated the example of their oppressors. 'They dressed like Belgians,' says a celebrated German historian, 'ate like Swedes, boasted like Spaniards, swore like Hungarians and Turks, and intermixed in their language,—which was looked upon as the most fashionable and elegant,—as many outlandish scraps as possible.' Under these circumstances, the Germans, neglected, and open to every foreign influence, gave way to the overpowering spirit of French fashion, manners, and language, which at this time were introduced at the courts, and among the nobles, and thenceforth took possession of the whole of Germany. But not only the manners, even the language and the literature of the Germans were, partly beneficially, and partly banefully, influenced by it. Its beneficial influence extended so far, as to improve the then barbarous taste of the Germans, and to promote the study of the ancients, which at that time was zealously pursued in all the schools and institutions of France. But its effects proved pernicious, inasmuch as it led the Germans to imitate French models, without any discrimination whatever; so that the German national literature, especially poetry, philosophy, &c., became wholly *Frenchified*. In the study of the ancients, the Germans became almost entirely imitators of Dacier, Batteux, and other Frenchmen, without themselves possessing a thorough acquaintance with the writers, whom they now made their study. French frivolities, too, were introduced into Germany, and these indeed were at one time so great, and had so firm a hold on its inhabitants, that it was thought proper, and anything but unbecoming, to be devoid of all shame and sense of decorum.

Multitudes of works, without discrimination, were now translated from the French, and whilst native literature was as yet either in a state of infancy, or, if more advanced, in that of languishment and neglect, French literary productions unobstructedly took possession of the minds and sentiments of the people, and thus instilled their pernicious and immoral principles. This unnatural state of things ultimately reached a climax, when a salutary reaction commenced. Nor was it long ere this took place. With Gottsched, who was the last but staunchest advocate of everything French, all this had obtained its highest supremacy in Germany; but with him, likewise, or at least through his agency, began its downfall. It would lead us too far were we

to enter upon the minutiae of this event. For our purpose it may be sufficient to know that the first who dealt the death-blow to it, were the illustrious Lessing, (of whom anon) Brokes, Haller, and many others. An examination of the means used by them and other German patriots, for the eradication of the existing evils, will enable us to judge, and dispose us to admire, the skill and talents of those who were engaged in the praiseworthy enterprise.

A declared enemy of the prevailing hypocrisy, pedantry, and priestcraft, was the lawyer Thomasius, (1655—1728). A lucid intellect, an easy natural grace, and deep learning, as also correctness of style, were peculiar to this great man. In his hand irony and biting jest, were among the most powerful instruments for the eradication of immoralities. But he frequently exchanges irony for gravity, whenever the subject under consideration happens to be of an exalted or otherwise grave nature. A stranger to cringing and servility, he represents human follies just as they are, without compromise, and in a tone of admirable and virtuous indignation. On these occasions he often displays uncommon powers of eloquence. One of the many fine features of this great man, is, his dealing only with the faults and imperfections of individuals, and his utter disinclination to hurt their feelings and private character. Some of his simple fugitive puns have done more good to the cause of morality, than many would-be fine orations. But in his earlier days, Thomasius was also of immense service to the German literature. It was he, who, by his lecturing in the German language, when professor of law at Halle, set the first example to the teachers of all the German universities. The Latin tongue, which until then had been the language of the universities, was now abandoned, and the German was adopted in its place. He moreover, by the wit frequently instilled into his lectures, caused no slight good among his audience, which, besides lawyers, was generally composed of men of all ranks and classes of society, and of almost every profession, except the theologians, with whom he was on bad terms, for the reasons above specified.

Thomasius's satires, in more than one respect, may be justly compared to French salad, which generally contains three times more oil, and three times less vinegar, than that of all other nations. This author seems to have known that cupping, if used with skill and adroitness, does, in many instances at least, as much good as venesection. It is at all events, much more safe, a fact which was apparently well known to Horace, who very properly says,—

. *Ridiculum acie*
Fortius et melius magnas plerumque secat res.

The style and language of Thomasius, as also his philosophy and mode of arguing, are throughout as brilliant as they are convincing and conclusive. Similar to this author, and strenuously opposed to the immoralities of his age, was Ulrich Mejerle, better known as father Abraham a Sancta Clara (1647—1709), who was a Suabian by birth, and a preacher at the Austrian court. One of the cleverest humorists of his day, this remarkable and amiable man, poured forth his moral instructions in a manner quite his own. With him exquisite metaphors, antitheses and sentences, were in as great abundance, as similes and little tales, all of which had their source in a pure and enlightened mind, and in a benevolent heart. His language, though often profuse of poetry, and luxuriating in facetious and elegant forms of oratory, never degenerates into bombast or into a mere flow of empty sounds. His corrections of errors, his advice, his description of a righteous life, as also of its future reward, are as full of charity and grace, as they are good-humoured, witty, and well-meant. Father Abraham has scarcely written a line, which does not contain instruction of an attractive and entertaining character. Few, indeed, are the passages in his numerous works, which do not abound in food and recreation for the human understanding. His tone throughout is manly, bold, and pointed. The works of this famous preacher are collected as sermons, some of which have the strangest titles, as, for example, ‘Well filled Wine-cellar, wherein many a thirsty soul may be refreshed with a spiritual blessing of God;’ or, ‘Spiritual Warehouse, containing apostolic commodities,’ or, finally, ‘Gack! Gack, or the Journey of Man.’ The famous character of the Capuchin monk, in the eighth scene of Schiller’s admirable ‘Wallenstein’s Camp,’ is said to be a faithful portrait of this extraordinary man. The admonition to Wallenstein’s soldiers contained therein, is considered one of the finest imitations of monkish eloquence.

Among the satirical writers who were prominent in purging German literature from foreign literary rubbish, and who powerfully opposed the various political evils, at that time existing in Germany, was Liscow (1701—1760), who in consequence of his labours, must be looked upon as one of the benefactors of his country. A native of Wittenburg in Mecklenburg, Liscow, very early devoted himself to the study of philosophy and to the composition of satires. Settled at Dresden, he began to produce his most successful works; among others, his ‘Geforne

Fensterscheibe,' 'Die Vortrefflichkeit elender Schribenten,' and the 'Satire on amateurs of natural curiosities.'

With an unquenchable thirst for knowledge, Liscow combined a strong love, we might say passion, for justice and liberty, owing to which, many abuses and political frauds which his countrymen, until then, had been subject to, were wholly eradicated. Although he knew full well that the time had not arrived, when national prejudices, or the follies and vices of the great could be attacked with impunity, yet this noble-minded man did not confine himself to the foibles of the uneducated and lower classes of society, but concentrated his powers in those matchless productions, which were directed exclusively against the oppressors of the people, and the would-be learned class. In consequence of this, Liscow became what is emphatically termed 'a friend of the people,' whose rights and liberties he thenceforth stoutly defended, and an enemy to oppression and the abuse of power. He had but one aim, viz., to disarm all those who were in any way ill disposed towards his countrymen, or who proved themselves their mental and bodily oppressors. Hence his satires could not but prove destructive to vice, and advantageous to the cause of virtue, although he himself, as will be seen presently, perished in the attempt. Herr Teufelsdröckh somewhere admirably says, that 'a thinking man is the worst enemy the prince of darkness can have; every time such an one announces himself, there runs a shudder through the nether empire, and new emissaries are trained, with new tactics, to, if possible, entrap him, and hoodwink and handcuff him.' We need say little more, but that Liscow, the plain-dealing, honest Liscow, the friend and advocate of the people, died in prison in a state of abject misery. *Requiescat in pace!* The famous Kant, who had a fine taste for true wit and humour, besides his love for Erasmus of Rotterdam, was very partial to Liscow's satirical writings. And Johann von Müller, the great historian, in one of his letters to the poet Gleim, says; 'that no German has been more humourous than Liscow, and that he is absolutely an original.'

A leaning towards talkativeness excepted, we are scarcely acquainted with any satirical writer who combines so much keen wit, philosophical genius, grace, natural flow of spirits, sarcastic humour, solid learning, and deep knowledge of the human mind, as this delightful and patriotic author. It seems as though the heart lay open before him, and as though he could read and interpret every feeling it contained. In his 'Vortrefflichkeit und Nothwendigkeit elender Schribenten,' he much resembles our own Smollet. In a style at once refined and excellent, he ridicules the pedantic enthusiasm of some

German schoolmen of that time, who in theory were the greatest world-improvers, whilst in practice they were completely out of their element, and as it were at sea. He, moreover, now and then depicts in the most lively colours the German caricature of French scepticism, and gives a lively and valuable picture of the customs of his day. Free from corruption, his works are dictated by a sincere love for truth, and, in consequence, spare neither the great nor the low-born. His description is highly finished, and his tone is such as leaves nothing to be desired; his irony, especially when directed against priesthood, is cutting in the extreme. Hence, were his writings universally decried by churchmen, and in some places even prohibited.

The counterpart to this admirable writer was Rabener (1714—1771). Endowed with powerful satirical talents, possessing, moreover, a goodly share of sound learning, elegant taste, and acuteness of mind, this, otherwise amiable man, had neither the inclination nor the courage of Liscow, to improve the state of his countrymen. Confining himself too much to one class, he never could obtain a comprehensive and thorough view of actual life. Overlooking the faults of the great and high-born, he saw only those of the low, the mean, the ignorant; and, instead of applying the lash to both parties alike, he chastised those who needed no chastisement, but who only were in want of a kind and considerate friend and instructor. Men without any feeling of shame or remorse, full of presumption and arrogance, of vain-glory, and an unconquerable hatred towards the rights of the people, were beyond his reach. But woe to the humbler classes! Woe to the old maiden in the hoop petticoat, and high-heeled shoes! Woe to the poor country parson, the silly country squire, the proud simpleton, the poor schoolmaster, the poetaster, the coxcomb—*et hoc genus omne*! These were the people he liked to deal with; he was sure to make them the sport of his untimely wit. When reproaches met his ear, as being too one-sided and partial, Rabener had but one answer, viz., ‘that it were a boldness to censure the faults of our superiors. The province of satire,’ he would continue, ‘is to chastise follies, and that, too, without malice; taking care, however, never to give vent to our wit or humour, whenever objects sanctified by long custom and ancient usages are concerned.’ Acting on this principle, he, unlike Liscow, rarely dreamt of attacking or upbraiding the existing vicious and immoral German aristocracy, or the innumerable titled lordlings, who, reposing in perfumed saloons, within damask curtains, squandered the hard-earned means of a half-starved and wretched people. With Rabener, the decoration of any lordling had a

meaning, it had a language; but no such a thing had the tear dimmed eye of misery and wretchedness. And here, indeed, we find a most striking difference between the one-sided aristocratic Rabener, and the democratic Liscow, Börne, Heine, and many others. In the eyes of the latter, the rogue is a rogue,—no matter whether aristocratic or democratic,—and is treated as such. With them, the decoration on the breast of an individual, to speak with our favourite Herr Teufelsdröckh, is ‘little less and little more than the broad button of Birmingham spelter in a clown’s smock.’

To all these circumstances, as well as to the contemptible political system of that day, it is perhaps owing that Rabener’s satirical humour could but partly display its powers;—at least publicly, since we have good reasons to believe, that his MSS., destroyed at the bombardment of Dresden, during the seven years’ war, contained matter of a far different character from that which he as yet had published, but which, for reasons best known to himself, he withheld from the public. In as far as satirical form is concerned, it is unfolded to great advantage by this author. The sarcasm of Rabener, as must appear evident from this brief sketch, is not so much calculated to attack the human race, or even all his countrymen, as to deal with a certain portion only. The foibles and vices peculiar to this portion, he represents in all their nakedness and innate ugliness. He portrays with great powers of truth, and though he is frequently carried away by his benevolence, he is never blinded by it. His satires, if our simile be permitted, are cool yet powerful applications to the diseased parts of men. He very forcibly impresses on our minds the necessity and value of self-knowledge. Among his innumerable works, we only mention his ‘*Schwiftsche Testament*,’ ‘*Klim’s Todtenliste*,’ and his ‘*Satirical Letters*,’ all of which being distinguished for breadth and spirit, will afford much amusing and excellent reading.

Zachariae (1726—1777) claims our attention and respect, not only as a powerful satirical writer, but also as one of the reformers of the former insipid German literature. There were at that time few men, who could exercise a healthy influence over the German mind, which was fast sinking beneath the contemptible instructions received from foreign men of learning. Zachariae happily succeeded, by means of his ironical poems, in discrediting the degenerate tone which was then prevalent. From the graphic description given in them, we are astonished at the dullness, coarseness, mean ignorance and pedantry which prevailed; and cannot help pitying those who must have felt the want of good and trustful leaders to direct them out of the

rugged path into which they had strayed. Hence, describing places where the coarsest ton was the fashion; and societies where gossipings, intrigues and scandal making were the most vital elements, it is not at all surprising that his writings should partake of a certain air of vulgarity. And if, moreover, we now and then discover traces of bombast and a silly stiffness, we must bear in mind that all these, combined with a corrupted French etiquette, were the sins of the day.

Zachariae's 'Schnupftuch,' 'Renomist,' 'Murrner in der Hölle,' and 'Phaeton,' written in the style of Pope's 'Rape of the Lock,' are distinguished for genuine humour, drollery and truth; and unlike many similar productions, are not so much calculated to excite risibility as to improve morals and to warn against error. Zachariae not unfrequently assumes a rather grave tone, and not seldom exaggerates in his delineations of character, in order (so it seems) to make his picture the more striking and interesting. Exaggeration, indeed, is one of the prerogatives of the satirical writer, since, without the aid of this powerful microscope, much would remain hidden from the view of short-sighted mortals. The interest we feel in whatever this author describes is enhanced by his dry but crushing sarcasm.

'There was one man among the reformers of Germany,' says the historian Schlosser, 'and, next to Goethe, unquestionably the greatest among them, who, although he did not, like Goethe, properly speaking, write for the great public, yet was eager to devote himself to the religious improvement of the people. This man could be no other than Gotthold Ephraim Lessing.' And Mr. Carlyle, speaking of the talents and powerful mind of this illustrious German, says: 'Among all the writers, of the eighteenth century, we will not except even Diderot and David Hume, there is not one of a more compact and rigid intellectual structure, who more distinctly knows what he is aiming at, or with more gracefulness, vigour, and precision sets it forth to his readers. He thinks with the clearness and piercing sharpness of the most expert logician; but a genial fire pervades him, a wit, a heartiness, a general richness and fineness of nature, to which most logicians are strangers.' A little further on, he continues: 'We confess we should be entirely at a loss for the literary creed of that man who reckoned Lessing other than a thoroughly cultivated writer; nay, entitled to rank, in this particular, with the most distinguished writers of any existing nation. As a poet, as a critic, philosopher, or controversialist, his style will be found precisely such as we of England are accustomed to admire most; brief, nervous, vivid; yet quiet without glitter or antithesis; idiomatic, pure without purism, transparent, yet full of character and reflex hues of meaning.' Horn,

a German author of celebrity, speaking of Lessing's genius and style, observes: 'Every sentence is like a phalanx; not a word wrong placed, not a word that could be spared; and it forms itself so calmly and lightly, and stands in its completeness, so gay, yet so impregnable!' It is, indeed, true that the noble-minded and philosophical Lessing (1729—1781) was one of the greatest intellects of his age. That man must have had a powerful mind, indeed, who by himself could oppose and triumphantly defeat a whole body of the most erudite polemical theologians Germany at that time boasted of! Lessing had as profound and exact a knowledge of ancient as of modern literature, and was as acquainted with the Fathers as with the heathen and modern philosophers. In fact, he was acquainted with the branches of almost every art and science!

The greatest antagonist of every thing French, he dealt the death blow to the prevailing taste in favour of all that belonged to France, especially in matters regarding literature. He ruthlessly attacked everything bordering in any way on the unnatural or on mannerism. Clearing the German ground of its foreign poisonous weeds, and freeing it from its accumulated rubbish, he incessantly laboured to introduce the healthful spirit of the Greek, Roman, and English literature. Ancient customs and coarse habits soon gave way to a better system and improved state of learning. Lessing, indeed, was among the first, if not ~~the~~ first, who taught the Germans to think and write logically, nay, he himself set them an example in numberless admirable productions, in almost every department of human knowledge. This, however, is not the proper place to discuss so mighty a subject, to revise the character of this extraordinary man, who, as Menzel says, 'combined in himself the study and culture of all the schools of his age,' or to estimate the incalculable benefits conferred by him on his country. We may, sometime or other, recur to this interesting matter; at present we confine ourselves to a few remarks, respecting Lessing's style and language as a satirical writer.

With the exception of some controversial articles in prose, written in a style of the highest eloquence and bitter irony, and directed against single individuals, he has chiefly—we might almost say, exclusively—confined himself to fables and epigrams. His fables, written in prose and poetry, as also his epigrams, were chiefly distinguished for power, purity of language and elegance, as well as for pointed wit, delicacy and nobleness of feeling, and were considered the finest and most perfect specimens of the kind existing. Every trifle from the pen of this master contains within itself the marks of true genius; and of the playfulness with which he gave birth to

all his most exquisite works. With him, every thing is in perfect keeping and harmony with decorum and good taste. The reader is never offended by expression or subject; on the contrary, he feels that the whole is the produce of a mind totally unacquainted with immorality and servility. Indeed, the first and last impulse of this author seems to be to act the part of a moral and free, or independent being. Hence that freedom which we discover in all his writings; hence the lovely garb or form of morality which every line wears, and which is truly refreshing to the heart and cultivated understanding; and hence, also, the wonderful and beneficial effect he produced upon the minds of all classes of readers. What Madame de Staël has said concerning Schiller, viz., that, '*Ses écrits sont lui*,' might with equal truth be applied to this inimitable writer.

The following is an extract from one of his 'Controversial satirical writings,' generally known under the title of the 'Eleven Anti-Götzes,' i.e., replies to attacks made upon him by a clergyman named Götze. Each of these replies bears the inscription, 'Anti-Götze,' and is distinguished from the rest by a number contained on the first page. The extract we give is from No. 5, and has been borrowed from Schlosser's History of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

'O happy time! when the clergy were all in all,—thought for us, and ate for us! How willingly would the chief pastor have brought you back again in triumph! How eagerly does he desire that all the rulers of Germany would unite with him in his salutary views! He preaches sweet and sour, sets heaven and hell before them! If they will not hear, they may feel! Wit and the language of the country are the dunghills in which the weeds of rebellion sprout up so readily and so quick. To-day a poet, to-morrow a regicide; Clement, Ravailac, were not formed in the confessionals, but upon Parnassus. I shall return, however, to common-places of the chief pastor upon another occasion; at present, if it is not clear enough already, I shall only make it perfectly clear, that Mr. pastor Götze does not grant what he appears to grant, and that these are the mere claws, which it provokes the tiger so much only to be able to strike into the wooden railing.'

These fugitive pieces against Götze, and a letter, written by the celebrated Lichtenberg are the most perfect specimens of satire and annihilating language the German literature possesses.

Art. IV.—*The Englishman's Hebrew and Chaldee Concordance of the Old Testament; being an attempt at a verbal connection between the Original and the English Translation. With Indexes and a List of the Proper Names and their Occurrences, &c.* Two volumes, imp. 8vo. pp. 1682 and 82. London: Longmans and Co. 1843.

WE are debtors to two parties in reference to this concordance: to the editors whose praiseworthy diligence was entitled to more prompt acknowledgement; to the public,—or, at least, that small portion of the public which takes a real and hearty interest in biblical studies,—whose advantage we should have better consulted, as we would have done had it been practicable, by an earlier notice. The present work is prepared in the same method with that of the Englishman's Greek Concordance, which was reviewed in a former volume of this Journal, and offers the same facilities and aids for the study of the Old Testament which that does for the study of the New. For persons who are acquainted with the Greek concordance, and especially those who are as familiar with it as Horace would have the Pisos be with the great masters of antiquity—*versate nocturna manu versate diurna*—this will be commendation and recommendation enough. For the sake of others, however, we must be a little more explicit; since they will naturally look for a detailed description of the work, and expect us to confirm our judgment of it by some illustrative instances. This, therefore, we proceed to do.

We shall first, then, attempt to give an idea of the contents and form of the work. These are described in the following extract from the introduction :—

' Part I. contains, in alphabetical succession, all the appellatives in the Hebrew and Chaldee Bible. Immediately after each Hebrew or Chaldee word follows the series of *passages* in which it occurs: with the quotations in the language of the authorized English translation, and in its order of books. *Italic* letters mark the word or words in English which correspond to the Hebrew or Chaldee word. The citations are sufficiently full, to enable any one moderately acquainted with the English Old Testament to recall the context.

' Part II. is an Index, showing, under each Hebrew and Chaldee word, the variations of the English translation.

' Part III. is an Index, to enable the English reader to turn any English word [which occurs in the authorized version] into that which corresponds with it in Hebrew.

' Then follow a few Indexes of inferior importance.'

These indexes, of inferior importance, are:—A list of the Hebrew and Chaldee proper names, together with their occurrences, (being the first complete list ever published in any con-

cordance); an index to the same; and, a table of the variations of the chapters and verses in the Hebrew and English bibles.

We attach to this description a few illustrative specimens, taken almost at random under each head. The first is from Part I. containing the appellatives with all their occurrences. We extract a short instance which shews the classification of the forms of verbs. The large asterisks are used merely to catch the eye.

“ רָרַח [*bah-rar'*]

* KAL. *Preterite.**

Eze. xx. 38. *And I will purge out from*

KAL. *Infinitive.*

Ecc. iii. 18. *that God might manifest them,*
(Margin of, *that they might clear God.*)

KAL. *Participle.*

Paul.

1 Ch. vii. 7. *choice* (and) mighty men of valour,

ix. 22. *chosen* to be porters in the gates

xvi. 41. the rest *that were chosen,*

Neh. v. 18. one ox (and) six *choice* sheep;

Job xxxiii. 3. my lips shall utter knowledge *clearly.*

Isa. xlix. 2. make me a *polished* shaft,

Zep. iii. 9. turn to the people a *pure* language,

* NIPHAL. *Imperative.**

Isa. lii. 11. *be ye clean,* that bear the vessels

NIPHAL. *Participle.*

2 Sa. xxii. 27. With *the pure* wilt thou shew thyself

Ps. xviii. 26 (27) With *the pure* thou wilt shew thyself

* PIEL. *Infinitive.**

Dan. xi. 35. to try them, *and to purge,*

* HIPHIL. *Infinitive.**

Jer. iv. 11. not to fan, nor *to cleanse,*

HIPHIL. *Imperative.*

Jer. li. 11. *Make bright* the arrows; (marg. *pure*)

* HITHPAEL. *Future.**

2 Sa. xxii. 27. *thou wilt show thyself pure :*

Ps. xviii. 26 (27). the pure *thou wilt shew thyself pure ;*

Dan. xii. 10. many *shall be purified.'*

It will be seen from the preceding extract, that the different existing species of every verb, in all their moods and tenses, are carefully distinguished. We may, perhaps, notice this again. The same important distinction also pervades the other parts of the work, as the succeeding extracts will shew. Our next brief extract (we are studious of brevity, but at the same time anxious to do justice to the very elaborate compilation before us) is from Part II.—the Hebrew and English Index. It presents in one view all the terms by which the verb רָרַח in all its extant species

and their respective modes, tenses, and participles is represented in our English version. For economy of space we have thrown into paragraphs what in the index itself is given in the clearer form of a list in downward succession.

בָּרַךְ - - - - - pa. 274.

Kal. blessed, to kneel, to kneel down, to salute, still.

Niphal. to be blessed.

Piel. abundantly, altogether, at all, to blaspheme, to bless, to congratulate, to curse, greatly, indeed, to praise, to be praised, to salute, to thank.*

Pual. to be blessed.

Hiphil. to make to kneel down.

Hithpael. to bless [one] self, to be blessed.'

Our next examples from the English and Hebrew Index will serve to show how many Hebrew terms are represented by a single English word. We select two specimens that we may exemplify it in reference both to nouns and verbs. The page numerals, which follow each Hebrew word, show where it is to found in the body of the concordance.

'to abhor. אָבַח Kal, 208. אָבַל Kal, 313. אָבַח Piel, 382. אָבַח Kal, 391. אָבַח Kal, 659. אָבַח Kal, 782. אָבַח Piel, 782. אָבַח Piel, 782. אָבַח Kal, 1104. אָבַח Piel, 1325. אָבַח Piel, 1333. אָבַח Piel, 1353. *Part III. p. 1459.*

Folly, אָבַח, 30. אָבַח, 609. אָבַח, 609. אָבַח, 787. אָבַח, 876. אָבַח, 876. אָבַח, 1207. אָבַח, 1337. אָבַח, 1335. *Part III. p. 1534.*

These, however, are but moderate specimens of the variety of the Hebrew and Chaldee terms by which our English vocables are represented. 'To be afraid' is represented by twenty-two different words; 'to appoint,' by twenty-four; 'to break,' by thirty-three; 'to bring,' by thirty-nine; 'to destroy,' by forty-nine; and so on. Of the nouns, too, 'branch' is represented by twenty different words; 'body,' by twelve; 'child,' by twelve; 'dwelling,' by eleven; 'fear,' by sixteen, &c. &c. It is not

* Not to obstruct or load the text of the article with remarks irrelevant to its immediate scope, we would observe here that the terms 'abundantly,' 'altogether,' 'at all,' 'greatly,' and 'indeed,' are words by which, in our English version, the force of the infinitive is expressed when another part of the verb, such as the future or imperative, is used with it. The closest intelligible rendering in all these cases would be that given in the authorized version of Gen. xxii. 17, 'Blessing I will bless thee, for Thou hast blessed altogether,' as noticed in the proper place in Part I. The occurrences of the two voices, 'to praise' and 'to be praised,' as renderings of one Hebrew species, is also explained in the proper place in Part I. by the gloss added to the passive rendering: daily shall he be praised,' of (lit. shall one bless him.)

† Misprinted אָבַח in Part III. through the accidental dropping of the נ, but correct in its place in the concordance.

necessary to give any specimens from the list of proper names and their occurrences. The latter are given by reference merely, without any portion of the context.

In representing the uses of this concordance, it will be reasonable to consider it from the same point of view from which its editors probably regarded both their object and their work. This leads us to speak first of its serviceableness to the mere English scholar, who may, notwithstanding his ignorance of Hebrew or Chaldee, desire to know to what extent the translation of the Old Testament in common use is a true reflection of the original. In admitting that it may render this service to some extent, we must not, however, be understood to imply that we consider it possible to put a person who has never studied Hebrew on any thing approaching the level of him who has. Such a one must always, whatever artificial aids he may possess, be satisfied with what others please to tell him respecting the correctness of particular renderings and the reasons for them. No insight which this concordance or any other help can enable him to take of the verbal correspondence of the original and translated texts, will necessarily qualify him to judge of the propriety of verbal derivations. To do this in difficult cases requires not only a knowledge of the respective vocables, with their primary and derived significations, but also of the laws of syntax; and still more must he possess that acumen, or rather, we should say, that practical judgment which successful linguistic studies and exercises supply. Still all cases are not difficult ones; and we consider that, in the volume now before us, something is done to enable the mere English reader to realize a much higher probability than he otherwise would, of the trustworthiness, or otherwise, of the authorized version in particular places.

How limited this service must necessarily be, however, to the mere English scholar, a single illustration will evince. We will suppose such a one to have heard in conversation, or to have read somewhere, perhaps in some so-called amended translation of the bible, that Job's wife did not urge Job to curse God, but to bless him, for that 'to bless' is the proper signification of בָּרַךְ, which never means, or can mean, any thing else—especially the direct contrary. We suppose this to have been said to, or read by, the mere English possessor of this concordance. He resolves to test the assertion, and turns—for we must suppose him to have mastered the Hebrew alphabet—to בָּרַךְ, which he has either been informed is the Hebrew word in question, or finds to be so from Part III. under the head 'to curse.' Turning to בָּרַךְ he discovers that, besides the signification which he has been told is the proper one, it is rendered 'salute' four times; 'kneel,' and 'kneel down,'

three times; 'make to kneel down,' once; 'thank,' once; 'congratulate,' once; 'praise,' twice; 'curse,' four times; 'blaspheme,' twice. He has now ascertained that the rendering 'curse,' adopted three times, is confirmed by two other passages, in which the same translators have been constrained to render blaspheme. The next thing he does, or can do, supposing him confined to this aid, is to examine the passages in the authorized version, to see if the context or evident scope of the writer throws any decisive light upon the import of any of them. By this process he ascertains that four of them, that is 1 Kings xxi. verses 10 and 13, the two places where קלל is rendered blaspheme, and Job i. verses 5 and 11, and ii. 5—the only places, besides Job ii. 9 (the one in question), where it is translated curse—absolutely require that whatever its ordinary or assumed proper meaning may be, it should be rendered in *malam partem*, as it is termed, that is, with a malevolent expression.

This reference to the concordance will then have been so far of use, as to show that the criticism on the authorized version was unsound. It may not absolutely decide the import of קלל in Job ii. 9, but it all but decides it; it shows, compared with Job i. 10, and ii. 5, that there is the highest probability in favour of the authorized rendering.

Still this is no more than any Hebrew lexicon would do which gave copious references. The mere English scholar, who had mastered the Hebrew alphabet, could assure himself as well by the references in the lexicon as those in the concordance, that קלל has a sinister import. As the concordance, therefore, would throw no light upon the genesis of such contradictory significations as 'bless' and 'curse' attaching to one word, as it could not account for the latter signification attaching to a word which is used three hundred and eight times, or thereabouts, in the sense of 'bless,' but would leave that fact an utter mystery to the mere English scholar, it is clear that the use of it, with regard to difficult or contested interpretations, is, to such a one, very limited. Its chief use would be to assist him to dispose of arguments founded upon the English version, but which the original did not sanction; and, as we have shown, sometimes to parry a false criticism. These, indeed, it must be owned, though humble, are important services.

Convinced, however, that this was by no means all the service that the work was intended by its most liberal proprietor and his diligent coadjutors to render, we should not have dwelt so long upon it, but for the title under which the work has appeared. The '*Englishman's Hebrew and Chaldee Concordance*' is a title which seems to import that it was intended for the use of any mere English scholar, who would be at the pains of mastering

his Hebrew A. B. C. As that, moreover, is the *ultima thule* of multitudes in this country, where Hebrew literature has for a long time been the favourite district for planning and laying out 'royal roads,' we doubt not that it will be purchased by many under the impression of its design which we have noticed, and we are anxious—not to dissuade any from its purchase, that we would by no means do, but—to shew the mere Englishman exactly what benefit he might reasonably hope to derive from it. We are, however, still more anxious that those who would be able to turn the concordance to richer account, we mean those who are really studying Hebrew, should possess themselves of the aid which this concordance offers them, and shall therefore add a few words more respecting the use which they may make of it.

Let us return to קָנָה. The Hebrew student would not, perhaps, see from the article on that word the genesis of the different significations assigned it in the English version; but without such a synoptical survey of the instances of the word, it is all but certain that he would miss it. It has always been a problem to account for the signification *in malam partem*, 'blaspheme' and 'curse.' Gesenius observes in his lexicon, s.v. that the same root in Arabic and Ethiopic also signifies both 'benedixit' and 'maledixit;' but this merely states a parallel fact; it does not evolve the principle of that under consideration. However, he who studies the concordance with a grammatical eye will not overlook the noun קָנָה, 'the knee,' from which it is clearly derived. This he will see not only establishes the primary signification, as given both by Winer and Gesenius, '*genua flexit*,' but will be able to trace the development and connection of its different significations. He will see the natural derivation from bending the knee to blessing, praising, congratulating, saluting, &c.; and he will, with all the examples of the word before him, be in the most favourable situation to weigh the suggestion of Schultens, which Winer approves, that from the signification of 'saluting' in connection with taking leave, which might be done in an adverse spirit, the malevolent senses found in 1 Kings xxi. 10, 13—Job i. 5, 10—ii. 5, might be derived; and to decide whether what Gesenius has said of the word having in it the idea of execration is of any force as against the solution of Schultens, or in itself clears up in any way the difficulty which scholars have found in accounting for the discordant meanings.

It is, however, in enabling the student to distinguish the different species of verbs and their respective imports with greater accuracy, and to discriminate between real and apparent synonyms, that the work is chiefly valuable. Having illustrated this

use of such concordances in our notice of the Englishman's Greek Concordance, we shall not renew the discussion of it in this article. Let any reader take the word $\pi\alpha\varsigma$ or $\pi\alpha\upsilon\varsigma$, and having first drawn out, which he may easily do, its different significations in English, let him find the various Hebrew words by which those English words are expressed, and he will see what we mean. We know no exercise better adapted than this, when conducted by one who has any measure of that tact which flows from grammatical experience, to enable the mind to realize the nicest shades of signification which words acquire in their different forms and connections, and thus, in reference to the scripture, to open the understanding to its most minute discoveries. Having used these concordances, with some diligence and pains, we know that the result is what we say. The benefit of having the examples all obviously under the eye at once, is to him who not tried it, inappreciable. And though that advantage is afforded by Buxtorf's or Fürst's, and with some advantages which need not be detailed here, to the really advanced student, yet these are more than compensated by the facility with which all comparisons and collations are carried on through the medium of the English text, in which the examples are here given. For economy of time in investigating and comparing verbal occurrences, and for clearness of impression, neither Buxtorf's nor Fürst's is for a moment to be compared with the concordance before us.

We must not close this notice without a few remarks upon the extraordinary correctness secured in this concordance, and the equally extraordinary pains which have been taken to secure it. In respect of accuracy, no former concordance comes near it. In Buxtorf's, printed in 1632, there are, besides 118 errors in the specifications of books, chapters and verses, and in the quotations of the first *eight* pages and two columns, 380 omissions, and 1,100 errata in κ . In Marius's, edited by Romaine, in 1747, there are 145 omissions under α . In Taylor's, printed in 1754, though great pains were taken to point out and correct Buxtorf's errors, there are 250 omissions under the same letter. And 'excellent and well corrected as Fürst's is, seven corrigenda and ten omissions were discovered in the first eight pages.' We state these facts on the authority of the preface to the present work, but we do so with entire confidence. Of course the use of English for Hebrew in the citations was highly favorable to correctness. But this was by no means the chief cause of the unexampled accuracy of the work. The labour of years was expended in producing it. We were conscious, when reading Mr. Wigram's account of the process by which it had been secured, of a feeling similar to that we have experienced in

watching the complicated, but well arranged, machinery of a silk mill. Viewed with respect to the amount, variety, and minuteness of these processes, the book is really a 'curiosity of literature.' But it is not a mere curiosity. The pains and cost have been well laid out; and we can with confidence recommend the work as one of the most useful aids we ever met with in studying the sacred scriptures.

Art. V.—*The Catholic Claims. A Letter to the Lord Bishop of Cashel.*
By Baptist W. Noel, M.A. 2d Ed. 8vo. pp. 54. London:
Nisbet & Co.

It is matter of current report that the author of this letter was requested in the Central Anti-Maynooth Committee to accompany Sir Culling Smith to Dublin, and declined to do so unless liberty of speech on the Irish Protestant Church were conceded to him. Such liberty was refused, and Mr. Noel remained in England. We have been at some pains to ascertain the truth of this report, and see no reason to doubt its substantial accuracy. One of our own number, in an evil hour, undertook the mission, and the manner in which it was discharged is now matter of history.

The report to which we advert had prepared us to receive from Mr. Noel some of the views expressed in this pamphlet, though we had certainly no expectation of meeting with them in the form in which they are here presented. His position as a clergyman of the English Church, combining sincere attachment to the establishment principle, with the many virtues which secure him the regard of all good men, precluded the probability of such an event. It required a more than ordinary strength of conviction, a rare superiority to the prejudices of his class, and a degree of moral courage with which few are endowed, to execute such a service. Many and weighty considerations must have urged him to forego it, which nothing short of the deep earnestness of religious principle could have surmounted. Few men are so constituted as to look beyond the circle within which the influences and prepossessions of their class operate, and still fewer are willing to make the sacrifices which are entailed by a practical following out of the convictions consequent on their doing so. Mr. Noel, however, has shewn himself to be one of this select and honourable class. We reverence the principle which has prompted, while we admire the spirit which pervades his publication. There is a courteous bearing and high-toned morality

in it which are thoroughly refreshing, an earnest advocacy of evangelical truth, combined with a no less earnest denunciation of injustice and oppression. The conclusions arrived at are not always based on the arguments we should employ and to which we attach the greatest weight; but there is a clear transparent honesty, a generosity and open-heartedness, an intelligent apprehension of the right, and a fearless assertion of it to the full extent of its perception, for which we honour the writer. Mr. Noel is no dissenter, and he does not, therefore, reason as such, but we know of no comparison between the integrity and high-mindedness of such a man who follows out his convictions, though to the apparent prejudice of his class, and the timid policy of some who, bearing the name of dissenters, shrink from a practical enforcement of their principles.

The appearance of a letter like this from such a man is a significant sign of the times. It is full of meaning, and may be taken as an earnest of much yet to come. Thoughtful men will ponder over it, many will read it again and again, and we are greatly mistaken if it will not give shape and embodiment to suspicions, dissatisfactions, and enquiries which are already afloat to a much greater extent than some dissenters imagine. The Church question is obviously becoming *the* question of the times. It is awakening deeper feelings, is engaging a greater number of minds, and is subordinating to itself a larger sphere of human thought and action than any other question amongst us. As yet this fact may not be, it is not, fully realized by our governors. In their blindness they see not the signs of the times. Looking only to the indifference or scepticism of the class immediately about them, or to the obvious secularity of the priesthood, whom they invest with wealth and honour, they smile derisively at the alleged force of pure religion, and ask, as in sheer contempt, where are the evidences of its power. In the meantime, it is gathering strength with unwonted speed. Thousands of intellects are employed upon it. The middle and lower classes are awakening to the simplicity and power of unpatronized christianity. Old prejudices are in the course of being cast off; light is breaking in upon the regions of darkness, and the quickened spirits of our countrymen are beginning to look about for some practicable mode of relieving themselves from oppression, and religion from disgrace, by compelling the civil governour to confine himself to his proper vocation.

In this state of things the appearance of Mr. Noel's letter cannot be without effect. It has arisen out of the actual condition of things, and is a shadow of coming events. 'Now that the Maynooth bill is carried,' remarks Mr. Noel, 'it is well for those who think the principle of that measure unsound, to

consider what course their duty prescribes to them for the future.'

This is just what we expected, and the expectation greatly moderated our sorrow at the course pursued by the legislature. We were behind none of our contemporaries in condemning the unscrupulous policy of her Majesty's ministers, and the ready zeal with which the Whig and Radical sections of both Houses lent themselves to their assistance. The obnoxious measure protested against by an unprecedented number of petitioners, has however passed into a law. The Lords emulated the zeal of the Commons, and we have waited to see what would be the influence on the public mind, of their joint success. Our expectations have not been disappointed. Deep convictions and great principles are being evolved from the chaos we have witnessed. The old theory of the paternal character of governments, and in consequence, their obligation to provide for the religious instruction of their subjects, has been abandoned. Men see its fallacy, and even churchmen who have long relied upon it, feel and acknowledge that it is no longer applicable to the existing case. The aspect of the whole question is changed, and the advocates of establishments are mortified with the necessity under which they obviously labour, of taking up new ground. In this state of affairs it is no marvel that many minds should, at least, approach to the perception of the truth. It was all well while state patronage was exclusively theirs; while it sustained what they deemed truth, and was refused to that which they deemed error. In this case they viewed it with complacency, and believed it to be conducive to the moral and religious welfare of the nation. This was their honest conviction, erroneous, of course, in our judgment, yet not an unnatural offshoot of their general theory. But the case is altered now. Religious error, equally with religious truth, is held to be a proper object of state patronage, and the question submitted for the decision of religious churchmen, is, whether the tenour of their christian discipleship permits them to acquiesce in such a copartnership; whether it becomes them to continue to receive state pay, on condition of allowing the advocates of what they deem destructive error to do the same, or whether it is not incumbent on them to prefer the alternative of calling on the state to leave religion alone, rather than to give artificial life and perpetuity to error, by the endowment of its priests. We anticipated that something of this sort would issue from the Maynooth Endowment Act, and the pamphlet before us supplies evidence that such is the case.

'If,' remarks Mr. Noel, 'the present state of opinion renders it impossible to maintain the ministers of one christian denomination ex-

clusively, because other denominations esteem this to be unjust, then the state may, without breach of christian principle, cease to maintain them, as in the United States; but to maintain the teachers of superstition or of infidelity together with those who preach the gospel, is to despise the gospel and to degrade its ministers. If this is to be henceforth the dominant principle of legislation on religious subjects, every christian ought to use his utmost efforts to rescue all religious questions from the hands of our legislators. If parliament cannot legislate in favour of true religion, they are bound not to legislate against it; if they think it imprudent to support the truth alone, let them leave both truth and error unsupported: if protestantism can only be cherished at the cost of patronising Romanism, let both be left to themselves.'—p. 28.

These are emphatic words, which indicate the progress now being made in the right direction by an influential section of our countrymen. Our reasonings have failed to convince them, a thousand prepossessions have been arrayed against our arguments and appeals; few of our opponents have permitted themselves fairly to investigate our views, and still fewer have been ready to follow out, with the simplicity of truth, the enquiries and partial convictions which have been awakened in their breasts. But the procedure of the legislature, the policy of their own political chiefs, has forced on their attention the unsoundness of their system, and necessitated the enquiry, whether fidelity to a higher power does not require its practical and immediate relinquishment. The argument of Sir James Graham that, 'Whenever in matters of state, questions of religion arise, those questions must be decided on political, and not on theological grounds,' is tested by Mr. Noel in various forms, and in each of them proved to be unsound. The inferences fairly deduced from the logic of the home secretary sufficiently bespeak the fallacy which lurks in his reasoning.

'I believe,' remarks Mr. Noel, 'the principle to be, in every possible application of it, corrupt; but the application of it to the present question is peculiarly unfortunate. Having maintained twelve hundred protestant ministers in Ireland, that they may preach the gospel to the people, because it was right, ministers seem now disposed to educate and maintain two thousand priests to contradict them, because it is expedient. Two great theological armies being in the field, each bent on the rout and ruin of the other, they are henceforth to be both generously supplied with ammunition from the same arsenal. The protestant minister of the parish is to be paid for teaching his parishioners evangelical doctrine, and the parish priest is to be paid for teaching them just the reverse. The protestant minister will receive his income that he may urge them to read and examine the scriptures for themselves, and the priest will have his

salary for forbidding them so to do, on pain of being refused absolution and of being excommunicated from the church. The minister, in return for his pay, must tell the people that the priest is keeping them in ignorance, and the priest must earn his income by retorting, that the minister is a heretic to whom it is dangerous to listen. That both these champions, engaged in mortal conflict, should be equally encouraged by the legislature would, under any circumstances, be perplexing to the people, but when they further reflect that this eternal war has been provided for by protestant majorities in both houses, what can they conclude, but that protestants disbelieve the doctrines which they profess, and think catholic doctrine as sound and as *useful as their own*.'—pp. 25, 26.

So fairly is this case put, and so honestly does our author abide by the legitimate conclusion from his reasoning, that he avows his readiness to give up the Irish church, rather than admit the application of his theory contended for by Sir James. This is just as we expected, and Mr. Noel, we are assured, is not alone, even amongst the members of his own church, in the sentiment avowed in the following passage:—

'This principle of paying all creeds is so irreligious, that no nation which is not generally irreligious can long endure it. On this account it seems probable that the maintenance of the Roman catholic priests would seal the doom of the three establishments in England, Scotland, and Ireland. Institutions are built on principles; and when the fundamental principle of an institution is generally abandoned, the institution itself must soon fall. Hitherto the establishments of the United Kingdom have been upheld chiefly by the idea that a christian legislature is bound to provide for the christian instruction of the whole people, but that idea being exchanged for the notion that parliament has nothing to do with theology, but must support the creed of the many, the christian advocates of establishments have no longer any principle to contend for. And should they resort to the lower considerations of expediency, as the only remaining method by which they can defend these establishments, even these, like a battery carried by the enemy, are turned by the new doctrine against them; since it must be worse than useless to maintain a body of sound teachers for the nation, on the condition that a larger body of false teachers shall be also maintained, to defeat all their efforts. Already has the Maynooth Bill given the greatest shock to the establishments of the United Kingdom which they have yet received; and should its principle lead further to the endowment of the Roman catholic church, they must shortly fall.'—pp. 28, 29.

It is of importance to note, that these statements are not penned by a member of that party whose 'delirious counsels' have been accustomed to represent the bayonet as the only remedy for catholic agitation. Mr. Noel is free from all sus-

picion of this kind. He admits the wrongs which have been done to Ireland, recapitulates and sets distinctly forth the atrocious laws which have disgraced our statute book, and declares that so utterly does he loathe the spirit of our past legislation, that instead of attempting to palliate its iniquity, he 'will leave it to the unmitigated and eternal abhorrence of all good men.' Neither is he so blinded by his strong conviction of the viciousness of the course pursued by Her Majesty's government, as to render him insensible to what may be urged in its behalf. That there is a plausibility in the defence attempted, we admit, and that it should be deemed conclusive by mere political liberals, we are not surprised. It was this which ensnared many members. They saw the evil of the past, they felt that protestant ascendancy had been a curse to Ireland, and that it was manifestly unjust to compel six millions and a half of Roman catholics to support the protestant church of eight hundred thousand. So far, they were right, and the fact of such a conviction having been induced, is an important step gained. But our representatives were ignorant of the way in which to meet the evil. They were either wedded to a system, the fruits of which were thus proved to be pernicious, or were so ignorant of the nature of religious liberty as to imagine themselves engaged in its service, at the very time when they violated both its spirit and principles. Mr. Noel generously concedes to Sir Robert Peel all which can be urged in defence of his measure, yet contends that it involves a principle so vicious and destructive, as to call for the united and unceasing opposition of all true protestants.

But what, it is natural to ask, is the conclusion to which Mr. Noel seeks to lead his readers. This is the point to which we wish especially to direct attention, and in order to its being comprehended, we must transcribe his statement of the Irish case:—

'Their first claim,' he says, 'is perfect civil equality with English protestants. Seven millions ask twenty millions to treat them fairly: to give them fair laws, a fair administration of justice, a fair number of representatives, a fair constituency, a fair share of the honours and emoluments which the state has to bestow, a fair consideration of the sufferings of the starving portion of the people; in short, to be treated in all things as equals and as friends. And who can blame them for this? Would not seven millions of protestants claim the same from twenty millions of catholics? It is a claim of simple justice, which ought to be granted, without a moment's delay, to those who utter no menace, by those who feel no fear. It is an appeal to a powerful majority, sustained by that divine Redeemer who has said, *'Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.'* *'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.'*

'But they claim, secondly, a religious equality too. Here there

may be more room for discussion ; for if it be the duty of a protestant majority in a legislature to honour God, by securing the preaching of his word throughout the nation, then religious equality cannot be the right of the subject, because all churches, except that which the dominant party establishes, must be legally depressed by its legal exaltation. Some able writers, as Professor Vinet, have argued that this state protection of a chosen creed is essentially unjust, unfavourable to the interests of truth, and always enslaves the privileged church ; while others, as Dr. Chalmers, have maintained it to be the obvious duty of a christian legislature. But, my lord, whatever doctrine we may embrace on this subject, we find ourselves in Ireland without a choice. Six millions and a half of people declare it grossly unjust that they should be called to maintain a national establishment of protestant ministers to subvert their own creed. This they feel to be a wrong, a hardship, a badge of subjection, an intolerable grievance to which they cannot submit, and still shout in the ears of the government, 'RELIGIOUS EQUALITY OR REPEAL !' If the government allege that this demand is unjust, for that they are bound, as christians, to provide for the universal preaching of the gospel through the land, the catholics answer—' Well, take your own way ; fasten this yoke on our necks by the despot's right—force. Compel us to pay for heresy, while you are too scrupulous to pay for catholicism, and tell us we are a conquered nation of Papists. We will bide our time. You call it religious ; we declare it to be unjust. Europe feels with us ; America feels with us ; and we shall one day have the opportunity of compelling you to feel with us too. 'RELIGIOUS EQUALITY OR REPEAL !'—pp. 14—16.

Such being the claim preferred, and the force with which it is urged, our author alleges that there are two modes by which it may be met. 'The first is to raise the priests to legal equality with the protestant ministers, by affording them an honourable maintenance ; the second is to bring down the protestant ministers to a legal equality with the priests, by ceasing to maintain them.' Her Majesty's government have preferred the former of these alternatives, and Mr. Noel pleads warmly on behalf of the latter. The Maynooth grant has already proved a failure. It was a miserable pittance, wholly inadequate for its professed object. It admitted the equity of the claim preferred, but utterly failed to meet its righteous demands. Irish agitation, therefore, continues, and can never be allayed, until the two parties be placed in precisely the same position. The policy involved in the Maynooth grant, necessitates an endowment of the catholic clergy, which again requires an expenditure vastly beyond the resources at our command. This is briefly put by our author, in the following sentences :—

'As the Catholics claim equality, it is evident that before they can be contented, their priests must receive a maintenance equal to that

of the Protestant pastors. Since, then, the Catholics are to the members of the Established Church as eight to one, they ought to have eight times as many priests, and eight times as many prelates as the Anglicans, and paid at the same rate. And since the Anglican clergy receive more than £550,000 per annum, the priests may claim £4,400,000 per annum, or complain of being treated unfairly. This attained, they would yet find endless occasions of jealousy, in observing the superiority of protestant rectors with glebes and permanent rent-charges over themselves, the stipendiaries of government, who might lose their incomes whenever their conduct should be displeasing to the ruling party of the state. New grounds of complaint would be afforded in the territorial wealth and baronial dignity of the protestant prelates. Unless, therefore, the nation is prepared to maintain above 9000 priests, with a suitable array of catholic prelates having good incomes and seats in the House of Lords, this policy must be a failure; and after all furnish the catholics with occasion to complain of our partiality, and to demand independence.

‘Every aspect of this policy leads us to condemn it. It has not been asked by the catholics; it would not content them; it would be unjust towards the dissenters; it would introduce a principle of infidelity into our legislation; it would be a contempt of evangelical doctrine; and for the 1,200,000 petitioners against the Maynooth grant to consent to it, would be a violation of christian duty.’—pp. 30, 31.

From this reasoning the conclusion is obvious, and Mr. Noel does not attempt to evade it. ‘If,’ he asks, ‘the catholics must be conciliated, and only two methods of conciliation are proposed, the one, to pay teachers of all denominations, and the other, to pay none—can a christian hesitate which to choose?’ and he then proceeds to maintain that, as the property whence the revenues of the Irish church are derived is national, the state is perfectly competent, at the death of incumbents, to sell it ‘for objects of general utility both to catholics and protestants.’ Such reasoning, proceeding from such a quarter, may well be ranked amongst the signs of the times. But let us note how the objection of opponents is met. The historical argument is conclusive, and Mr. Noel makes good use of it. He says:—

‘Upon those who can see in such an arrangement nothing but sacrilege, I shall not waste many words. What the state took from catholic priests, because it believed that their holding of it was detrimental to the general welfare, it may certainly withhold from protestant ministers, when all parties see that they could not receive it without similar detriment to the commonwealth. As the state alone has given to protestant ministers a life interest in this public property for the national welfare, so may the state, when that life interest expires, apply the property to any other object which may be equally

for the national welfare. Repeatedly has the legislature asserted its right to deal with this property for the general good, especially in the reduction of the ten bishoprics, and the arrangements effected by the Tithe Commutation Acts; and it cannot be its duty to employ either this or any other corporate property in a manner to obstruct the progress of religion, and to destroy the peace of the empire.

'I do not conceal from myself that the result of this surrender might be a reduction in the numbers of the protestant ministers, although their maintenance, on their present footing, would only cost to the members of the Irish church, who possess much of the wealth of the kingdom, £1 each per annum; but IT IS QUITE CLEAR THAT THIS REDUCTION MUST SOON TAKE PLACE, WHATEVER MEASURES MAY BE ADOPTED, AND WHATEVER PARTY MAY BE IN POWER. And if there might be fewer ministers, the reduced corps would be animated with loftier zeal, and endued with ampler powers of usefulness. Protestant gentlemen, possessed of four-fifths of the soil of Ireland, would not generally leave themselves and their tenants destitute of pastors; and if a small fraction of the English people can raise £300,000 per annum for missions to the heathen, England would not overlook the fair claims of our protestant fellow-subjects.' pp. 46, 47.

Our author enforces his reasoning by the secession from the Scottish church, which has recently taken place. It is as though the providence of God were co-working with, nay, were anticipating, the labours of men. The three churches of the United Kingdom—for that which identifies the Irish with the English church is a mere fiction—are, at the same time, exposed to fearful peril, and are made to illustrate, each in its appropriate way, the evils of state patronage, the insecurity of endowed protestantism, or the efficiency of the voluntary principle. To the last of these, the history of the Scottish secession points, and Mr. Noel skillfully adverts to it in his closing appeal to the Bishop of Cashel:—

'Is it not far better, my Lord,' he asks, 'that the ministers of the Irish church should from this day themselves advocate that measure? Five hundred ministers of the church of Scotland, when they believed that the state was doing dishonour to Christ, and trampling on the rights of a christian people, renounced their stipends and their homes rather than partake of the sin, and casting themselves on the care of God, they have not been forsaken. None of them, as they have repeatedly assured me, regret the sacrifice; but all of them are labouring with more ardour and more success than before, for the spiritual welfare of their country. The Irish church, my Lord, is called to a less severe resolution: your life-interests are sacred property, which parliament would not touch; and Mr. O'Connell knows too well the injustice and danger of violating the right of property, not to respect them. Then should your church be dis-established

to-morrow, your incomes would be secure, and you have the remainder of your lives in which to prepare your country for the change. Long has the church been rendered incapable of efficient action, by the enmity with which state patronage has surrounded it : but should you now organize a missionary system for the whole island, and call your English brethren to your aid, so that the Gospel may be heard in every village, not only in your churches, to which catholics will not come, but wherever they may be gathered to listen ; the truths of the Gospel, unchecked in their influence by the bitterness which your possession of hated privileges has hitherto generated among the peasantry, may effect a religious change in Ireland, greater than it has yet experienced. Thus the church may answer by its dis-establishment the very end for which it was established. For this, too, the grace of God appears to have been preparing you. The separation of the church from the state fifty years ago would have left your country almost wholly to the priests ; but now it would only animate hundreds of excellent men to proclaim Christ with more ardour to all the catholics of Ireland"—pp. 51, 52.

We wait to see what will be the result of this appeal. Should it be successful, a benefit will be conferred on the Irish nation, to which its history furnishes no parallel : a new era will dawn on its people ; religious truth will have what it has never yet enjoyed, a free and open course ; strife and discord, the hatred of the oppressed and the pride of the oppressor, will gradually disappear ; and the children of Ireland, eminent amongst the nations for genius and warm-heartedness, will learn to venerate a faith, which they have hitherto associated with their wrongs. In parting from Mr. Noel, we tender him our respectful and hearty thanks. He writes as a churchman—but we have not deemed it needful to contest those portions of his reasonings which we deem unsound. It is due to him, however, to affirm, that there are such, lest the suspicion of insincerity in his ecclesiastical position should be awakened. On some future occasion we may recur to them, but are unwilling at present to be diverted from other, and far more grateful occupation.

One word to our own friends, and we have done. In the case before us we have a beautiful illustration of fidelity to religious conviction. So far as the truth is apprehended, it is honestly and openly avowed. There is no attempt at concealment or evasion, no prudent waiting till the progress of public opinion renders the expression of conviction expedient, no cautious looking about to see whether it will prove injurious or otherwise to personal standing or class influence, to give free utterance to the sentiments entertained. In these respects a worthy example for imitation is supplied. Let us honestly follow it,

without fear or anger, avoiding alike and with equal scrupulousness what is opposed to the integrity, or what violates the spirit of Christ. We avow before the world a deep conviction that the supremacy of our Master is invaded, the spirituality of his kingdom denied, and the religious interests of men fearfully injured by the state church system. Recent events have led to the more explicit enunciation of our views on these points, and have thus placed us under increased obligation to labour for their diffusion. We have deeply and solemnly pledged ourselves before God and his church, to allow no legitimate opportunity to escape of carrying them out to a successful issue. Such an opportunity is now occurring in the immediate neighbourhood where we write, and it will test men's spirits and show us the worth of their professions. A vacancy having occurred in the representation of Southwark, our honoured fellow labourer, Mr. Edward Miall, has been induced to offer himself as a candidate on anti-state church principles. His language is explicit, and his whole life proves his integrity. No man who knows him doubts his word, or believes that the universe, if combined, could induce him to belie his conviction.

'I object,' he says in his address to the electors, 'to all interference of government with the religion of its subjects. To effect an entire separation of the church from the state, has been, and will continue to be, in whatever sphere I am called to act, the main end of my efforts. To this I have consecrated my life, and, whether in or out of parliament, this object I shall pursue with unflinching zeal.'

Mr. Miall is opposed by Sir William Molesworth, a member of the Whig Radical party, which lent itself with such ready zeal to the Maynooth policy of Sir Robert Peel. Had he been in parliament, he avows that he should have voted with his party in support of the ministerial measure, *and refuses to pledge himself not to vote for the endowment of the Roman catholic clergy.* 'If,' remarked Sir William, on the 18th of August, at the Bridge House Hotel, 'on any future occasion it should be considered a question of policy that a portion of the funds of the established church should be appropriated to that purpose'—the endowment of the catholic clergy—'he would reserve to himself the right of following whatever course he considered right and necessary.' Such are the ecclesiastical views of the two candidates. We wait to see what the dissenters of Southwark will do. Their numbers are sufficient to determine the struggle, and if there be honesty in them, they will return Mr. Miall. To this course they are pledged by their many professions during their recent discussions of the Maynooth Bill, and he who urges the question of expediency, or pleads the hopelessness of the contest,

in vindication of his vote being given to Sir William Molesworth, is treacherous to the cause of religious liberty, and reckless of its triumph.

What may be the issue of the contest, however, we cannot, of course, determine; but we are desirous, before that issue be known (we write on the 23rd), to place on record our convictions, that by allowing himself to be nominated on this occasion, Mr. Miall has rendered to religious liberty the most important service of his life. The liberal party, as it is termed, require to be taught that we value our principles, and intend to act on them. As yet, they have no faith in our professions, and it would be marvellous if they had, for we have done nothing to warrant it. Our religious convictions have been held in subserviency to our political associations, and mere Whig and Radical candidates, hating our religion, and ignorant of our ecclesiastical principles, have, in consequence, had our electoral support. It is time that an end should be put to this state of things. It has already continued too long, and has inflicted on our character and principles an injury which years of honest and consistent labour will be required to remedy.

It is an auspicious sign of the times, that such a man as Mr. Miall should have been invited to offer himself, on such grounds to the constituency of Southwark. That dissenter, and especially that dissenting minister, incurs a fearful responsibility, who fails to record his vote in his favour, for nothing more is needed to secure his return, than the united and cordial support of the non-conformist body. On this point we speak advisedly. They have it in their power to secure a representative of their principles, every way worthy of their confidence, and qualified for the advocacy of their cause; and if they fail to do, whatever plea may be urged, they will richly merit, as they will undoubtedly receive, the scornful rebuke of all right minded men. Our space is occupied, and we must close. In doing so, we place on record the resolutions which have been unanimously adopted in relation to this movement, by the British Anti-state Church Association, and recommend the course they advise to all our friends:—

‘That the recent discussions in parliament on the Maynooth Endowment Bill have clearly elicited the fact, that religious liberty is exposed to serious peril from the views prevalent amongst the two great political parties of our country; and that it is, therefore, incumbent on the protestant dissenters of the empire to seek the return to the House of Commons of men reared in their midst, conversant with their principles, and both able and willing to advocate them in the legislature.

‘That the qualifications of Mr. Miall, as the indefatigable advocate

of entire religious freedom, pre-eminently fit him for the occupation of such a post; and that this committee, therefore, having regard exclusively to the ecclesiastical principles avowed in his address, most urgently call upon the dissenting electors of Southwark to give him their united and cordial support.'

Art. VI.—*The Negotiations for the Peace of the Dardanelles in 1808-9: with Dispatches and Official Documents.* By the Right Honourable Sir Robert Adair, G.C.B.: being a Sequel to his Mission at Vienna in 1806. 2 vols. 8vo. Longmans. 1845.

OUR foreign policy, which operates for the welfare or misery of so many millions, presents us with few features of statesmanship or attractiveness. Oliver Cromwell, and King William the Third, at least knew what they were about, and acted accordingly. The object of the one was to elevate England,—of the other, to depress France. Since their time, however, all seems to have been left to circumstances, or abandoned to the caprices of those rival factions which have struggled for ascendancy in the royal councils. The revolution inflicted upon these realms the curse of a dominant aristocracy, who played sad pranks even under the eye of public opinion, with regard to domestic arrangements; but abroad, where they were to a certain extent out of sight, the result was deplorable. Diplomacy degenerated into a science of intrigue and dissimulation; of which patronage, and not patriotism, was the living influential soul. We had a glimpse of this, in the former volumes of our author, as to his mission at Vienna; and more of it will appear throughout his procedures at the semi-barbarous court of Constantinople. The late Lord Malmesbury had made a note in his recently published diary not very flattering to Sir Robert Adair, describing him as, 'not indeed without abilities, but such a dupe to women, that no secret was safe with him. Fox, his intimate friend and patron, knew him so well, that when he named him for Vienna, he stipulated that Mrs. A. (a French woman) should not go with him, and that, if even she followed him, his mission should cease. Yet she did so, after the death of Fox, and Canning suffered Adair nevertheless to remain at Vienna, and employed him elsewhere.' Sir Robert, of course, strongly endeavours to explain and palliate such serious insinuations; but we do not perceive that he denies the facts. He seems to have been a member of parliament, with an irresistible amount of claims upon the foreign minister for the time being, for a share in that species of public spoil passing under the name of diplo-

matic employment. It might appear very amusing to see one ambassador thus uncovering the nakedness of another; did not indignation absorb all other feelings at the cool manner in which the noblest interests of a country are sacrificed to the hopes of a coronet, or the coveted splendour of the bath, the thistle, or the garter! Pensions prove a more solid appendage to such follies; nor can we fail glancing at the satisfaction with which our hero himself must expatiate in his comfortable retiring allowance of £2,300 per annum! John Bull, as we well know, loves his whistle dearly: but then he has to pay for it.

Whigs and Tories have been equally culpable in sending forth weak ambassadors,—in filing their feeble correspondence at the foreign office,—and then dismissing them after their expensive travels, to an early repose upon the cushions of the civil list. When ‘All the Talents’ had come into power, an armament was sent by them into the east of the Mediterranean, simply because the Turkish divan seemed at a loss how to act between France and the Russians. The victory of Napoleon at Austerlitz made Europe tremble even to the banks of the Bosphorus, so that the Grand Signior Selim, who had demurred about acknowledging an imperial title in Buonaparte, at length gave way with something almost like precipitation, for an oriental, and received General Sebastiani as ambassador from Paris. This alarmed Alexander, who seized upon Moldavia, Wallachia, and Bessarabia. England then became weak enough to act the part of cat’s-paw for Russia. ‘Come,’ said the unstable Czar of Muscovy to our stolid George the Third, ‘and annihilate Corsican influence at Stamboul:’ and so the king, ‘unwilling to *disoblige* a powerful ally, whose friendship he wished to secure, ordered Sir John Thomas Duckworth to enter the Dardanelles, and ‘offer terms to the Porte at the mouth of his cannon!’ It must be remembered, that we then were at peace with Turkey: yet, in February, 1807, that one sovereign might not *disoblige* another, a British admiral passed the straits with seven ships of the line, and destroyed five vessels of war belonging to the Ottomans. When within eight miles of the Golden Horn, a negotiation was proposed, in which the Sublime Porte acquiesced, for the mere purpose of gaining time, just as an unhappy traveller, under the pistol of a footpad would readily consent to haggle for half an hour for the wretched chance of the police arriving before he was quite murdered. The Sultan made the most of his opportunity. Backed by French officers, batteries were being thrown up day and night, so that by the termination of the armistice, every point of the coast bristled with artillery, and final defiance was hurled in the faces of the

invaders. Overwhelmed with shame, both as to what they had done and what they had not done, the English squadron had now to retire. Nearly three hundred men were killed or wounded in this disgraceful affair. Balls of granite, weighing 800 lbs. were showered upon our frigates as they withdrew before the triumphant crescent. Our name, which had not been very fragrant before among the Mussulmen, was now offensive to the last degree. The whole of Europe reproached us for the injustice of the attempt, and ridiculed us, as we deserved, for the manner in which it was conducted. If intimidation had been the object, Admiral Duckworth proceeded too far, since he converted terror into rage: if bombardment were to have settled the business, as at Copenhagen, then where was the British valour,—where were the necessary equipments,—where was the wisdom of our governors,—where were the results of our boasted and costly diplomacy? Blunders rapidly begat blunders. Mortified at Constantiple, we then fell upon Egypt, instead of helping out the King of Prussia, by which some good might have accrued. Similar misfortunes awaited us both at Alexandria and Rosetta. The Mamelouks were as lucky as the Ottomans in humbling our almost incurable folly. The Courts of London and Berlin shook hands too late. Buonaparte fought the fearful battles of Eylau and Friedland: Dantzic and Königsberg surrendered: whilst on a raft upon the Niemen, those terms were dictated to Alexander by the French Emperor, which the 7th of July, 1807, saw consummated at Tilsit. Amidst various other stipulations, the Czar was to withdraw his troops from the Danubian provinces, and accept the mediation of France for a treaty of peace with the Grand Seignior. We were, as usual, left in the lurch by our continental allies.

General Sebastiani had now no great difficulty in persuading the Turkish government that France loved the Divan, if it were only because Great Britain had maltreated it! The Sultan, his vizier, and the ulema, smoked opium, stroked their beards, and swore by Mahomet that it must be so. Sebastiani then wished to advance one step further, and change these dull infidels into good soldiers and statesmen, were that possible. French tactics were introduced into the Ottoman armies; upon which the conservatives of the capital, commonly called the Janizaries, arose in a body, deposed Selim, and proclaimed Mustapha the Fourth, sultan in his stead. The French envoy, however, remained quietly at his post, keeping his footing of favour with the Ottoman by laying the entire blame of the insurrection upon England; adducing, as an irrefragable proof of this most impudent assertion, an almanack of Francis Moore, in which it was said, amongst the usual predictions for the year, 'Let the Grand

Seignior look to his head,—I give him fair warning!’ Sebastiani brought the ominous prophecy before the mufti with as grave an air as though he had been a seer himself. He succeeded in directing the sagacious inference, that a professor of astronomy in London having discovered in the heavens an insurrection of the janizaries and the death of the sultan, *what was so easily foreseen could not fail to have been preconcerted!* The English, therefore, were to be abhorred; and no Franks could be so well entitled to bask in the light of the countenances of the faithful as the subjects and servants of the invincible conqueror, whose word and will were laws, with all Europe, except Great Britain and Ireland. Meanwhile an armistice ensued, as Napoleon desired, between Constantinople and St. Petersburg. Each party was in its turn overawed and overreached by the Corsican usurper. He could rekindle, in a breath, the flames of warfare, which he had only smothered for an interval, to serve his own purposes. He compelled Russia to restore Turkey whatever ships had been captured by the former, which consolidated his reputation with the latter; but the Muscovites were permitted to remain at Jassy and Bucharest, and on the Pruth, in full force, which, of course, indisposed Alexander to secede from his French alliance. Servia had now also declared herself independant, and Bosnia had revolted. England should have sought her strength in these quarters. We could have desired no better friends and supporters than were to be found in the European provinces of the Turkish empire. Had her foreign policy been invigorated with ordinary tact and ability, such obvious advantages would never have been perpetually overlooked by her diplomatists and statesmen. Sir Walter Scott, than whom no one was better acquainted with the federative affairs of Europe, although selfish and contracted in his notions of domestic matters, has well remarked, that England’s right arm had withered through a miserable habit of attending always to governments, and never to their people. ‘We sent ambassadors,’ he somewhere observes, ‘to make our peace with the Porte, when we ought to have treated with Czarín George, at the head of his gallant Servians,—to have taken the Greek islands under our protection, and to have assisted all the revolted districts in establishing their independance and forming themselves into civilized societies.’ These countries have never enjoyed an age of tranquillity since the days of Trajan, when they first became known to history. The neighbouring mountaineers, a hardy race, whose songs are of the glories of Scanderberg, had amalgamated with the lowlanders, under the brave chieftain just mentioned, to attempt the emancipation of the whole country from Belgrade to the Morea, and the parallel coast down to the

Mediterranean. A constitution was framed, with a national assembly and proper officers. The territory had already undergone a division into districts, with supreme tribunals and civil magistrates in every town, and justices of the peace in every village. General improvement and popular education were their avowed objects. Their limits so enlarged as to comprise a fourth part of European Turkey ; and here we might have rocked the cradle of incipient liberty and prosperity. It was the aristocratic principle of our diplomacy, which recoiled from all such noble purposes. The most generous conduct towards them would have materially advanced our genuine interests ; but by that strange fatality alluded to, whilst the heart of our countrymen throbs with the most disinterested motives ; we are made to act abroad like the greediest and blindest nation upon earth. France, on the other hand, continued to acquire a character for candour and benevolence, whilst devoted solely to the promotion of her own aggrandizement. We scarcely know a more melancholy picture.

Mismanagement appeared in almost every effort we made upon the political arena, as between Greece, Turkey, France, Austria, and Russia. Our flag, and general policy, excited little else besides universal contempt in the Levant and Archipelago. Nor was it better with us, from Croatia and Bosnia, to the Balkan. Czar George and his compatriots, in struggling against barbarism, autocracy, and the cruel sensualism of the Koran, were abandoned by us to the French, as their natural protectors. This was altogether the result of our wilful negligence. We left them, without an effort, to the machinations of our bitterest enemy. The agents of France persuaded them of her magnanimity and beneficence ; and, in that persuasion, they regarded the progressive usurpations of Buonaparte with hope, instead of fear. He boldly seized the harbour of Cataro, in the Adriatic, and abolished the independence of Ragusa. These transactions excited no other attention in England, than a few idle hopes that something might occur to set the despots of Paris and Vienna by the ears. Nothing was thought of beyond a renewal of our alliance with Turkey, the cruel adversary of christianity and freedom—a government, whose stability was never to be depended upon for a single week—to whom we could afford no assistance, and from whom we could derive no advantage. One ambassador was sent after another to Constantinople, while the Greeks, as well throughout the islands as on the Continent, were all looking to us for deliverance, or rather had been so, until we suffered the game to slip out of our hands. A body of Macedonians, who were then in arms, occupying the isles of Ikiathos and Chilidronia, whilst they in-

fested the neighbourhood of Salonika, applied to our squadron, declaring that if we would give them an island suitable for their establishment, they would join us, collect ten thousand men under their banners, and take the whole Archipelago. It is beyond a doubt that this would have been done. Had we but given the word, the entire Greek islands, as well as the Morea, would have been leagued with us against Turkey and France. It is humiliating to record the answer which they received. They were told in reply, that they had better return to their allegiance, and remain quiet under the government of Turkey. We could not interfere! If they trusted to Russia, she would deceive them as before: and if they trusted to France, they had as little reason for confidence. Russia and France were jealous of each other; nor would either ever permit the other to obtain an ascendancy in Greece: therefore, they had better remain faithful and loyal to the Sublime Porte. *Ab uno discimus omnes!*

With regard to the islanders of Idra we were made to appear equally foolish, and rather more deceitful. Instead of evoking the genius of Old Hellas, or appealing to associations, which might have spread from the Danube to the Egean, to the Vistula, the Elbe, and the Rhine, Sir Arthur Paget first, and afterwards Sir Robert Adair, received instructions about trying to restore our ancient hollow relations with the Ottoman Seraglio. Mustapha the Fourth felt his rotten empire quivering under his feet. On the 28th of July, 1808, another revolution consigned him to a dungeon, and substituted in his place Mahmoud, a boy of fifteen, only remarkable then for being the last of his race. The divan, deigning to be delighted for the time being, even with Great Britain, simply because *proh pudor!* she was ready to guarantee the subjection of Greece, was informed about Michaelmas, in the same year, that an English envoy had arrived with a flag of truce at the Dardanelles. Prodigious secrecy and mystification followed. The ensuing November witnessed a new series of pillages, massacres, fires, and military commotions, in the once favoured capital of Constantine. Our ambassador, however, took up his residence at Pera, amidst immense indignation loudly expressed on the side of the Russian and French missions. These last spoke of England as a mere insular power, exhausted, treacherous, and ambitious: whereas Napoleon and Alexander were imperial autocrats, reigning from Archangel to the Adriatic. Had Buonaparte and his ally fulfilled their promise of evacuating Moldavia and Wallachia, these representations would have gone for much more than they were worth. But eighteen months had elapsed, since full restitution of the Danubian provinces had been agreed upon;—yet not a mile

of these territories had been restored. Seasonable reminiscences also of Acre, of Aboukir and the Nile, of Lord Nelson and Sir Sidney Smith, were awakened through the British dragomans. Also, above everything else, the Turkish ministers could just discern, that a single English proclamation would arm all Greece at once against them ; whilst by accepting a peace for which they had no sacrifices to pay, nor services to perform, they might make us their securities against France and Russia, upon their weakest frontier. The Austrian internuncio adopted and supported at a private conference, similar views. Hence, on the fifth of January 1809, that treaty was signed, which re-established our connections with Turkey, as they had been before the disastrous expedition of Sir John Thomas Duckworth. General Sebastiani stormed in vain. Russia declared war in eight and forty hours. She was ready, in fact, for the fight, with little to resist her beyond the popular superstition of Islam. To this, indeed, the sultan appealed, without delay. The Sanjar Sherif, or Holy Standard, which had been the chamber curtain of the favourite wife of the false prophet, was solemnly unfurled, as an ultimate palladium. The mussulmen affirm, that no unbeliever can look upon it with impunity ; and even their own eyes have been affected with a dazzling tremour, from so venerable a relic. It was, after many prayers, carried with immense pomp to a splendid tent, and placed in the special custody of four regiments, deriving augmented pay and titles from their peculiar service. The sultan prostrated himself before it on the earth, and then pressed its fringe reverently against his forehead. Our ambassador had enjoyed his audience, prior to this nonsensical pageant : nevertheless, he had to strain every nerve, and every talent he possessed, for the ignoble object, that our George the Third, a christian potentate, might address a Mahometan sovereign as the ' Refuge of the world, and the shadow of God ! ' We have often wondered where the royal conscience or the Archbishop of Canterbury could have been, on the receipt of Turkish despatches. We heard more than enough about the irresistible influence of both, when the Test Act was proposed to be repealed, and the catholics emancipated. It must not be forgotten, that by the holiness attributed to his rank, the grand seignior has the privilege of killing, if he pleases, fourteen persons per diem, without assigning a cause, or incurring an imputation of tyranny or injustice. Such were our Ottoman allies, with whom we condescended to conclude, by the hands of Sir Robert Adair, the peace of the Dardanelles.

We need not pause to point out its utter worthlessness, nor to lament our waste of treasure in propping up the decayed system of oriental despotism. Islamism is one, vast Alhambra, rapidly

falling to pieces; although here and there presenting just so much of the picturesque, as to carry back a philosophic mind to certain not uninteresting points connected with general civilization. Yet even in these respects, Turkey is more sterile and dull than Persia, or the various sites of the Caliphates. Ottoman domination has literally nothing to recommend it. We see in it, from first to last, only a dismal unbroken series of rapine, cruelty, savageness, and licentiousness. Its pride is without grandeur—its luxury is without elegance—its learning and language are without literature—its gravity is without dignity—its obstinacy is that of a mule—and its cupidity descends to the very depths of baseness. At one of their earliest interviews, Sir Robert Adair was reminded by the haughty official with whom he treated, that Great Britain 'was rich: she paid subsidies to all her allies, and why refuse to succour in the same manner a friend who was about to risk so much to be at peace with her!' It is not a little amusing to observe, with what acuteness and cunning these semi-barbarians attempted to pounce upon our pockets. Nor can we wonder at it. We were coaxing even the Pasha of Joannina; and within a few years surrendered to him Parga. There was scarcely a monster, wallowing in lust and bloodshed, that we did not seem willing to purchase, if there was a spark of liberty to be trampled out, or an expression of national independence to be anywhere resisted. Sir Robert Adair was friendly however to the establishment of the Septinsular republic, and ably drew the attention of his superiors to the importance of Corfu. The following extract may convey a favourable idea of his communications with the Foreign office, and is the only one we have room for:—

'The first object of Great Britain, in reference to the permanent interests of the empire, should now be to occupy immediately the Key-islands, among the different chains of islands lying more or less contiguous to the hostile line of continental maritime posts. Great Britain will thus easily oppose to the enemy *another line of insular posts*, which, with her actual naval superiority, would enable her to bid defiance to the greatest efforts of her enemies to subvert her power. In the Mediterranean, among the chains of islands in question, that of the Ionian Islands is in all respects the most important. Corfu, the principal of these islands, as well from its geographical position as physical structure, must be considered as one of those few commanding places in the globe, which necessarily secure or enlarge the empire of those who possess them. Corfu is indispensable to any power that moves in a great military sphere. Possessing an excellent and capacious arsenal for the construction of ships of the heaviest burthen, and a harbour capable of containing the navies of Europe, secure from any attack of enemies or injury of weather, with

a double entrance at the north and south, it has also the rare advantage of having the strongest natural fortress, commanding at the same time the harbour. The island, as to its agricultural resources, offers the means of establishing a rich and flourishing colony, enjoying one of the finest climates. These natural advantages are so constituted, as not to be impaired by any human efforts. By its position, it commands absolutely the Adriatic and Ionian seas—controls both the south of Italy and the western provinces of Turkey, and at the same time is independent of them both. The British influence over the pashas of the important province of Albania, will be little more than nominal; while France governs on the Save, at Cattaro, and at Corfu. The whole of the Adriatic sea, since the last treaty at Vienna, has become one vast arsenal of France, comprising the ports and dockyards of Cattaro, Ragusa, Zara, Curzola, Fiume, Trieste, Venice, Anema, Torento, &c.—possessing every facility of mutual communication, and abounding with the best materials for building and equipping fleets and naval armaments of all sorts. The republic of Venice owed its naval greatness to these very resources, which have been just brought into the exclusive possession of the usurper of Italy. Of this immense French arsenal, Corfu is the key. Yet, with this key in the possession of Great Britain, that now powerful arm of the Mediterranean would be at once reduced to little more than a choked harbour.’—Vol. i. pp. 305, 6.

Almost the only good thing we permanently obtained, at the Congress of Vienna, was the Protectorate of the Ionian republic. It enables us to watch over Greece, and curb the movements of Austria, whenever they may happen to take any commercial direction unfavourable to British interests. The latter power, therefore must, under ordinary circumstances, lean to our side, as against France and Russia. Sir Robert Adair has also very clear notions with regard to Candia, as being essential to our future preponderance in the Levant. Sooner or later the Turkish empire will be shared out amongst the greater European powers. France will probably attempt the seizure of Syria—Russia of Constantinople—Austria of Serbia and Bosnia. Our soundest policy will then be to form the Archipelago, with Crete and Cyprus, into a republic analogous to that of Corfu, Zante, Cefalonia, and Cerigo,—of course under British auspices. The independence of Egypt might thus be most effectually preserved, as being once more the great territory of transit through which civilization, and we trust christianity, may find their pathway to the Indus and the Ganges, the golden islands of the Orient, as well as the empires of Birmah, Siam, and China. Who can help looking forward to the crisis, which can be at no great distance; for calm as the surface of Christendom may now appear, there are elements at work, which must ere long develope marvellous revolutions? The Druze and the Maronite on Mount

Lebanon—the Circassian and the Russian from Trebizond to the Caspian—the ecclesiastical jealousies, congregating like vultures, around the holy sepulchre—the growing repulsiveness between the gloomy Turk and half emancipated Rayahs throughout the Ottoman provinces—the machinations of Nicholas and his ministers in Central Asia, and of Louis Philippe in the Mediterranean, wherever a French agent can worm his way, into a city, an island, or a pashalic,—these, and many more materials for combustion and explosion, are but waiting for the train and the match, to ignite consecutively and simultaneously, and appal us with the lurid ravages of an extensive social conflagration. Let Great Britain lose no time in endeavouring to grow wiser as she grows older—in learning prudence from the past—and in improving for the future the character of her foreign policy, as well as the schools in which our diplomatists are educated.

These volumes are beautifully got up, and reflect no little credit upon their universally respected publishers.

Art. VII. *Servia, the youngest Member of the European Family : or, a Residence in Belgrade, and Travels in the Highlands and Woodlands of the Interior, during the Years 1843 and 1844.* By Andrew Archibald Paton, Esq. 12mo. London, Longman & Co.

THE subject of this volume is very slightly known to our countrymen. Lying out of the range of our commerce, and possessing no great political importance, its revolutions have awakened but little interest, and the character and condition of its inhabitants have remained almost absolutely unknown. Servia belongs nominally to the dominions of Turkey-in-Europe, but is in a great measure independent of the Porte. It is bounded on the north by Hungary, on the south by Macedonia, on the west by Bosnia, and on the east by Wallachia and Bulgaria. Its greatest length north to south is about one hundred and eighty miles, and its breadth varies from one hundred to one hundred and sixty miles. Its population is computed to be a million, and the prevalent religious faith is that of the Greek Church. It was conquered by the Turks in 1365, but early in the present century a successful revolt took place, under the leadership of Cara Georg, a native chief, who continued to govern the country, till the general peace of 1814, when the domination of the Porte was restored, and Cara Georg sought refuge in the territory of Austria. The cruelties practised by the Turks soon provoked another revolt, the ultimate conse-

quences of which were the complete overthrow of their power in Servia, and the establishment of a government which, though wanting many of the elements of European freedom, is more consonant to the views, and more conducive to the interests of the population than that which previously existed.

Such is the country treated of by Mr. Paton, and we took up his volume with all the favourable prepossessions induced by our high opinion of his former volume, entitled 'The Modern Syrians.' We have not been disappointed in its perusal, for though it is destitute of the special interest which attached to his prior work, it has a charm of its own; and describes in an unaffected yet vivid style, the habits, both personal and social, of a people with whom we were previously but little acquainted. Having spent four years in the East, our author informs us that he began 'to feel symptoms of ennui, and a thirst for European life, sharp air, and a good appetite, a blazing fire, well-lighted rooms, female society, and good music.' He therefore sailed from Beyrout in an Austrian steamer, and in two days and a half arrived at Rhodes, of which place he remarks.

'An enchanter has waved his wand! in reading of the wondrous world of the ancients, one feels a desire to get a peep at Rome before its destruction by barbarian hordes. A leap backwards of half this period is what one seems to make at Rhodes, a perfectly preserved city and fortress of the middle ages. Here has been none of the Vandalism of Vauban, Cohorn, and those mechanical-pated fellows, who, with their Dutch dyke-looking parapets, made such havoc of donjons and picturesque turrets in Europe. Here is every variety of mediæval battlement; so perfect is the illusion; that one wonders the warder's horn should be mute, and the walls devoid of bowman, knight, and squire.'—p. 3.

At Smyrna Mr. Paton, in good John Bull style, 'signalized his return to the land of the Franks' by ordering a beef steak, and a bottle of porter, and by bespeaking the paper 'from a gentleman in drab leggings, who had come from Manchester to look after the affairs of a commercial house, in which he, or his employers were involved.' Thence he proceeded by way of Varna to Servia, briefly illustrating the state of society by occasional allusions which awaken regret at their not having been more largely unfolded. Having passed the Timok which separates Servia from Bulgaria, the scenery and habits of the country soon indicated a change from the region through which he had travelled.

'Lofty mountains seemed to rise to the west, and the cultivated plain now became broken into small ridges, partly covered with forest trees. The ploughing oxen now became rarer; but herds of

swine, grubbing at acorns and the roots of bushes, showed that I was changing the scene, and making the acquaintance, not only of a new country, but of a new people. The peasants, instead of having woolly caps and frieze clothes as in Bulgaria, all wore the red fez, and were dressed mostly in blue cloth; some of those in the villages wore black glazed caps; and in general the race appeared to be physically stronger and nobler than that which I had left. The Bulgarians seemed to be a set of silent serfs, deserving (when not roused by some unusual circumstance) rather the name of machines than of men; these Servian fellows seemed lazier, but all possessed a manliness of address and demeanour, which cannot be discovered in the Bulgarian.'—pp. 37, 38.

In his subsequent ride from Orsova to Dreucova, Mr. Paton tells us that he found himself 'in the midst of the noblest river scenery he had ever beheld, certainly far surpassing that of the Rhine and Upper Danube.' The noblest view, however, was obtained from the summit of the Kopaunik, which is described in the following brief extract.

'A gentle wind skimmed the white straggling clouds from the blue sky. Warmer and warmer grew the sunlit valleys; wider and wider grew the prospect as we ascended. Balkan after Balkan rose on the distant horizon. Ever and anon I paused and looked round with delight; but before reaching the summit I tantalized myself with a few hundred yards of ascent, to treasure the glories in store for the pause, the turn, and the view. When, at length, I stood on the highest peak; the prospect was literally gorgeous. Servia lay rolled out at my feet. There was the field of Kossovo, where Amurath defeated Lasar and entombed the ancient empire of Servia. I mused an instant on this great landmark of European history, and following the finger of an old peasant, who accompanied us, I looked eastwards, and saw Deligrad—the scene of one of the bloodiest fights that preceded the resurrection of Servia as a principality. The Morava glistened in its wide valley like a silver thread in a carpet of green, beyond which the dark mountains of Rudnik rose to the north, while the frontiers of Bosnia, Albania, Macedonia, and Bulgaria walled in the prospect.

'*Nogo Svet.*—This is the whole world,' said the peasant, who stood by me.

'I myself thought, that if an artist wished for a landscape as the scene of Satan taking up our Saviour into a high mountain, he could find none more appropriate than this. The Kopaunik is not lofty; not much above six thousand English feet above the level of the sea. But it is so placed in the Servian basin, that the eye embraces the whole breadth from Bosnia to Bulgaria, and very nearly the whole length from Macedonia to Hungary.—pp. 209—211.

At Belgrade our author met with Mr. Holman, one of the extraordinary men of our day. Various qualities confer distinc-

tion; and the blindness of this gentleman, associated with the fact of his extensive travels, has attached to him no slight degree of interest. Our readers will learn something of his habits from the following.

'One day I was going out at the gateway, and saw a strange figure, with a long white beard and a Spanish cap, mounted on a sorry horse, and at once recognized it to be that of Holman, the blind traveller.

'How do you do, Mr. Holman?' said I.

'I know that voice well.'

'I last saw you in Aleppo,' said I; and he at once named me.

'I then got him off his horse, and into quarters.

'This singular individual had just come through the most dangerous parts of Bosnia in perfect safety; a feat which a blind man can perform more easily than one who enjoys the most perfect vision; for all compassionate and assist a fellow-creature in this deplorable plight.

'Next day I took Mr. Holman through the town, and described to him the lions of Belgrade; and taking a walk on the esplanade, I turned his face to the cardinal points of the compass, successively explaining the objects lying in each direction, and, after answering a few of his cross questions, the blind traveller seemed to know as much of Belgrade as was possible for a person in his condition.

'He related to me, that since our meeting at Aleppo, he had visited Damascus and other eastern cities; and at length, after sundry adventures, had arrived on the Adriatic, and visited the Vladika of Montenegro, who had given him a good reception. He then proceeded through Herzegovina and Bosnia to Seraievo, where he passed three days, and he informed me that from Seraievo to the frontiers of Servia was nearly all forest, with here and there the skeletons of robbers hung up in chains.

'Mr. Holman subsequently went, as I understood, to Wallachia and Transylvania.—pp. 75, 76.

During his stay in Belgrade, our author had an opportunity of witnessing the return from banishment of two Servian patriots, whose services to the commonwealth, and recent exile, had greatly endeared them to the people. Such occasions afford opportunity for the display of national character, and are therefore worthy of being studied by the political philosopher. Mr. Paton's account is as follows.

'A few days after my arrival, Wucics and Petronievitch, the two pillars of the party of Kara Georgevitch, the reigning prince, and the opponents of the ousted Obrenovitch family, returned from banishment in consequence of communications that had passed between the British and Russian governments. Great preparations were made to receive the popular favourites.

'One morning I was attracted to the window, and saw an immense flock of sheep slowly paraded along, their heads being decorated with

ribbons, followed by oxen, with large citrons stuck on the tips of their horns.

'One vender of shawls and carpets had covered all the front of his shop with his gaudy wares, in order to do honour to the patriots, and at the same time to attract the attention of purchasers.

'The tolling of the cathedral bell announced the approach of the procession, which was preceded by a long train of rustic cavaliers, noble, vigorous-looking men. Standing at the balcony, we missed the sight of the heroes of the day, who had gone round by other streets. We, therefore, went to the cathedral, where all the principal persons in Servia were assembled. One old man, with grey, filmy, lack-lustre eyes, pendant jaws, and white beard, was pointed out to me as a centenarian witness of this national manifestation.

'The grandscreen, which, in the Greek churches, veils the sanctuary from the vulgar gaze, was hung with rich silks, and on a raised platform, covered with carpets, stood the archbishop, a dignified high-priest-looking figure, with crosier in hand, surrounded by his deacons in superbly embroidered robes. The huzzas of the populace grew louder as the procession approached the cathedral, a loud and prolonged buzz of excited attention accompanied the opening of the grand central portal, and Wucics and Petronievitch, grey with the dust with which the immense cavalcade had besprinkled them, came forward, kissed the cross and gospels, which the archbishop presented to them, and kneeling down, returned thanks for their safe restoration. On regaining their legs, the archbishop advanced to the edge of the platform, and began a discourse describing the grief the nation had experienced at their departure, the universal joy for their return, and the hope that they would ever keep peace and union in view in all matters of state, and that in their duties to the state they must never forget their responsibility to the Most High.

'Wucics, dressed in the coarse frieze jacket and boots of a Servian peasant, heard with a reverential inclination of the head the elegantly polished discourse of the gold-bedizened prelate, but nought relaxed one single muscle of that adamantine visage; the finer but more luminous features of Petronievitch were evidently under the control of a less powerful will. At certain passages of the discourse, his intelligent eye was moistened with tears. Two deacons then prayed successively for the Sultan, the Emperor of Russia, and the prince.

'And now uprose from every tongue, and every heart, a hymn for the longevity of Wucics and Petronievitch. 'The solemn song for many days' is the expressive title of this sublime chant. This hymn is so old that its origin is lost in the obscure dawn of Christianity in the East, and so massive, so nobly simple, as to be beyond the ravages of time, and the caprices of convention.—pp. 67—70.

In one respect at least the Servians have the advantage of our countrymen, whose pugnacious disposition constitutes a mine of wealth to the lawyer class, as it renders their interference necessary. With the exception of the Capital, lawyers

are in ill favour throughout Servia, and various plans are adopted to prevent any occasion for their services, 'I have been more than once amused' says Mr. Paton 'on hearing an advocate, greedy of practice, style this laudable economy and patriarchal simplicity—'Avarice and aversion from civilization.' The spirit of Demetrius and of his craftsmen is applicable to other things than idolatry.

Shabatz is described as resembling a good town in Bulgaria. Very few of the shops have glazed fronts and counters in the European style. The inhabitants wear the old Turkish costume except the turban, and are apparently intent, like the people of other cities, in gaining as much as possible of this world's gear. Our author paid a visit to the Arch-priest, Iowan Paulovitch, a self-taught ecclesiastic, whom he found in a room filled with books, mostly Servian, with some German translations, amongst which were Shakespere, Young's Night Thoughts, and a novel of Bulwer. He hastened to the Government House, to present his letters, and received much hospitality from the Collector, or principal officer. The account which he gives of his entertainment illustrates the social habits of the people, and throws light on the point of civilization to which they have attained.

'Our host' he tells us 'provided most ample fare for supper, preceded by a glass of slivovitsa. We began with soup, rendered slightly acid with lemon juice, then came fowl, stewed with turnips and sugar. This was followed by pudding of almonds, raisins, and pancake. Roast capon brought up the rear. A white wine of the country was served during supper, but along with dessert we had a good red wine of Negotin, served in Bohemian coloured glasses. I have been thus minute on the subject of food, for the dinners I ate at Belgrade I do not count as Servian, having been all in the German fashion.

'The wife of the collector sat at dinner, but at the foot of the table; a position characteristic of that of women in Servia—midway between the graceful precedence of Europe and the contemptuous exclusion of the East.

'After hand-washing, we returned to the divan, and while pipes and coffee were handed round, a noise in the court yard denoted a visiter, and a middle aged man, with embroidered clothes, and silver-mounted pistols in his girdle, entered. This was the Natchalnik, or local governor, who had come from his own village, two hours off, to pay his visit; he was accompanied by the two captains under his command, one of whom was a military dandy. After the usual salutations, the Natchalik began—

'We have heard that Gospody Wellington has received from the English nation an estate for his distinguished services.'

Author. 'That is true; but the presentation took place a great many years ago.'

Natch. 'What is the age of Gospody Wellington?'

'*Author.* 'About seventy-five. He was born in 1769, the year in which Napoleon and Mohammed Ali first saw the light.'

'This seemed to awaken the interest of the party.

'The roughly-clad trooper drew in his chair, and leaning his elbow on his knees, opened wide a pair of expectant eyes; the Natchalnik, after a long puff of his pipe, said, with some magisterial decision, 'That was a moment when nature had her sleeves tucked up. I think our Kara Georg must also have been born about that time.'

'*Natch.* 'Is Gospody Wellington still in service?'

'*Author.* 'Yes; he is commander-in-chief.'

'*Natch.* 'Well, God grant that his sons, and his sons' sons, may render as great services to the nation.'

'Our conversation was prolonged to a late hour in the evening, in which a variety of anecdotes were related of the ingenious methods employed by Milosh to fill his coffers as rapidly as possible.

'Mine host, taking a candle, then led me to my bedroom, a small carpeted apartment, with a German bed; the coverlet was of green satin, quilted, and the sheets were clean and fragrant; and I observed, that they were striped with an alternate fine and coarse woof.—pp. 104—107.

The state of education is represented as very hopeful, a rapid improvement having been recently effected, and the civil and ecclesiastical authorities uniting in its advancement. No details however, are furnished, to enable us to judge of the influence thus exercised over the national intellect. The result is probably similar to that which is elicited elsewhere, and we shall be glad of fuller information, to enable us to judge on this point. On the whole we are led to form a favourable opinion of the condition of the people whose good order and sobriety are noted by our traveller. Their character he regards as closely resembling that of the Scottish Highlander, and their personal appearance such as bespeaks strength of body and energy of mind. Of the hospitality displayed, he makes frequent mention, and it was obviously unselfish and cordial. The following may be taken as an instance.

'We now journeyed to Karanovatz, where we arrived after sunset, and proceeded in the dark up a paved street, till we saw on our left a *café*, with lights gleaming through the windows, and a crowd of people, some inside, some outside, sipping their coffee. An individual, who announced himself as the captain of Karanovatz, stepped forward, accompanied by others, and conducted me to his house. Scarcely had I sat down on his divan, when two handmaidens entered, one of them bearing a large basin in her hand.

'My guest,' said the captain, 'You must be fatigued with your ride. This house is yours. Suppose yourself at home in the country beyond the sea.'

‘‘What,’ said I, looking to the handmaidens, ‘supper already! You have divined my arrival to a minute.’

‘‘Oh, no; we must put you at your ease before supper time; it is warm water.’

‘‘Nothing can be more welcome to a traveller.’ So the handmaidens advanced, and while one pulled off my socks, I lolling luxuriously on the divan, and smoking my pipe, the other washed my feet with water, tepid to a degree, and then dried them. With these agreeable sensations still soothing me, coffee was brought by the lady of the house, on a very pretty service; and I could not help admitting that there was less roughing in Servian travel than I expected.’—pp. 182—184.

The journey however was not without its dangers. These arose principally from the fanaticism of the Turks, of which an instance occurred at Novibazar, a town of Bosnia, ‘miserable and filthy in the extreme.’ The immediate vicinity of this place to Servia has kept alive the hatred cherished by the Moslems towards the Franks, of whom one party only was remembered to have visited the town prior to our author. To this feeling Mr. Paton was obnoxious, and his safety, as the subjoined extract will shew, was ensured only by a rapid departure.

‘The castle was on the elevated centre of the town; and the town sloping on all sides down to the gardens, was as nearly as possible in the centre of the plain. When we had sufficiently examined the carved stone kaouks and turbans on the tomb stones, we re-descended towards the town. A savage-looking Bosniac now started up from behind a low outhouse, and trembling with rage and fanaticism began to abuse us: giaours, kafirs, spies! I know what you have come for. Do you expect to see your cross planted some day on the castle?’

‘The old story, thought I to myself; the fellow takes me for a military engineer, exhausting the resources of my art in a plan for the reduction of the redoubtable fortress and city of Novibazar.

‘‘Take care how you insult an honourable gentleman,’ said the over-rider; ‘we will complain to the Bey.’

‘‘What do we care for the Bey?’ said the fellow, laughing in the exuberance of his impudence. I now stopped, looked him full in the face, and asked him coolly what he wanted.

‘‘I will show you that when you get into the bazaar,’ and then he suddenly bolted down a lane out of sight.

‘A Christian, who had been hanging on at a short distance, came up and said—

‘‘I advise you to take yourself out of the dust as quickly as possible. The whole town is in a state of alarm; and unless you are prepared for resistance, something serious may happen: for the fellows here are all wild Arnaouts, and do not understand travelling Franks.’

‘‘Your advice is a good one; I am obliged to you for the hint, and I will attend to it.’

'Had there been a Pasha or consul in the place, I would have got the fellow punished for his insolence: but knowing that our small party was no match for armed fanatics, and that there was nothing more to be seen in the place, we avoided the bazaar, and went round by a side street, paid our khan bill, and mounting our horses, trotted rapidly out of the town, for fear of a stray shot; but the over-rider on getting clear of the suburbs, instead of relaxing, got into a gallop. —pp. 201—203.

There is much other interesting information furnished by Mr. Paton, to which our space does not permit us further to allude. Such of our readers as are interested in the inquiries he opens up will recur to his volume, and we can assure them of a solid return for the time employed in its perusal.

Art. VIII. *An Original History of the Religious Denominations at present existing in the United States. Containing authentic accounts of their Rise, Progress, Statistics and Doctrines. Written expressly for the Work by eminent Theological Professors, Ministers, and lay members of the respective denominations. Projected, compiled and arranged by J. Daniel Rupp of Lancaster, Pr. Philadelphia. 1844.*

THE very title of this book presents matter for serious reflection. Like Joseph's garment, it is a coat of many colours; but they are not all pleasing—neither are they altogether unsightly. In truth we are both sorry and glad to see it, and to glance over its contents. We are sorry to witness such an exhibition of human infirmity and prejudice, as the existence of so multifarious a diversity of sects and parties affords, when a brief sketch of them is sufficient to occupy a volume of between seven and eight hundred pages of a royal, or, were we writing in America where it is published, perhaps, we ought to say, republican octavo. Nor can it be otherwise than a subject of regret, that when Christianity is transplanted to other regions than our own, it should appear beyond the waters of the Atlantic, not in one form of purity, but still distorted, discoloured, and often clothed with filthy garments. It does, we must own, appear to us very extraordinary that such various and even opposite conclusions should be derived from the same volume and from the same words, by persons, in many instances, of equal intellectual power, opportunities of information, and, perhaps, diligence of research. The more so that in other paths of knowledge and inquiry there should exist, at least, a tolerable agreement, and in some most important ones, an entire unanimity. The laws of general science being propounded by a Kepler, or a Newton, or a La Place, after patient and per-

severing investigation, no one now thinks of disputing about the theory of the planetary motions, the mathematics of gravitation, and the causes of the celestial phenomena. It is true there are parties in science, or rather in particular sciences ; but these are comparatively few, and die out in the progress of discovery. How is it then that such divisions and even hostilities should continue to exist, nay, continually multiply in theology, the noblest of all the departments of wisdom ; and this, too, when the sources of instruction are not placed in the fallible documents of human teaching, but in the unchangeable truth and faithfulness of absolute inspiration ?

How is this, we ask ? It would seem to be a moral problem of difficult solution ; and were it not for some lights thrown upon the subject by the book itself, the attempt to unravel it would be all but hopeless. That book announces the fall of the human mind from its pristine purity and power. It declares that man has become depraved in his nature, and, therefore, gross in his conceptions. His liability to error is at once then obvious, and his numberless deviations to be attributed to the double obliquity of his heart and his intellect. His passions generate a thousand prejudices, and he learns to call evil good, and good evil. Differences of opinion, therefore, will arise, and from these alienations of feeling, as well as separations of interest and association.

But in addition to these and other considerations of a general kind, we feel justified in attributing much, both of the error and the division that prevails, to a cause which at first it may appear difficult to admit, because all parties claim to do what they are too apt to question that others do, at least with equal zeal and sincerity. Notwithstanding the pretensions of all, however, it is to be doubted if any fully and properly and unsophistically obey their Master's great injunction, who puts *the book* into their hands and authoritatively says, ' Search the *Scriptures*.'

There are innumerable multitudes who, though they may read, can never be said to search them at all, being satisfied with a formal and cursory perusal, but have nothing of the spirit of inquiry. There are others whose chief object is to justify their own pre-conceptions, or to sustain their party creeds ; having no real solicitude for the discovery of truth and the correction of error. Some use the scriptures merely as a record of antiquity, to acquaint themselves with the customs of nations, or the forms of language. In a word, without adverting to other instances, these sacred writings are not employed for their designed purpose ; the object is not kept in view ; their importance is not appreciated. But even where this cannot be affirmed, there is often a great defect of devout simplicity of mind ; of that prayerful and humble spirit, without which

the mines of this field of wisdom cannot be extensively explored, nor its treasures made our own.

We do not affirm that, notwithstanding their intellectual and other differences, persons would all come to exactly the same conclusions on all points of ecclesiastical discipline or christian doctrine; but we do unhesitatingly affirm, that were the single heartedness to which we have referred more general, there would be a far greater approximation to this coincidence of judgment, and, in proportion to its prevalence, there will certainly be a sensible approach to perfect unanimity.

It has been intimated that there are some reasons for satisfaction, as well as for regret, to which we have adverted, at the appearance of this volume. The source of our satisfaction is that, notwithstanding the varieties and even strange eccentricities of opinion which are exhibited, there is, to a great extent, a substantial agreement on what is vital to christianity. The moral feeling and the essential ground of hope may evidently exist in their purity and power amidst great intellectual diversities. The stream of thought may, upon the whole, flow in the right direction and to the right issue, though there may be many windings on its way, and though such may be its tortuosities that it may often run for some distances, even in opposite courses. Among the forty sects, or more, named, we should think that there are not six who do not hold firmly what may be deemed the elements of a real christianity. It is not, however, differences of judgment in religious matters that occasion so much danger to the general interests of truth, as alienations of heart from each other, and, as incident to it, a bigoted and blind adherence to party. Nor this only, but a pertinacious regard to the minor claims and petty objects of party. If the great and simple purpose of the mind be to elicit or to propagate the truth only, then we cannot be too much of partizans. In that case mistakes will be likely to diminish in number or in influence in the progress of research, and under the teachings of experience; and if not, their effect will not be greatly or permanently detrimental. Similarity of views will naturally generate parties; but simplicity of aim will as naturally modify and purify them.

On the other side of the Atlantic, with the same divisions and subdivisions in the christian church, we find, however, some sects altogether unknown here; having distinguishing designations given them from the local circumstances in which they originated, the persons active in their origination, or the peculiarities of sentiment on some small and dividing point. We regard them mostly as shadows—in some cases as palpable absurdities, and so let them pass.

The construction of this work is peculiar, and embodies a very excellent idea. It is not a statement of the sentiments of the different religious denominations on the part of an individual, who furnishes his own representations of those sentiments, but a compilation formed of the contributions of different writers, each undertaking to give a sketch of his own denomination. This plan is certainly calculated to secure historical and doctrinal accuracy, though it may not be entirely free from objections. No writer, as it is properly said, can have had any motive wilfully to misrepresent the doctrine of the denomination of which he is a member, though he may have been influenced by a bias natural to many, to present the 'beauties of his own faith' in glowing colours; and when this may have been attempted, the reader must be left to make due allowance. We leave the editor, however, to speak for himself, in the preface, in which he unfolds the design:—

'The projector and compiler of this work, while examining, many years since, 'Histories of Religions,' and hearing numerous complaints by ministers and lay members, of different denominations, that such books had unjustly represented their religion, was forcibly impressed, that a work like the one now offered to the public, was desirable and much needed: he then conceived the plan of obtaining the history of each denomination from the pen of some one of its most distinguished ministers or professors, thus affording each sect the opportunity of giving its own history; considering that a work thus prepared might be entirely free from the faults of misrepresentation, so generally brought against books of this character.

'To supply this desideratum, and to furnish a comprehensive history of the religious denominations in the United States, and also to present to the public a book as free as possible from all grounds of complaint, the projector, two years ago, made application to many of the most prominent divines and lay members of different denominations, for their views of such a work, receiving, in all cases, their approbation, and many at once consenting to aid, by writing or procuring the necessary articles.'

As a book of reference, we can generally recommend it; but we have been a little surprised at several mistakes in the spelling of the names of persons, which, in a production of this kind, is no mean blemish; and we must also be allowed to say that some of the writers do not seem to us to be of the first order in their respective denominations; nor, perhaps, was this absolutely requisite to accomplish the object contemplated.

Art. IX.—*The Times*, August 9, 1845.

ACCORDING to annual custom, parliament has been prorogued, and its weary members have not unreluctantly left the scene of their loves and hates—of their well-contested rivalry—of their bitter strife. The pedestrian, passing the old accustomed spot, as he looks at the deserted scene, may well parody the language of Beattie, as he mournfully exclaims—

‘Tis night, and *St. Stephen’s* is lovely no more.’

The reporters have at length obtained their needed rest ; and the patient reader of parliamentary debates no longer shakes his head in amazement and despair, as the ‘*Times*,’ with its ‘*Supplement*,’ is laid upon his breakfast table. Such a state of things calls for our hearty congratulation. At length we have breathing space, and room to turn. We have time to think of other things than sugar, or railways ; and, before forever it fades from our view, we would recall the session of 1845, and note, as best we can, whatever of memorable and peculiar it seemed to us to contain.

It began, as sessions begin, with the parade and show of a royal speech, as if the representatives of a great people required anything more to add to their weight than the fact, that they were in *St. Stephen’s* to legislate for *the national weal*. Were they what they professed to be—were they chosen by the people, instead of being the nominees and representatives of the vested interests—for we cannot call them rights—of such men as the Dukes of Marlborough and Buckingham, a speech from the throne might be dispensed with. However, we live in a day when appearances must be kept up, and the painted mask must not for an instant be dropped. The speech, though it contained nothing, was read—as the newspapers said at the time, ‘with that beautifully clear enunciation and expression which are so characteristic of Her Majesty.’ Addresses were passed full of loyalty and gratitude, and thus the pageant of a parliament began.

‘*I am the state*,’ was the language of the Bourbon in the Augustan days of the French monarchy ; and a stranger listening in the spectator’s gallery, might well imagine that our Premier, though his sense of decency forbade his uttering it, yet thought the same thing. No man is more unsparing in the use of the personal pronoun than Sir Robert Peel. Every other sentence is but a repetition of what *I* thought and what *I* did ; and yet no man living has less of the individual—no man living has less of faith and belief—no man is more the creature of circumstances and less of fixed purpose—no man is more

eager to bid any price for popular applause—and no man is less inclined to stand in the face of the world, by that which conscience may dictate to be right. There may be men ready to die as martyrs rather than live as apostates; but they are made of sterner stuff than Sir Robert Peel. The lord of Clumber may prefer to vegetate on his paternal acres, rather than to give up every political principle, and to admit that the whole of his past political life had been a blunder; but it is quite evident that the easy going proprietor of Drayton Manor has no such uneasy scruples to sit heavy on his soul. Well may ‘Punch’ bring against him the charge of bigamy. Sir Robert has not even the decency

‘To be off with the old love
Before he is on with the new.’

Like the Dean of St. Patrick’s, he makes loves to Stella and Vanessa at once, and he practices on them all the coy tricks of the matured coquette. One moment he is cold as charity, the next hot as fire; one month dreading dependence on foreigners as the greatest of all earthly ills, the next advocating it as a consummation most devoutly to be desired; one year joining the Orangemen in the ‘no Bible mutilation’ cry, and the next increasing the grant for that very system of education he had so zealously denounced in 1841, with a general election before his eyes. When the Buckinghams and Freemantles were to be propitiated, and the ignorant tenantry of Norfolk and Suffolk were to be gulled, he could say in his place in parliament, ‘I should like to know who has stood forward more than I have done in defence of the existing corn-laws? I should like to know whether any man, looking at the debates, can really have a doubt that my desire is to maintain a just and adequate protection to the agricultural interest.’ And now it is more than probable, that the very man who will destroy what little protection his sliding scale has left the farmer will be Sir Robert Peel himself. One day, at his own little borough of Tamworth, telling the farmers of the peculiar burdens on the land; and then, when pressed by Mr. Cobden in the House of Commons, stating that he was utterly unable to declare what those peculiar burdens were. In the same session, taking the duty off an article grown by slaves, living under the worst form of slavery, the American, and then coolly paying 2,415,000*l.* to the West India planters, because, forsooth, the fastidious Sir Robert so abhors the idea of consuming the cheap and slave grown sugar of Cuba and Brazil. Men may talk about the statesmen of America; we bid them look at home. We can tell them of a man who has been a statesman eight-and-thirty

years ; who has times without number deceived the very party who invested him with power—who has broken in the House every pledge he has given on the hustings—who drove, by the most unrighteous means, in the unscrupulous use of every bigoted prejudice, his opponents from office, merely to carry through the House the very measures they themselves had framed—who has veered with every turn of the political compass—who has declared, by his daily practice, that there is no such thing as principle or truth in the political world : and who yet can command the confidence and the votes of an overwhelming majority of the representatives of the nation. Walpole had immense majorities ; but that is easily explained, when we remember Walpole's dinners to the members, and the bank-notes neatly concealed beneath the plates ; but our English gentry are not the drunken, craving, worthless set they were in the good old times. They profess to believe that honour, religion, truth, are not mere fictions of the brain—that it is requisite that public men should have principles—and that the practice of the life should not give the lie to the profession of the lip ; and yet they stand by Sir Robert in every political turnabout—stand by him as their fathers stood by the 'heaven-born minister'—

‘The pilot who weathered the storm,’

and as their grandfathers rallied round Walpole, when they drank his port and pocketed his pay.

For confirmation, we point to the session that has just been brought to its close—a session that will long remain, we predict, rich in the possession of an unenviable notoriety—a session in which it may be truly remarked, those things have been done which ought not to have been done, and those things have been left undone which should have been done. When the chief actor in the parliamentary drama is the man whose portrait we have already sketched—when he has the place of honour and power—when his word is the oracle which all believe—the law to which all submit—we shall in vain expect to see anything like principle in the conduct of those who come there to legislate and rule. We begin with the very first proceedings of the session—with the financial statement, as Sir Robert chooses to term it. In a speech of three hours and a half, we have the farmer's friend come forward to assert the economical doctrines of the League, and judiciously avoiding bringing these doctrines into unpleasant collision with the giant monopolies of sugar and corn. Much has Sir Robert endeared himself to our hard-working countrymen, by that masterly policy which has retained the duty on corn—but which allows the importation

of orchill, duty free ; which says to the labourer, 'you shall pay for the sugar you require an exorbitant price, or otherwise I shall lose the votes of the West India interest ; but as a set off, glass decanters will be cheaper ; you will now be enabled to have double windows to your cottages, for the sum that single ones cost before, and—utterly unsolicited,—without one word being said, I have actually taken off the auction duty !' In truth, Sir Robert's generosity, like some men's wit, is not very obvious at the first view ; it requires some time to be completely understood, and for this paltry boon an increase of one million pounds was made in a time of peace to the navy and ordnance department, and the income-tax—a tax which, as at present it exists, cannot be for one moment defended ; which falls heaviest on the weak, and lightest on the strong, a tax which fleeces the poor man, and lets the capitalist, be he landlord or millionaire, go free ; that which the English clerk from his scanty pittance pays, but which the Irish landlord rolling in his wealth does not,—by a majority of more than two hundred votes was made perpetual.

On the 18th of February last, a yet more interesting subject of debate occupied the attention of the House. A heavy charge—a charge affecting his character as a man and minister had been brought against the secretary for the home department. The English government had been notoriously disgraced ; it had stooped to do the dirty work of foreign despots ; it had degraded itself to win a worthless smile from them. At home and abroad its conduct had elicited a well-merited contempt. We were on the continent at the time, and can affirm that the course pursued by the English government, at every public assembly, at the table d'hôte, aye, and the theatre, was held up as a matter of indignation and scorn ; and many a man, living under constitutions far less liberal than ours, could yet see and pity our degradation and dishonour. Well, parliament met ; the time for inquiry drew nigh. At length, the eventful hour came. The chivalry of our land, as they deem themselves, men of high ancestral name, of unsullied honour, of broad domains, crowded the benches of St. Stephen's ; whilst the member for Finsbury nobly endeavoured to blot out so foul a stain. The charge was fully stated, inquiry was challenged, refutation denied. What were Mr. Duncombe's resolutions ? we quote them entire.

'First, that there was a secret commission by which the sanctity of private correspondence was violated, letters opened and re-sealed, and then sent forward, as if they had never been opened, to their destination. Secondly, that Sir James Graham had exceeded his authority, and made an unscrupulous use of it, and had opened more

letters than any one of his predecessors. Thirdly, that the letters of certain foreign exiles had been opened, at the instigation of foreign powers: and that the contents had been communicated to those powers, that England had become the spy of foreign despots, and that in consequence several persons had been consigned to imprisonment and death on the scaffold. Fourthly, that the correspondence of foreign ambassadors had been opened by order of authority in this kingdom. Fifthly, that a roving commission had been sent some years ago into the manufacturing districts, to ascertain who was writing to whom; and, Sixthly, that the sanctity of his own correspondence had been violated, and that his letters had been opened by the secretary of state.'

For three nights was the debate gallantly sustained. Sir James Graham sheltered himself beneath official responsibility; Sir Robert Peel, irritated by the cutting attack made on him by Mr. D'Israeli, defended his colleague, and spoke with unusual tartness. The result is well known. Mr. Duncombe withdrew his resolutions in favour of Lord Howick's amendment, but found himself beaten by a majority of ninety-five. A few nights afterwards, even more skilfully than before, Mr. Duncombe brought the same subject forward. What he wanted was, inquiry in his own case,—his letters had been opened; he had witnesses ready to prove it. 'Let me but just be heard at your bar;' he pleaded, on ground that all could perceive; 'it may be your case to-morrow,' said he. Nothing was easier than for Sir James Graham to have vindicated his character, but that was not to be thought of for an instant, and all that Mr. Duncombe got by his motion was an idle compliment; and, considering the source whence it came, a very valuable expression of esteem. During all these debates, public opinion was one way, and the votes another. Even the members of parliament themselves could listen to Mr. Duncombe; they could cheer him as he hurled invective on the victim who, infatuated, seemed absolutely to court the exposure and to woo the blame; they could do all this; but yet independent, high-born gentlemen, as they were, they must share in the infamy the Home Secretary had so ignobly won. The degradation that he had earned for himself they must share as well. There were honourable exceptions, it is true. Lord John Manners and Monckton Milnes, and the author of 'Coningsby' refused to be dragged through the mire merely to please their own party, or to defeat a political opponent, the justness of whose case had been universally confessed; but those men who seek places for themselves or appointments for their sons,—the men with large families, with expensive habits, with narrow means—to whom the minister's smile is life, and his frown death; who

understand the miserable tactics of party, and are utterly ignorant of the weightier matters of the law; who, when the cue is given, vote to-night that to be black, which last night they voted to be white, and which to-morrow they will vote to be white again; these swelled the majority that defeated Mr. Duncombe's patriotic exertions, and by this means alone was Sir James Graham shielded from the repetition of the censure in the House, which, out of doors, had been everywhere deservedly pronounced upon his conduct. Coleridge's stinging satire has not lost its point or power. It was not in Pitt's time alone that the hero of that well-known poem—

‘ Could see a certain minister,
A minister to his mind,
Go up into a certain house
With a majority behind.’

And it was not in Pitt's time alone that that same personage could quote scripture—

‘ Like a very learned clerk,
How Noah and his creeping things
Went up into the ark.’

We next come to the debate on the sugar duties, in which as usual the free-traders had the arguments, and the monopolists the votes. In the debate on Lord John Russell's motion, relative to the inexpediency of keeping up a distinction between foreign free labour and foreign slave labour sugar, Mr. Macaulay delivered one of those brilliant speeches, which makes the reader regret that his oratory is not oftener applied to the cause of truth. Nothing could have been more masterly and unanswerable than the whole of that splendid performance—a speech to which Sir James Graham in vain attempted a reply; and which compelled Sir Robert himself to plead guilty. ‘It is difficult,’ said he, and judging from his conduct we should think it exceedingly difficult, ‘to take any course in which there is not some inconsistency’—an assertion on his part which might well be, as indeed it was, loudly cheered. But the West India interest was too strong for the free-traders, and Lord John Russell's motion was lost by a majority of 94. Nor were the subsequent efforts of Messrs. Cobden and Gibson more successful; and we may go on as we did before, wearing slave grown cotton—smoking slave grown tobacco—absolutely prohibiting the production of that article by free labour, on account of the three millions revenue we annually derive from its importation. We may continue buying slave grown sugar—bringing it from the Havannah or Brazil, refining it in London or Liverpool, and

then sending it abroad, that every nation under the sun may have sugar cheaper than the men whose rough hands and unwearied energies have made England the workshop of the world : and yet, at this present time, England is full to overflowing of maudlin sentiment and clap-trap philanthropy. Forgetting the mud cottages and the pauper-population of Dorsetshire, Lord Ashley comes forward, as the champion of small children, of needle-women, and of the great unwashed. In his earnest advocacy of good hours, and soap and water, he has unfortunately forgotten that charity begins at home.

But from questions of political economy, the House passed on to others more important still. In the speech made at the opening of parliament, her Majesty recommended '*the improving and extending the opportunities for academical education in Ireland.*' Rumour pointed to Maynooth, and for once spoke the truth. After the Easter recess, Sir Robert Peel—the man who had fatally damaged the Melbourne ministry by raising the no-Popery cry, came to the House and proposed a grant of 30,000*l.* for the Popish college at Maynooth. Never was there a question more diametrically opposed to the principles and feelings of the British nation—never did a question elicit a more extended or heartier opposition. Much of that opposition, however, the crafty premier appreciated at its proper value, and treated with contempt. Men who had fattened all their lives on state pay came down to Exeter Hall and Covent Garden to protest against state pay being granted to others than themselves. The British lion, said some, was roused, and the Maynooth bill could never be carried. There were men in St. Stephen's, said others, who would die sooner than that bill should become law. Alas, the bill did become law, and was carried through both Houses triumphantly ; and we have heard of no deaths amongst that small but devoted band, who were *said* to be, for we rather doubt the fact, ready to lay down their lives for the faith once delivered to the saints. 'Thank God,' said Mr. Blackburn at a meeting held at Islington, 'there is a House of Lords.' We fear that Mr. Blackburn's gratitude by this time has grown

' Small by degrees and beautifully less.'

The Lords did what the Commons did—they did not throw out the measure : it required some hardihood to expect they would. They may hate Roman catholicism ; but when the alternative is an increased grant to Maynooth, or the separation of the Irish church from the state, it is not difficult to imagine the course they would pursue. And this was the light undoubtedly in which the question was viewed in both Houses. Men of all parties professed to consider the endowment of the Roman catholic

priesthood as a natural consequence ; and it was with this idea the Bill was carried : and yet there were men—voluntaries in the abstract—even members of the Anti-state Church Association—such as Dr. Bowring and Mr. Trelawney, who voted for the grant.

As it is, the existence of the Irish church has been somewhat prolonged. There were two courses for ministers. They might have separated the church from the state. They might have said to the Roman catholics, 'You are fellow-subjects, and we will treat you as such. The church, whose ministers have ridden rough-shod through the land, which is rich with your spoil—which has been to you a terror and a scourge in every age of its existence, shall be abolished with the bitter distinctions it has created.' This they could have done, and the demon of religious animosity would at once have been banished, and order and peace would at length have visited that ill-fated land. But they preferred the other alternative ; they esteemed gold more powerful than a sense of right. The Irish church is to be continued for the present, and the Roman catholic priest is to be bribed with a paltry pittance, as disgraceful to him that gives as to him that takes. It remains to be proved, not whether the priesthood will degrade themselves, by the reception of the grant ; for though they object to state endowments for religion, yet they accept the Maynooth grant as a 'restitution'—a phrase we confess ourselves totally unable to understand—and it remains to be proved whether in the long run the dictates of expediency are to be preferred to those of principle, and whether Ireland will be much bettered by the homage protestant ascendancy has paid to fear. The short-sighted Roman catholics in Ireland have been outwitted by Sir Robert Peel. He must wonder now that he should ever have had to resign office merely on account of Ireland. The Whigs were taunted with paying court to O'Connell ; may not the self-same charge be brought against the ministers who not long since declared that 'concession had reached its utmost limits,' and whose law officers drew up the monster indictments ?

The grant to Maynooth was succeeded by the 'godless scheme of education,' as Sir Robert Inglis, in the anguish of his bosom, termed it ; and was remarkable for illustrating, if indeed that were needed, the inconsistency and utter want of principle of the ministers of the crown. It has been denounced by the Roman catholics as well. Education apart from religion, and professorships without tests ! May we not soon hope to find Cambridge and Oxford thrown open to the admission of dissenters ?

It is hardly necessary to speak here of other matters that occurred during the course of the session. The Secretary for the

Home Department has thrown out his Medical and Settlement bills, though, whatever were their merits, he might have been sure of ample majorities. We blame not, however, the government for not doing more; the less they do the better. We regret they have done so much. Were government to confine itself to what we take to be its proper department, that of keeping peace between man and man, its responsibility and labour would be much lighter than they are. To do justice alone to railway projects, requires more time and attention than can be afforded. To give them their due, we confess, that the members of parliament have been pretty constantly employed: in the committee-room all day, and in the House all night. They find, whatever they thought to the contrary, their post is no sinecure. If next session brings as many railway bills before parliament as this has done; and if Mr. Austin grows eloquent, as is his wont, on gradients, and termini, and subjects akin, many a member will regret the hour when his constituency did him the honour to elect him their representative.

But the subject wearies us, and we hasten to a close. 'Trust not in man,' is the language of Sacred writ—language that has been corroborated to the utmost possible extent during the late session. Little of good has been done; little of bad has been destroyed: but we have witnessed the fall of party. Whigs and Tories are no more: the rottenness of each of these great political parties which have held place and power ever since the Guelph family has been seated on the throne, has been proved to demonstration, and it has become apparent that the men of England, if they would achieve the liberty for which God has destined them, must put their shoulders to the wheel, and work for themselves. This session has shown, that the good seed has not been thrown away—that it has sprung up—that it promises to bear an abundant crop. It teaches, that an enlightened public opinion has been formed, which Sir Robert fears more than he does the bigotry of Oxford, or the monopolists of Buckingham. His shuffling and his inconsistency we hold in contempt. We deem it a national disgrace, that a man so reckless of principle—so careless of profession—should be the great man of the day whom all delight to honour; but the fact that he can trample on the men who raised him to power—that the ravings of bigotry which drove his predecessors from office, when raised against him, are as water spilt upon the ground—tells that there is a spirit walking the earth more potent than the Bennets and Tyrells of Essex and Suffolk, than mitred bishops, than coroneted dukes—a spirit unseen, but everywhere felt and everywhere heard, which compels the throne itself to do it ho-

mage—which tells that the darkness is past, that the day is come—that it is not in vain that Milton sang, that Hampden died, that Cromwell lived—that confessors and martyrs for the faith in days of old shrank not from the dangers of the Bastile—from the fires of Smithfield—from the *auto-da-fê* of Goa, of Lisbon, of Madrid. The Orangemen of Ireland, the no-Popery rectors of rural villages at home, will find it is hard to kick against the pricks. They cannot roll back the tide of public opinion, which advances fuller and freer every year—they cannot define its bounds—they cannot say to it, hitherto shalt thou come and no further, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed. It were as easy to attempt to ride the whirlwind, or to direct the storm. Of all powers, that of the onward march of a great people is the mightiest and the surest; though, according to some, every fresh move is inevitable death, the nation shews symptoms rather of increasing prosperity. We trust the old cry of bigotry will be raised no more. During the late Maynooth debate, it signally failed. ‘The church and state are in danger,’ said one noble lord in his place in parliament, ‘if this Bill be carried; we shall have bloodshed in England;’ of course, an hereditary legislator cannot but speak the truth. It seems to us, however, that his prophecy is some time in being fulfilled. We agree with him the state church is in danger; but it is in danger from its Days, and Marshes, and Moncktons, and Wetheralls—men who disgrace not the priesthood but humanity itself. The church is in danger from the increasing number of men who subscribe its creed, and eat its bread; whilst they preach the doctrines of another church. It is in danger even from its time-worn walls, where intolerance has been nursed into unnatural exuberance, and whence creep forth sworn champions of every political abuse, of every daring wrong. The church is in danger, when the people, weighing it in the balance, and finding it wanting, perceiving that it has sided with the oppressor against the oppressed—with the strong against the weak—with the rich against the poor—with the spirit of the world against the Spirit of the Lord—begin to discover that a state establishment is utterly hostile to all that is vital and spiritual in the religion of Jesus of Nazareth.

As regards free trade, the recent session has been attended with the most beneficial results. Sir Robert has laid the ground bare, and now the two monopolies of sugar and corn have nothing to shield them from the attack, or to save them when attacked. He has warned the landed and West India proprietors to set their houses in order. The hand-writing has appeared on the wall—their fate is sealed. Already we have

reached the beginning of the end; the farmers' friends are quieted with the possession of government places, and will not dare to put forward one finger in defence of the monopoly. At the least we may expect that even the ox should know his owner, and the ass his master's crib. One agricultural duke has a blue ribbon; another has a son with a place which much relieves the anxieties of the paternal bosom, and Sir Robert can therefore depend upon them. As for the farmers, if they still have faith in the men who represent the agricultural interest, if they still dream of protection, we must consider them in a state almost of mesmeric torpor. In the House, free-trade principles have been openly acknowledged—from abstractions, they have become practical realities. The question of the corn laws is now merely one of time. The people are with the League. Sir Robert knows well—an election is no test of popular feeling—that the masses, whatever may be the votes, are with the League and not with the monopolists; and it will not be long before the labours of Thompson, Cobden, and Bright, will be crowned with righteous success.

Nor, as regards the spread of Voluntaryism, has the session been altogether in vain. State churches, we predict, will now, prove rather troublesome, even to the advocates of state establishments themselves. Men who care anything for religion at all, will question the propriety of paying the clergyman of the English church to preach one doctrine, and the Roman Catholic priest another, in the same parish. The conscientious episcopalian, we should imagine, will prefer rather to have his own religion unendowed, than that what he deems error should be maintained by the state. We are glad to hear episcopalians, such as the Bishop of Cashel, and Baptist Noel, declaring, rather than have two establishments in Ireland, they would prefer to separate the church there from the state. Sir James Graham stated that in the House of Commons they had only to deal with religious matters on political grounds; a statement we thank him most sincerely for having made, and which we thank the Whigs and Tories who carried the Maynooth grant for making their own. On Sir James Graham's principles, then, if policy required it, he would be willing to endow any form of belief, whatever its truth or falsehood, and would be as ready to employ the power of the state in propagating the Shasters or the Koran, as in supporting, after a fashion, the word of God. We are glad such establishments of religion are fairly placed upon this footing. We support you, says the state to the church, not because you are the true church, but from sheer expediency, and from the same motive we are ready to support

another church that may teach what you deem damnable error. At the present time this is the favourite parliamentary theory of a state church. 'Anything for peace and quietness,' says the civil magistrate. 'I have nothing to do with the doctrines you preach to-day, I consider it expedient for you to preach from the Bible; to-morrow it may be politic for me to endow the faith held by the followers of Mahomet, of Mormon, or of Owen. Take my money and be satisfied with that.' We believe this to be a theory held by few but the liberals in the House of Commons. We cannot conceive of an earnest religionist holding the theory for an instant. It may do for the infidel, but it is impossible that a believer in the truth of christianity could consent to such an endowment. He would rather that religion should be left to itself; and to this alternative he will have to come. Even Mr. Macaulay thinks that if the voluntary principle were adopted, gentlemen with three or four thousand a year would be as religious as they are now, and we think they would, but he is afraid the poor would be deprived of an opportunity for worshipping their Maker; and for this reason he supports a national church. But what are the facts of the case? By whom are our chapels filled, but by the very men whom Mr. Macaulay fears the voluntary principle would altogether overlook? It would be well if the splendid rhetorician would take a broader view of matters than is his general wont. But we are glad that he and his fellow liberals have made clear how hollow and worthless they are. We are glad that the Maynooth question has tested the men whom, as dissenters, we have been too ready to trust. It is our own fault if they have an opportunity of betraying us again. During the late debates the ravings of bigotry had an utterance and a hearing; but if it had not been for Messrs. Sharman Crawford, John Bright, Charles Hindley, and Thomas Duncombe, no one would have imagined that there were larger classes of men in Great Britain who objected to the grant to Maynooth, not on account of sectarian animosity, but of the great principle that Cæsar may not interfere with the things of God—that the support of religious faith is a matter with which the government has nothing whatever to do. If it had not been for the conference at Crosby Hall, the invectives of Mr. O'Connell, and Mr. Shiel, and Lord Brougham, would have seemed to have had some foundation in fact; and that we have been so much misunderstood, that every virtue but the right has been attributed to us, is often imputed to the readiness with which we have sacrificed our principles to gratify the Whigs. At length, we trust, our past policy, has been repudiated, as well as deplored. In adversity we have learnt wisdom. The truth is become apparent to us all, that

we must be true to ourselves—that we must choose our own men ; that we must go with them to the hustings, and support them at the poll. What if we are beaten ! we cannot be worse off than we are now. Out of the representatives we have placed in the house, but four voted with Mr. Sharman Crawford in his amendment on the third reading of the grant to Maynooth. We have nothing to lose ; and everything to gain. The battle must be fought on the floor of St. Stephen's, and we must send men there trained for the fight. Edinburgh Reviewers ;—aye, even Westminster Reviewers, fail to come up to our mark. Of free trade they know everything—of a free gospel, nothing. In the struggles against class legislation, none have been more earnest than ourselves. We have, times without number, prayed our Norman aristocracy to do justice to the Saxon worker ; but we deem a state church the most monstrous abuse that ever blighted a land, and we may not sleep while that continues to exist. To the institutions of our country we pay all due regard. We obey the law, we honour the Queen ; but, above all, we keep our loyalty to Him who sitteth in the heavens, and we must not be silent, when the religion he intended as a blessing, through man's agency is turned into a curse. We must arouse ourselves for Christianity—marred so that its heavenly lineaments are altogether lost—and, for a God, insulted and denied. It may be pleasanter to sit at our ease—to be respectable—to avoid political effort on the plea of its being utterly incompatible with spirituality of life ; to fawn upon those who smite us ; and degraded, and vile, to be more degraded, and viler still—this may suit our worldly prospects better than the indignant denunciation of wrong, and the steadfast advocacy of the right. But woe be to us if these things move us, if we become recreant to our principles, if for one moment we allow the civil governor to interfere where alone God should reign.

Advocates of civil and religious liberty, fellow-dissenters, we beseech you to prefer principle to party—to stand by *your* 'order,' for the present eventful crisis : be firm, and the Whig leader will not again compare your spiritual teachers to the painted actor on the stage. Eschew the blandishments of statesmen and the toleration of the state church. Remember that the Whig majority who carried for Sir Robert Peel the grant to Maynooth, will not again be able, without your votes, to take their seats in St. Stephen's. Let them see you are not so much enamoured with the existing state church as to have any particular desire for another. Let them see that you are in earnest—that you make state churchism the test. Let it be understood that you give your votes only to the men who

will work day and night for its destruction. We do not want you to interfere with the most successful agitation of the day, that of the League. It will be the League's own fault if any of its candidates should lose your votes and his seat. The free trader in religion, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, will be a free trader in politics. Men, who hold both principles, will be found when the crisis arrives; but, if this should not be the case, retire from the contest; let the Whigs and Tories fight it out between them, and remember the time will soon come when the election will be, not on party considerations, but on high and enlightened principles. Whether men smile or frown—whether Lord John Russell sits on the treasury benches, or Sir Robert Peel, remain firm. Be not alarmed by the cry of a split in the liberal interest. Remember, that the Premier has not been more false to the agriculturalists than the liberal interest has been to you. From one end of England to the other—from Land's End to Johnny Groat's, men are laughing at those wise men of the East, the boors of Norfolk, and the Essex calves, who cannot yet see that the man for whom they turned out the Whigs, is playing them false; and you will deservedly meet with similar ridicule, if you still rally round the nominees of the Reform Clubs. The truth is, you and the liberal interest have little in common. When work is to be done, you and the Whig aristocracy must part. With their church patronage, with their younger sons and cousins, like the lean kine, snatching what they can get, and greedy for more, it were madness to expect they will join with you.

In conclusion, we again beg you to be true to yourselves—to the principles you hold—to the faith you own, and the God you serve. Turn not from the right path for interest—for man's smile or gold. To no earthly power succumb—from no duty shrink. It is fashionable to sacrifice principle to expediency, but let that be a custom better honoured by you in the breach than in the observance. Learn from the session of 1845 the falsehood of party—the utter hypocrisy of party cries—and that it is high time the people of England sent to St. Stephen's their own men to do their own work. Then would the dawn of England's true greatness appear, and her sun shine brighter and brighter to the perfect day.

Brief Notices.

The Diplomatic Correspondence of the Right Honourable Richard Hill, Envoy Extraordinary from the Court of St. James's to the Duke of Savoy, in the Reign of Queen Anne, from July 1703 to May 1706; Supplemental to the History of Europe, and illustrative of the secret policy of some of the most distinguished Sovereigns and Statesmen relative to the Spanish succession; of the rights and liberties of the Vaudois guaranteed by England, and of the wars in the Cevennes, Piedmont, and Lombardy, during that period. 2 vols. 8vo. London: John Murray.

THESE volumes, though not possessing much attraction to the general reader, will be found exceedingly valuable to the future historian of our continental politics in the early part of the eighteenth century. The period to which they relate, is one of the deepest interest and importance. Louis XIV., who had long threatened the freedom and independence of Europe, was beginning to quail before the combined forces of England, Holland, Austria, Prussia, and Portugal; and Mr. Richard Hill was despatched in July, 1703, to the Duke of Savoy, in order to secure his adhesion to the Grand Alliance. In the prosecution of his mission he had to encounter very formidable obstacles; but by his prudence, sagacity, and firmness, he ultimately succeeded in subsidizing the Duke. He was evidently, as Bishop Burnet remarks, 'very able in business;' and, though a Tory, was zealously devoted to the continental policy of King William. His letters throw much light on the character of some of the chief actors in the scenes referred to, and are specially valuable as illustrating the manner in which the British treasury has been laid under tribute for the service of other European States. To the general reader, the principal charm of the volumes will be derived from the record they furnish of the efforts made by England on behalf of the Vaudois. The treaties of 1690 and 1704, made on their behalf with the Duke of Savoy; the edict for their re-establishment in 1694, and many letters and other documents expressive of English sympathy with that interesting people, are interspersed with other matters which the historian will highly prize. To all those, therefore, whose habits incline them to a minute investigation of the causes of events, or who are interested in acquiring a more accurate knowledge of men and events than daily journals furnish, we cordially recommend the volumes before us.

A Popular History of Priestcraft in all Ages and Nations. By William Howitt. Seventh edition, with large additions. London: J. Chapman.

The seventh edition of a book is somewhat of a marvel in our days, and we congratulate Mr. Howitt, and the good cause to which his

labours have been devoted, on his having attained this distinction. It is needless that we should say anything in praise of a volume which has received such patronage. The author has done right in acknowledging the favour of the public, by improving his volume to the utmost, and we strongly recommend such of our readers as are not already acquainted with it, to lose no time in making its acquaintance. The present edition contains several entirely new chapters, and the whole work has been so got up as to present three times the original information, at a considerably reduced price. The following extract is a sample of the information which Mr. Howitt supplies, and will serve to explain the secret cause of that zeal which our aristocracy evinces on behalf of the State-Church.

‘The whole history of the church of England shows how completely the aristocracy have looked upon it as a source of plunder, and a mere money concern. The amount of property which they managed to get hold of when Henry VIII. broke up the catholic establishment was enormous. It constitutes the immense estates of some of our proudest nobility, particularly of the house of Bedford. Few of the old families of the nobility and gentry but hold comfortable morsels of it. The amount of tithes that got into the possession of the laity is immense. But the property, still called church property, is not the less the prey of the aristocracy. In the first place, they hold possession of the whole of the parish livings in one shape or another. By a return to parliament in 1818, the number of churches and chapels of the Establishment in the kingdom, was 11,743. Of these the crown presented 1,041, or, in other words, the aristocracy in power had the patronage of them under the following heads.

The first lord of the treasury	103
— lord chancellor	899
— chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster	39
	<hr/>
	1,041
The 26 bishops	1,303
— 30 deans and chapters	1,037
— 20 colleges of Oxford	403
— 18 colleges of Cambridge	280
300 peers and baronets	1,400
Six schools, etc., in London, etc.	45
About 4,000 private patrons	6,234
	<hr/>
	11,743

‘Thus, with the exception of perhaps a few out of the forty-five presented by schools, though public schools in the country are generally, too, under the management of the aristocracy, the whole of the livings of England are the property of the aristocracy, to present to their children and relatives, and, in default of these, to sell to the highest bidder; as we have shown is done every day. The following list will show some of the causes of opposition to church reform in the House of Peers, besides what originates with the bishops.

	WHIGS.	Livings.
The Earl of Craven is patron of		13
— Earl of Albemarle		9
— Duke of Cleveland		14
— Duke of Sutherland		8

— Duke of Portland	10
— Duke of Bedford	27
— Earl Fitzwilliam	31
— Duke of Devonshire	48
— Duke of Norfolk	21
Lord Yarborough	15

TORIES.

The Marquis of Aylesbury	9
— Marquis of Bath	13
— Earl of Lonsdale	32
— Duke of Buckingham	13
— Marquis of Bristol	20
— Earl of Shaftesbury	12
— Duke of Northumberland	13
— Duke of Rutland	29
— Duke of Beaufort	29

‘The bishops, including the four Irish ones now in parliament, have upwards of 1,900 livings in their gift, and the peers altogether about 4,050.’

The Life of Isaac Milner, D.D. F.R.S., Dean of Carlisle, etc. Comprising a portion of his Correspondence and other writings, hitherto unpublished. By his Niece, Mary Milner. Second Edition, abridged. London: Seeley and Co.

IN this edition various matters relating to the University of Cambridge, and devoid of general interest, have been omitted, while some additions have been made which increase the value and usefulness of the work. It has thus been brought within the dimensions of ‘The Christian Family Library,’ and cannot fail to obtain, as it well merits, a wide circulation. There are of course many things in the volume to which we do not assent, but we love christian excellence wherever it is found, and not the less, for such points of minor discrepancy as may exist between equally devoted believers.

Illustrations of the Practical Power of Faith, in a series of Popular Discourses on part of the Eleventh Chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews. By T. Binney. Second edition. London: J. Snow.

‘THERE has been no endeavour,’ Mr. Binney informs us in his Advertisement to this edition, ‘to introduce improvements,’ and he then proceeds in a manner more creditable to his modesty, than satisfactory to us, to state reasons for the fact. Few volumes have recently appeared which needed improvement less, yet we should have been glad to receive the benefit of the Author’s reflection and growing experience between 1830, when the first edition was published, and 1844, when the present one made its appearance. However, we are glad to receive it even in its present form, and cordially recommend its early perusal to such of our readers as have not already been benefitted by it. Its style and tone of thought are thoroughly healthful, while its exhibitions of practical christianity are admirably adapted to command the respect and confidence of all intelligent readers.

Benevolence in Punishment, or Transportation made Reformatory. pp. 175. Seeley. 1845.

THERE is great difference between a morbid sympathy with criminals, and a benevolent regard for their welfare. They are opposites. The one implies weak impressions of crime, the other powerful; the one is cruelty to the innocent public, the other kindness. It will be well if the miserable displays of the first that have been made of late do not produce a re-action to the injury of the last. The little work before us is a sensible plea, written in a good spirit, for the treatment indicated in the title. On some points we dissent from the author; but his many suggestions and important facts, deserve the attention of all who would unite in the highest degree justice with mercy.

A Supplement to the Horæ Paulinæ of Archdeacon Paley; wherein his argument from undesigned coincidences is applied to the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the First Epistle of Peter; and shewing the former to have been written by the Apostle Paul. By Edward Biley, A.M., late Fellow of Clare Hall, Cambridge; Minister to the English resident at Tours, in France. pp. 228. Seeley. 1845.

MR. BILEY is, according to the accounts we have heard of him, a minister of the right sort, working hard and doing good, in the important sphere which he occupies. His addiction, therefore, to such studies as the present publication indicates, is highly commendable. No one, acquainted with the nature of the subject, will entertain a poor opinion of the judgment or diligence of him who fulfils such a task with tolerable success.

The celebrated argument of Paley, drawn from undesigned coincidences, is *in itself* a very admirable one. We say 'in itself,'—for we do not imagine that it possesses much actual efficacy in the case of unbelievers. It requires a careful attention, a delicacy of judgment, an impartial perseverance, which are rather to be looked for from the believing than the sceptical—from those who do not need it, than from those who do. And it is an argument that requires such nice management to have any force at all—affording so much room for fancy—and demanding such clearness of mind and candour of feeling—that very few are likely to wield it well. Mr. Biley appears to possess in a considerable degree the qualifications necessary to its safe and successful conduct, and has produced a work which it is no presumption to call a 'Supplement to the Horæ Paulinæ.' It bears signs of an intelligent, candid, careful mind, and will be valued by those whose tastes or wants dispose them towards such inquiries.

The value of the work is increased by the appendix, containing a reference to some errors in Eusebius—a vindication of the usual mode of explaining, 2 Thess. ii. 3—8,—and a Table of Paul's Journeys, compiled from the Acts and the Epistles.

Thoughts on the Holy Spirit and his Work. By the Author of 'Thought upon Thought.' pp. 347. Snow. 1845.

THE former work of this author obtained a good measure of acceptance. The title was attractive, and the matter such as to repay perusal. The present is a more important effort of authorship; but we question whether it fulfils the promise of its predecessor. The subject is well chosen. If the doctrine of the Holy Spirit is a truth, it is a momentous truth, and nothing can be more desirable than the possession of scriptural views of it. There is much to occasion apprehension in the tendency of opinion, in some quarters, upon this subject. Friends as we are to the fullest investigation of theological dogmas, and destitute as we are of all sympathy with very much that is 'assuredly believed' and taught respecting divine influence by some orthodox schools, we yet regard with unaffected concern many speculations that have appeared in modern times upon this prime article of the christian faith. It is not difficult to see that, under cover of a philosophic or scriptural phraseology, they do, in fact, deny the real doctrine of the Holy Ghost. Pressed by the moral difficulties of the subject, men have sought to evade them, and have been thus led by degrees, imperceptible perhaps to themselves, to get rid of the doctrine altogether—their philosophy and their exegesis being worthy of each other. There is no topic of scriptural theology more deserving, and more in need of a thorough discussion, at the present time, than the doctrine of divine influence, nor one that requires in its discussion a larger combination of the highest intellectual and spiritual qualifications. We cannot congratulate our author on being the man to meet the necessity of the case. He has produced a practical treatise, containing a considerable amount of scriptural truth, and many thoughts that none can deny, and all should remember, but he has not added anything to our knowledge of the subject, nor presented common ideas in any new form or combination. The following are the contents of the volume:—Part I.—The Holy Spirit. Section 1. His Personality. 2 His Deity. Part II.—The Work of the Spirit in relation to Christian Experience. Section 1. The Spirit, the author of New Life. 2. The Means the Spirit employs in effecting his gracious Work. 3. Conviction of Sin the Work of the Spirit. 4. The Intercession of the Spirit. 5. The Witness of the Spirit. 6. The Striving of the Spirit. 7. The Love of the Spirit. 8. On grieving the Spirit. 9. The Sin against the Holy Ghost. Part III.—The Work of the Spirit in relation to the Extension of the Kingdom of Christ. Section 1. The Preaching of the Gospel the Dispensation of the Spirit. 2. The Glory of Christ the End of the Spirit's operations. 3. A perishing World waiting for the Reviving Spirit.

Hogg's Weekly Instructor. Parts I. to IV. Royal 8vo. Edinburgh: James Hogg.

It is somewhat out of our course to notice such publications as the present, yet there is so much in the plan and execution of this work

which we heartily approve, that we cannot lay it by without a tribute of commendation. As the title imports, it is issued weekly, and consists of sixteen pages royal 8vo, printed in double columns, with a clear type, at the low price of three halfpence. It has originated, and the numbers we have seen bear out the statement, 'in a motive purer and better than a thirst for distinction, or a desire to make money.' Though not, in the conventional sense of the word, a religious publication, it evinces a supreme regard to its influence, scrupulously shuns what is unfriendly to religion, and does not hesitate on all suitable occasions to offer explicit homage to its divinity and worth. Science and literature, biographical sketches of celebrated persons, and excursions into the wide field of general history, together with poetry and fiction, are combined in happy proportions, and throughout the whole there is evinced much taste and solid information. The useful and the pleasing are united in an unusual degree; and we can scarcely imagine a work at once more suited and more attractive to our younger readers. As a family book it may be introduced with confidence, and when once known, its presence will not be readily dispensed with. It may be had in monthly, as well as in weekly, parts.

The Church Advancing; a Popular Address to Roman Catholics, on the present Encouraging Aspect of Affairs: designed to stimulate the Faithful to retrieve the Error and efface the Crime of the Reformation. Edited by J. Wakeham. 8vo. pp. 23. London: Aylott and Jones.

A SHREWD and clever pamphlet, in which the author skilfully traces the essential element of Puseyism throughout its various ramifications, and shews that, under every form, it is opposed to the spirituality of the christian system, and the free thought and manly growth of the human soul. How the 'Address' came into the hands of its editor we are told 'it would be inconvenient to divulge,' and for the proofs of its genuineness and authenticity, reference is made to itself. We leave our readers to form their own judgment on these points, after having perused the pamphlet for themselves, and especially recommend to their attention that part which relates to the puseyism of dissent. Strange as it may appear, there is much of this, and we thank the editor, whoever he may be, for having directed attention to it. By the bye, it is only fair to remark, that his observations indicate a misconception of the sentiments of one at least of the denominations referred to, but this is no marvel on the part of an advocate, real or feigned, of the papal church. We cordially recommend the pamphlet to our readers. There is a dry humour and raciness in it, a suppressed laughter, yet depth of conviction, which it is refreshing to meet with.

The Mission; or Scenes in Africa: written for Young People. By Captain Marryat, 2 vols. London: Longman.

As the title-page imports, these small volumes are intended for young people, and to such they will prove vastly attractive. They are full of adventure, literally crowded with lions, elephants, hippopotami, buffalos, and other wild beasts. The tale itself is very simple and soon told. The only daughter of Sir Charles Wilmot, an elderly gentleman, was wrecked in the Grosvenor East Indiaman, and for a long time was supposed to have been drowned. Rumours, however, at length reached England that some of the passengers had been saved, and were still living amongst the wild tribes of Africa. Sir Charles was of course greatly excited by these rumours, and his grand-nephew, Alexander Wilmot, volunteered to go to Africa in order to ascertain their truth or falsehood. In the prosecution of this mission he repaired to the Cape, whence, accompanied by Mr. Swinton, a naturalist, and Major Henderson, an officer of the Indian Army, then on leave of absence, he travelled into the interior, and speedily satisfied himself of the death of his relative. Such is a bare outline of the fiction. The filling up consists of hunting expeditions, illustrations of natural history, sketches of distinguished chiefs, and delineations of the habits of Bushmen, Caffres, and Hottentots. The tone of the work is eminently correct, and the attempt at the *religious* is so obvious as to produce something like a ludicrous effect. Full justice is done to the missionary and to the worth of his labours, and there is a heartiness in this which betokens sincerity.

In a literary point of view, however, the work before us will not raise the author's reputation, neither can we consent to accept it as a substitute for the 'Peter Simples' and 'Jacob Faithfuls,' which he formerly provided for our entertainment.

The Descriptive New Testament. By Ingram Cobbin. Smith.

THIS volume is intended for 'youth, somewhat advanced in knowledge,' and forms a worthy addition to the works explanatory and illustrative of the Word of God, by which Mr. Cobbin has laid the religious public under obligation. It contains the authorised version; notes explanatory of rites, customs, sects, phraseology, topography, and geography; upwards of eighty embellishments; and two maps, one of the Holy Land, and one of the travels of Paul. The design is good, and appears to be well executed. As a present to youth, we know nothing better than the 'Descriptive New Testament.'

Christ, the Christian's God and Saviour. In four Parts. By the late Rev. James Spense, M.A. pp. 286.

THIS treatise was written by an excellent man, whom God removed

in the midst of his days, and who has left behind him a grateful savour of Christ. The author gives as reasons for its publication the following :—

‘ First—I think it may be useful to those persons who cannot afford to purchase the works of Drs. Wardlaw and Smith, on the same subject, and yet desire to see it treated at greater length than is done in single sermons, or in very small books.

‘ Second—The evidence is presented in rather a new form ; and, through the goodness of God, may carry conviction to some minds, which have hitherto resisted and rejected the truth.

‘ Third—The inspiration of the scriptures, which has been assumed by orthodox writers in this controversy, is in this treatise, although briefly, I trust satisfactorily, proved to all that are disposed to pay deference to the authority of Christ.’

This is not saying too much. Without expressing an opinion on particular arguments, and quotations, we can conscientiously commend the work to attention, as a popular, and, for its extent, comprehensive, discussion of the ‘ Witness of Christ—the Holy Scriptures’ —‘ The Person of Christ, God-man ’—‘ The Work of Christ, Atonement, Intercession, Reign ’—‘ The Claims of Christ, or the Duties we owe Him.’ It is written in a clear style, with good sense and ability. There is a large class of persons in whose hands we should like to see it, believing that its intelligence would secure respect, and that its reasoning would assist faith.

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1. *A Manual of Phonography ; or, Writing by Sound : a natural method of writing by signs that represent the sounds of language, and adapted to the English language as a complete system of Phonetic Short Hand.* By Isaac Pitman. Bagster.
 2. *The Alphabet of Nature.* By Alexander John Ellis, B.A., originally published in the *Phonotypic Journal*. Bagster.
 3. *The Phonotypic Journal, for the year 1844.* Vol. 3. Bagster.

THESE are some only of the publications now lying before us on the subject of phonography and phonotypy, a system of writing and printing, ‘ in which the same sound has always the same symbol, and the same symbol has always the same sound.’ We presume that no one can doubt the desirableness of establishing, if it can be done, ‘ an exact correspondence between the writing and pronunciation.’ It would be, to use the words of Sir John Herschel, ‘ one of the most valuable acquisitions not only to philologists, but to mankind ; facilitating the intercourse between nations, and laying the foundation of the first step towards a universal language, one of the great desiderata, at which mankind ought to aim, by common consent.’ But we can easily see how encumbered with difficulties is the prosecution of this design. It will be impeded by ignorance, prejudice, and habits, that are well nigh enough to terrify the stoutest heart, in addition to all the common and necessary difficulties of any such

undertaking. The subject has, however, been taken up, by apparently honest, earnest and intelligent men. A phonographic institution is in existence—the press has been set vigorously to work—and the ‘literary reform’ has made some progress.

Memoirs and Remains of the Rev. Robert Murray M'Cheyne, Minister of St. Peter's Church, Dundee. By the Rev. Andrew A. Bonar, Minister of the Free Church of Scotland, Collace. 2 vols. Hamilton, Adams and Co.

MR. M'CHEYNE was a minister of the church of Scotland, belonging to the ‘Free’ party, and forming one of the deputation to Palestine. His course was brief, his ‘sun went down while it was yet day,’ for he was born in 1813, and died in 1843. Yet did he *live* long, for his life was one of eminent spirituality, laboriousness, and fruit. Seldom, indeed, have we met with a finer specimen of ‘the man of God.’ The power of his ministry, and the charm of his memoir, is love to Christ, and we can scarcely imagine a private christian, or a pastor, tracing his course and perusing his remains, without being baptized afresh with the spirit of the gospel. Our recommendation of these volumes is not formal. We earnestly hope our readers, and especially our ministerial readers, will possess and ponder them, for the sake of their piety. Verily they are needed.

Life in Earnest. Six Lectures on Christian Activity and Ardour. By the Rev. James Hamilton, National Scotch Church, Regent-square. pp. 136. Nisbet and Co. 1845.

MR. HAMILTON is evidently a man of imagination, in the habit of observing men and things, and anxious to do good. We should call these lectures ‘preaching in earnest.’ They have an aim, and are addressed towards it with considerable skill. The freedom and freshness of the style and spirit, contrast favourably with the monotony and tameness of a great portion of printed sermons.

Literary Intelligence.

Just Published.

The World surveyed in the 19th Century; or Recent Narratives of Scientific and Exploratory Expeditions (undertaken chiefly by command of Foreign Governments). Translated, and (where necessary) abridged by W. D. Cooley. Vol. I., Parrot's Journey to Ararat.

The Modern Orator, Part VIII. Sheridan, Part VI.

The Hexaplar Psalter. The Book of Psalms, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and English. The Hebrew Text after Van der Hooght, the Greek of the LXX, the Vulgate Latin, Jerome's Hebrew Latin, the English Liturgical Version, and the English Authorized Version, in six parallel columns.

The Interlineary Hebrew and English Psalter, in which the construction of every word is indicated, and the root of each distinguished by the use of Hollow and other Types.

Knight's Book of Reference. Political Dictionary, Vol. I., Part VII.

The Anti-state-church Catechism, adapted for popular use. By the Rev. A. J. Morris.

Remarks on the Connexion between Religion and the State. By William Urwick, D.D.

A Concise View of the Ordinance of Baptism. By William Urwick, D.D. Songs, Ballads, &c.

The Nursery Governess. By the Author of 'the Week.'

Miscellaneous Poems. By Elizabeth Piddocke Roberts.

Illustrations of the Law of Kindness. By the Rev. G. W. Montgomery. Second Edition, with Considerable Additions, and a Supplementary Chapter on Almsgiving, by John Washbourn.

Memoirs of the late Rev. John Reid, M. A., of Bellary, East Indies: comprising Incidents of the Bellary Mission for a period of eleven years, from 1830 to 1840. By Ralph Wardlaw, D.D.

Notes on the Rise, Progress, and Prospects of the Schism from the Church of Rome, called the German Catholic Church, instituted by Johannes Ronge and J. Czerzki in October, 1844, on occasion of the pilgrimage to the Holy Coat at Treves. By Samuel Laing, Esq.

The Lads of the Factory, with Friendly Hints on their Duties and Dangers.

Sacred Biography illustrative of Man's Threefold State, the Present, Intermediate, and Future. By J. Smith, M. A.

Christian Exertion, or the Duty of the private Members of the Church of Christ to labour for the Souls of Men, explained and enforced.

The Village Paupers, and other Poems. By G. W. Fulcher. Second Edition.

Plane Trigonometry and Mensuration, for the use of the Royal Military College. By William Scott, M.A., F.R.A.S.

Exercises in Logic, designed for the use of Students in Colleges. By J. T. Gray, Ph.D.

The History of the Conspiracy of Catiline and of the Jugurthine War. By Caius Crispus Sallustius. Translated by Edward Peacock, M.A.

Tract xc. Historically Refuted; or a Reply to a work by the Rev. F. Oakely, entitled the Subject of Tract xc. historically examined. By William Goode, M.A., F.S.A.

Letters of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland, selected from the 'Recueil des Lettres de Marie Stuart,' together with Chronological Summary of Events during the reign of the Queen of Scotland. By Prince Alexander Labanoff. Translated with notes, and an Introduction, by William Turnbull, Esq.

The Biblical Repository and Classical Review. Edited by John Holmes Agnew. July, 1845.

The History and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church; containing an account of its Origin, Government, Doctrines, Worship, Revenues, and Clerical and Monastic Institutions. By John Lingard, D.D. 2 Vols. 8vo.

The Bible Student's Concordance; by which the English Reader may be enabled readily to ascertain the literal meaning of any word in the Sacred Original. By Aaron Pick.

The Church of Scotland Pulpit. Vol. I.

A Handbook of Devotion. By Robert Lee, D.D.

THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR OCTOBER, 1845.

- Art. I.—1. *The Power of the Soul over the Body, considered in Relation to Health and Morals.* By George Moore, M.D. London: Longman and Co. 1845.
2. *Human Magnetism; its Claims to Dispassionate Inquiry: being an attempt to show the Utility of its Application for the Relief of Human Suffering.* By W. Newnham, Esq., M R.S.L. London: Churchill. 1845.
3. *Mesmerism and its Opponents: with a Narrative of Cases.* By George Sandby, jun., M.A., Vicar of Flixton, Suffolk. London: Longman. 1844.
4. *Letters on Mesmerism.* By Harriet Martineau. Moxon. 1845.

At all events it can no longer be said that mesmerism fails to attract attention. The press begins to teem with publications upon the subject. Itinerant and mischievous lecturers perambulate the country, and are throwing towns, villages, schools, and factories into a mania of manipulations. Charlatans and mountebanks are expecting a revival of those golden days when Messrs. Benamor and De Maneduke operated upon the models of noses, whose owners had quaffed a certain quantum of claret and portwine; but who wished to get rid of their rubicundity and carbuncles, whilst suffered to pursue their ordinary avocations in the East or West Indies! But imposture and pretension, however, will be for once mistaken. Science has at length

entered the field. She carries in her hands balances and a crucible. We hail her approach to this investigation with unmingled pleasure. All that reasonable people can demand is dispassionate inquiry. That psychology will derive advantages, in the way at least of illustration, from the phenomena of what is termed magnetism, we fully believe. Our intention is, to give within the compass of a few pages, if we can, some account of Mesmer and mesmerism : we shall then venture to offer our passing remarks upon the publications at the head of this article ; and, finally, with equal brevity, shall endeavour to present the reader with our own conclusions. Prejudice must in the end give way to the force of truth ; but we shall never forget the remark of Hervey, that he felt persuaded no member of his own faculty would believe in the circulation of the blood—who was above forty years of age. May the nineteenth century witness better things.

There can be no doubt amongst scholars and antiquarians, that something analogous to, if not altogether identical with magnetism, has existed from the earliest times. We remember years ago, in the course of our classical reading, a Greek epigram as old as six hundred years before the Christian era, allusive to a mode of cure by taction. The mysteries of ancient ages, as well as many monkish miracles of the mediæval period, were more or less connected with this great medicine of nature. We could easily mention a multitude of names and authorities in support of the assertion. But be that as it may, it was about the commencement of the American war, that Anthony Mesmer startled the gay capital of Maria Theresa with what he called his discoveries. Switzerland had been the land of his birth, but he had settled at Vienna as a physician, where he is said to have previously given to the world several fanciful theories, respecting the influence of the stars on the human frame, and other topics connected with astrology. The adversaries of his fame utter acrimonious reproaches about these preliminary vagaries ; as if all flame were not preceded by some smoke, or as if astronomy itself had not been heralded by similar precursors. He had for some time been making use of the common magnet in his medical practice ; but perceiving that he was able to produce very remarkable results without any loadstone at all, he thought they must proceed from the influence of a power emanating out of his own body. Repeated experiments confirmed his supposition ; and applying so novel a mode of treatment extensively amongst the sick, great success attended him, and his name became notorious. Germany roused herself, just as Great Britain and Ireland are now doing,—shocked at the idea that clysters, physic, and plaisters, were no longer to be deemed

exclusively orthodox. The innovator was to be hunted down; and accordingly he removed to Paris, then considered as the centre of science and civilization. There he rapidly rose in wealth and notoriety. Rich and poor alike besieged his doors. The government offered a handsome remuneration for his secret, were he disposed to impart it. Within a twelvemonth he printed his theory, of which the main principles are, that 'Magnetism is a fluid of the greatest tensivity, so as to approach to an immaterial or ethereal nature, which pervades the universe, and fills all the pores or vacancies that are not occupied by grosser matter. It is supposed to be the primary cause of many of the active properties which we observe, especially communicating to them original impulses of motion and sensation. The human body is capable of receiving the magnetic influence, and the nerves would appear to be the media by which it is transmitted through the different organs. This animal magnetism, when excited or liberated, is capable of being communicated from one body to another, and accumulated in them, in a manner analogous to what we observe with respect to the electric fluid. It has, however, many peculiarities, in which it differs from this agent; of which one of the most remarkable was, according to Mesmer, that it may be transported to a considerable distance without the intervention of any other substance; as, also, that it may affect certain individuals alone, while it has no perceptible effect upon others,—a difference of constitution, which can only be ascertained by actual experiment. But the most important property of animal magnetism is its power in curing diseases, which it possesses in a degree that could not have been previously conceived, but of the actual existence of which we have the most undoubted evidence; its operation upon the body being through the intervention of the nervous system; from which it follows, that what we usually style nervous diseases, are those that come more immediately under its influence.' We have abridged this account from the pages of the Edinburgh Encyclopædia.

As Mesmer grew opulent and famous, it is affirmed by his opponents, that he aped the artifices of a sorcerer. He presented himself before a gaping crowd of patients, with a magical wand in his grasp, amidst glasses, wheels, retorts, electrical jars, and a robe flowing around his person, embroidered with mysterious figures. His followers and partizans meet all these accusations with bold and flat denials. He demonstrated himself to be, as they aver, a purely disinterested philosopher, making use, probably, to no inconsiderable extent, of appeals to the imagination, to favour and advance his ultimate objects; but all along asserting, that there is but 'one health, one disease,

and one remedy.' The last was of course no other than his magnetic subtle fluid. We do not quarrel with him, ourselves, for acquiring an enormous fortune, which is no more than our own most honourable physicians, surgeons, and dentists make small scruple of doing. We should say, that his position and pretensions laid him open in no slight degree to the temptation of masquerading a little, now and then ; and that essential quackery must be involved in the exhibition of any curative process whatsoever, pronounced to be of universal application. Parisian doctors, as might be easily imagined, were no more merciful than those of Vienna. Eclipsed in practice by the very foreigner whom they daily slandered for his empiricism, they flocked to the court with complaints so loud and irresistible, that Louis the Sixteenth appointed eight commissioners, Lavoisier, Bailly, Le Roy, Jussieu, Guillotin, Benjamin Franklin, and two others, to investigate matters. Now we regard as utterly ludicrous, the mistakes of the 'Christian Observer,' or of an episcopalian orator at Liverpool, who has discovered that mesmerism is neither more nor less than Satanic agency ; but for a name, like that of J. B. Biot, we have sincere respect, and can only express our unmitigated surprise, that he should have committed himself to the following grievous error relative to the first French commission, and the great American : 'This last philosopher,' says he, 'took the lead in the inquiry, for which he was peculiarly adapted, by his acute and powerful understanding ; and to him, in conjunction with his colleagues, *we are indebted for one of the most valuable specimens of scientific research, that is to be met with in the history of philosophy !* *Stat nominis umbra* ; and now let us glance at the plain substantial fact. Doctor Franklin was not in good health at the time ; and from the language of the report itself, it would appear certain that he was not present at any of the experiments. The commissioners all went one day to his house at Passy, where a few trials were made upon himself, producing no sensation ; after which, his signature was appended to the document ! With equal accuracy, it has been said, that the decision of this ogdoad of savans extinguished animal magnetism. Their adverse sentence referred to nothing but the mere theory of personal emanation. 'Man,' they conclude, 'possesses the power of acting upon his fellow-creatures, of agitating their nerves and of even throwing them into convulsions ; but this action is not to be considered as of a physical nature. We cannot perceive, that it depends upon any communicated fluid : it appears to be entirely moral, and to operate through the medium of the imagination.' The illustrious botanist, Jussieu, refused to sign the paper at all, and drew up a special statement of his own, differing altogether from his coadjutors, and avowing,

that after having paid the closest attention to the entire series of experiments, he felt convinced, 'Que l'homme produit sur son semblable une action sensible, par le frottement, par le contact, et plus rarement par un simple rapprochement a quelque distance ; que cette action, attribuée a une fluide universelle non démontrée, lui semble appartenir a la chaleur animale existante dans les corps ; que cette chaleur émane d'eux continuellement, se porte assez loin, et peut passer d'un corps dans un autre.' he also adds, that judged by its results, it may be classed amongst tonic remedies, producing salutary effects like them. In one word, whilst this French commission would now be scarcely remembered, were it not from its remarkable failure in connection with that science which was to vanish into annihilation before it, the general triumphs of mesmerism have extended far and wide over the whole continent of Europe. It will not escape the intelligent observer, that even by Franklin and his imaginative friends, the agency was allowed : the only difference of opinion was as to the agent. In 1825, so strong had public opinion become for further inquiry, that a second commission commenced fresh investigations, which were protracted through a period of six years. At length, in 1831, its conclusions could no longer be withheld. They clearly established the general principles of animal magnetism ; and demonstrated, that it ought to be recognized by medical men as high on the list of their most important curative processes.

We may now, therefore, turn to the volumes upon our table descanting upon topics, which are never more to be sneered down as belonging to the charlatan or impostor. The treatise on the 'Power of the soul over the body,' has interested us exceedingly. It makes no profession, one way or the other, about mesmerism, except incidentally. Its general tenour, however, can hardly be separated from that class of subjects. The author treats of the power of the soul as manifested in attention, in the senses, and in memory ; as also in the influence of mental determination and emotion over the vital functions of the frame. In this last respect he touches upon injudicious education, upon chagrin and suicide, on sympathy, solitude, and the government of the passions, concluding with the highest triumph of the soul, which is to render the earthly tabernacle a perfect preparative for the heavenly one. His former section of the volume is more to our purpose, without, however, requiring us altogether to pass over the latter. Mesmerism, in our judgment, to be worth anything, must have its source in the inner man, blending itself with religious principle, philanthropic intentions, and a subjugation of the material to the immaterial. Dr. Moore dwells upon the adaptation of the mortal machine to its

indwelling conscious principle, upon the organs of sense as being instruments of the mind, which is not a mere result of sensation, but an essential being,—an individualism possessing intuitive endowments. He quotes a beautiful Spenserian stanza from his namesake, who was a poet in the days of the protectorate, and which being little known, we transcribe :—

‘ Even so the soul, in this contracted state,
 Confined to these dull instruments of sense,
 More dull and narrowly doth operate,—
 At this hole hears,—the sight may ray from thence,
 Here tastes—there smells ;—but when she’s gone from hence,
 Like naked lamp, she is one shining sphere,
 And round about hath perfect cognizance
 Of all in her horizon shall appear,—
 She is an orb of sense,—all eye, all touch, all ear !’

We are then shewn, that one of the outrageous consequences of receiving those vulgar phrenological doctrines, which have been mixed up with magnetism, has been an attempt to prove, on scientific principles, that the soul itself is double, because the organs of the body are so. This piece of folly and presumption, as we well know, has found many patrons, who seem to forget that their foreheads are furnished with a couple of windows ! Consciousness is never double. Is responsibility, we would ask, to be divided between two volitions ? ‘ Acuteness of faculty depends on the power of maintaining attention ; but this power is interfered with by any disorder of the nervous system, because attention itself is an act of the mind, by which the nervous system is put into a condition to obey the soul, to receive impressions from without, or to operate on muscle. The purpose for which we possess a duality of organization, appears then to be, that we may be able to attend the longer, without fatigue and confusion ; for we rest the one side, whilst employing the other. If, therefore, we are deprived of the use of an eye, for instance, we the sooner find the other to fail, unless it be the more sparingly engaged. This principle is perhaps the secret of sympathy between the two sides of our bodies. Probably the duality of the brain serves a purpose similar to that of the duality of the senses. In some relations to the mind, the double arrangement enables us to continue thinking or acting consecutively, for a longer time, than would otherwise be possible : the one rests, while the other acts, and so on alternately, until both alike demand the repose and refreshment only to be obtained by sleep.’ Having the means of attention thus duplicated becomes of the highest importance in carrying forward the various

magnetic processes. The nerves of the operator would be worn out, otherwise ; as any of our readers may ascertain, by experiment.

Our whole nervous system Dr. Moore considers to be probably a galvanic apparatus,—so contrived, that by it the chemistry of life is maintained, and those states of the organs are produced, which best enable the mind to receive sensation, and to act on the body. But this is not all,—since it would further appear, that through the nervous system one strong person may act upon another weaker one ; whilst, without being perhaps positively certain of the fact, we may nevertheless assume that galvanism, electricity, and magnetism are closely analogous, if not really identical, each with the other. The voltaic pile has exhibited such marvels, that we can only wonder and be silent. It has even elicited articulation from the lips and larynx of a corpse ; whose pallid features have been so played upon, as to drive spectators from the sight in swooning horror. An instance is related by Dr. Ure, ‘in which rage, despair, anguish, and ghastly smiles, united their hideous expression in the face of a murderer lately executed, in a manner surpassing the wildest representations of a Fuseli or a Kean.’ The *Lancet* informed us last September two years, that Weinhold, a German, cut off the head of a cat ; and when its arterial pulsation had ceased, he took out the spinal marrow, placing in its stead an amalgam of zinc, silver, and mercury. Immediately after this was done, the pulsation recommenced, and the body made a variety of movements. ‘He took away the brain and spinal marrow of another cat, and filled the skull and vertebral canal with the same metallic mixture. Life appeared to be instantly restored ; the animal lifted up its head, opened and shut its eyes, and looking with fixed stare, endeavoured to walk ; and whenever it dropped, tried to raise itself on its legs. It continued in this state twenty minutes, when it finally fell down, and remained motionless. During all the time the animal was thus treated, the circulation of the blood appeared to go on regularly ; the secretion of gastric juice was more than usual, and the animal heat was established.’ Such instances surely tend to show, that an invisible agency may be transmissible ; that such agency may be as subtle, and perhaps as powerful as the nervous influences ; and that the communication of those influences is very conceivable. The power of the will upon the muscles can be proved. Three full-grown men may be scarcely able to hold down some emaciated madman. His fibres during phrenzy shall be energetic enough to lift a hundred pounds ; yet instantly after death they will be torn by the weight of a few ounces. With such instances before us, where are the insurmountable difficulties of mesmerism ? All its most remarkable

phenomena have repeatedly occurred in somnambulism, and the various modifications of catalepsy. Dr. Moore avows his opinion, that individuals in a certain state of magnetic excitation are in the habit of dispensing with the use of their senses, in holding communication with things about them. He is very cautious in expressing his convictions; yet, as he observes, if we may rely upon experiments, it would follow,—1. That the mind in its normal state perceives objects through sensation, but may in a disturbed state perceive objects directly. 2. Objects perceived directly convey the same impression with objects perceived through sensation; and therefore external objects are real. 3. The mind is capable of acting independently of its organs; therefore the mind may exist without the body. His remarks on the faculty of abstraction are well worth attention, as teaching us humility, and a proper spirit of patience, as well as investigation, with reference to matters which strike us at first sight as such startling novelties.

‘Reason acquires her proper dominion by abstraction from the senses. Those whom sensualists have deemed madmen and dreamers, have been the enlighteners of their race. They have ascended in their thoughts and researches out of the sight of the common-down-looking men of this world, and have held their lamp of life to be relumed at the sun of another and higher system, which cannot be reached by telescopes, but is realized by faith. Divine wisdom has created the mind of man of too expansive a nature to be properly limited by the atmosphere and attractions of earth, and of too inquisitive and spiritual a capacity to be quite easy in believing only in the properties of matter. Those persons really dream, who see no further than the surface; who realize nothing beyond the evidence of the senses, and read not spiritually the meaning of the grand panorama spread before their eyes. But those are vividly and vigorously awake, who can withdraw themselves from sounds and colours, that they may reflect upon treasured ideas, and interpret the mystery of their existence by enjoying their spiritual faculties, in intercourse with other minds, and in communion with their eternal Parent.’—pp. 120, 121.

The volume by Mr. Newnham bears more directly and professionally upon our subject, being an elaborate treatise addressed especially to the members of his own profession. This gentleman is a surgeon and general practitioner of eminence, at Farnham in Surrey, and is already very favourably known in literary and scientific circles by his admirable work on the ‘Reciprocal Influence of Body and Mind.’ He would seem to be an almost providential investigator of the claims of human magnetism; through that happy combination, which his mind affords, of large intellectual gifts, in connexion with practical

philosophy and evangelical religion. His views, also, for many years, were opposed to what he now, from conviction, decidedly advocates. Brushing aside the extreme absurdity of either diabolism or supernaturalism, he concludes that magnetism is a remedy which God has given to man 'to assist him in curing himself and others when suffering from malady; that it consists in the communication of the vital power of one man, whose vital forces are energetic, to another in whom they are deficient; and that its efficacy depends upon regulating, directing, and energizing the resources of nature. It is to be employed as an *auxiliary to medicine*, not as a sovereign remedy applicable in every case—not as an exclusive agent—not as superseding ordinary treatment; whilst at the same time, it is to be allowed, that there are cases, where the ordinary resources of medicine have failed, and which have been relieved in an extraordinary manner, and even been cured, by magnetism. On the other hand, magnetism will sometimes fail altogether: it will not cure every malady; abundant experience has evinced the contrary: the relief which it does give seems to be to aid the general conservative resources of nature, and not to consist in any *specific* agency upon the peculiar state of disorder.' No judgment could, perhaps, be more cautiously delivered; and we must bear in mind how great is the hazard incurred by any medical man presuming to differ from the sages of Surgeons' College, or Apothecaries' Hall. No where would the genius of monopoly and exclusiveness seem more supremely to reign. We are fully aware that to impugn the pharmacopœia is to touch the apple of their eye, according to the notions of those learned associations to which we allude; and therefore we honour, in proportion, that moral courage, which will dare to investigate for itself, and decline taking upon trust the decisions of mere dogmatism from any quarter whatever:

'Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri.'

In his seventh chapter, which is on the applicability of magnetism to the relief of medical and surgical disease, he notices the indirect testimony afforded by Power, in his 'New Principles of Midwifery,' to the mitigation of the agonies of parturition by manipulation, or very gentle friction. Descriptions of this sort are, of course, unsuitable to our pages; yet the results are such as to throw overboard all mere agency of the imagination, and to exhibit, at once, the striking simplicity of a remedy, placed by the mercy of providence, within the reach of all. He then enters at length into the qualifications of magnetisers, understanding by that term, not the professional practitioner, who superintends the treatment, but the individual who, under his

direction, conducts the magnetic processes. He lays down, as the most important and fundamental characteristic of a good magnetiser, that he should possess sound thought and a firm will. He must really throw his mind into the duty, concentrating every idea for the time being upon his employment. Then, in addition to these qualifications of the head, those of his heart are not less important. There must be benevolence of disposition, confidence in the efficacy of his means, indomitable perseverance for the good of the patient, with much subsequent and prayerful reflectiveness on what has passed, after each sitting. He should be a man of established moral character, rigid towards himself, but liberal towards the feelings and opinions of others, exempt from personal vanity and enthusiasm, free from impertinent curiosity, calm, disinterested, and delicate in conducting his manœuvres. His body should be strong and in unbroken health, with lively emotions subordinated to a cool and steady judgment. It is very curious, yet not less certain, that different magnetisers possess very different powers over distinct forms of malady; which is only to be explained by the peculiarities of the several nervous systems, and their respective *affinities*. We all know how variously we are affected by sympathy; there is one form of this, which when highly morbid, compels us to imitate what we witness in others. Doctor Moore mentions a medical gentleman of eminence in France, who was called in to attend a convent of nuns, where, among the sisterhood, the youngest member, we presume, had been seized with strange impulses to mew like the feline species. Stranger still was the fact, that, in due course of time, the entire community, having fallen into the practice, one after another, regularly mewed in concert every day, for several hours together! At length, the neighbourhood, perfectly scandalized by these awful and diurnal caterwaulings, summoned the police for their suppression, with sundry menaces of public corporeal penance. The dancing mania of the fourteenth century, and the jumpers of our own times, will come into the same category; to which we merely allude for the purpose of bringing strongly before our readers the unquestionable existence of nervous affinities and sympathies.

All these, however, have been rashly attributed to mere imagination, which doubtless may produce morbid action,—which may also be employed in the wilful simulation of disorder, and which, of itself, has a most extensive field as a curative agent. ‘But our business is to inquire, whether it is the sole agent in magnetic processes,’ and whether these would be unavailing, were it not for its influence. The following are the expressions of Mr. Newnham:—

‘It has been already stated, that a firm will, an earnest desire to do good, a perfect conviction of right, and an expectation of relieving the patient, are all necessary to the success of magnetism. But volition, benevolence, conscience, hope, desire, are mental conditions, which involve for their manifestation, a peculiar excitement of the brain:—and it is asserted, that by that inexplicable sympathy, which links man with man, and forms the unseen chain of action, that enables one nervous system to produce an effect upon another nervous system,—this excitement of the brain is communicable from the strong and healthy to the feeble and unhealthy, and is capable of producing in them a healing or curative influence. Thus, therefore, in the magnetiser there is a peculiar excitement of the brain; and this is *communicable to*, and acts favourably *upon*, the brain of the magnetised, which by the supposition is susceptible of, and predisposed to, such action; and the latter cannot exist without the former, and does not require for its production any intermediate agent, such as imagination.’—p. 196.

A glance is then very properly thrown at some of the original views of Chardel, which, if true, are certainly most beautiful. His idea is, that light is the principle of life—that the brain appropriates its rays brought to it by the arterial blood, which has received those rays in passing through the lungs—where the blood, from the right side of the heart, coming in contact with the atmosphere, parts with its carbon, and receives in exchange the principle of light and heat; and, by an admirable elaboration (of the stages and processes of which we are utterly ignorant) *converts it into the nervous structure*, and renders it well fitted for the development and preservation of the vital phenomena. Is it not probable, that this is the same thing as what is now styled by the faculty—*energia*? Mr. Robert Hunt has produced distinct evidence that chemical modifications are thus effected; and that even a sunbeam cannot fall upon a solid body without leaving permanent traces of its action. The fable of Prometheus, says Lavoisier, was the allegorical expression of philosophical truth. Solar influence, which presents our vision with the marvels of photography and the Daguerreotype, may also exercise that ‘mysterious and most energetic power,’ which pervades invisibly the subtlest organism of the human frame. It is perfectly clear that this newly discovered principle, which is henceforward to be called actinism, is transmissible from body to body: and Mr. Newnham enquires whether, through the emanations of communicated *energia* falling upon, and producing an effect upon the molecular arrangement of the brain, we may not obtain some enlightenment upon the subjects of clairvoyance and somnambulism. All the wonders connected with these are supported by the strongest natural analogies: the only difference between the magnetic and

natural trance being, that the former can in many cases be produced at the will of another person. Yet there is the same extraordinary isolation of the senses from the exterior world—the same augmentation of cerebral energy, with its concentration upon one object—the same possibility of dispensing with the ordinary senses, ‘and arriving at the usual results of their agency without their intervention—such, for instance, as reading and writing, composing and correcting, without the assistance of the eyes; holding conversations with certain individuals, and yet being deaf to the voice of all others; the hunting after and selecting a document contained in a box along with many more—and the entire forgetfulness of all which had passed during the state of somnambulism.’ In justice to the pious and eloquent author, our readers are entitled to the following extract: he is replying to the interrogation as to whether we are entitled to reject the phenomena of magnetism, because they are incomprehensible?

‘Certainly not: there are many natural wonders, which are to us incomprehensible. The union of mind with matter is incomprehensible: sight through the optic nerve is as incomprehensible to us, as sight without the aid of eyes: the sense of taste by the gustatory nerve is as incomprehensible to us, as is that sensation impressed upon the somnambulist through the organs of his magnetiser. So also, the highest, dearest, and most venerated objects of our belief, are perfectly incomprehensible—such as the existence of the Deity—his omnipresence, his omnipotence, his infinite grasp of the whole world, yet his attention to its minutest atoms—his power and wisdom displayed in every kind of natural birth and growth—all these things, and many more, which are taught us by the evidence of natural religion, are to us incomprehensible, yet we do not reject them; and therefore the incomprehensibility of magnetic phenomena does not *entitle* them to rejection. There is nothing really revolting to our understanding in these phenomena. For instance, writing—a look—the sound of the voice—a gesture—the expression of the countenance, are so many means by which the mind renders manifest the affections, and passions, and sentiments, which animate and occupy its interior recesses. So also the mind, intimately united to the body, and *especially to the nervous system*, impresses upon that system, by a powerful but inexplicable process, all the thoughts which are produced. These thoughts, it is true, may originate with the mind itself, yet the more deeply they spring, the more intimately are they attached to the individual man; but they are impressed upon the brain, as *the medium of communication to the entire nervous system*, and the organs dependant upon it—or which may from some incomprehensible modification of vitality, be placed in a certain relationship with it: and this, too, although these organs may belong to another individual possessing also a rational mind, and by means of which incomprehensible modification, the two minds are thus placed in a state of extra-

ordinary intercommunication. But admitting thus much, which is incontestable, we have not arrived at the first cause of this mysterious union, which, like many other mental, and even simpler processes, remains perfectly hidden. Seeing then that we dare not reject the facts, because they are incomprehensible—we must admit, that the most positive, the best attested, and the most irrefutable facts, support all the phenomena of the magnetic sleep; and prove, that under certain circumstances, the clairvoyance of somnambulists may be of use in determining the nature of disorder, but especially the degree of organic disease.—pp. 239, 240.

It must never be forgotten that, after all, sleep-walking or sleep-waking involves a morbid condition of the brain, and that its results may be and are most easily simulated or exaggerated. The object of every candid inquirer will, for that very reason, among others, be to separate carefully between the chaff and the wheat—between what is fact and what is imposture. There is sufficient evidence to show that the somnambulist really knows nothing beyond what he knew before in his natural state; but the exaltation of his memory and powers of comparison has produced an intellectual combination which renders his manifestations of mind superior to themselves under ordinary circumstances. The conversion or transposition of the senses, so as that he sees, feels, tastes, hears, touches, and reads by the stomach, hands, or feet, or some other portion of the body, makes the uninitiated gape and stare with astonishment; and no doubt would have secured for all parties concerned the honours of an ordeal of witchcraft in ancient days. Even the matchless Sir Matthew Hale would have encouraged unpleasant associations of pins and needles, of nipples and warts, of charms and amulets, of some crooked old woman riding upon a broom through the air, of drowning or swimming in a horsepond,—of the cruel necessity for fire and faggot to encounter the conjurations of diabolism. On such occasions the Rev. Hugh M'Neil might have officiated as chaplain for condemned sorcerers; and Charlotte Elizabeth have hoped to burn up popery, by applying the flames of persecution to the combustion of wonder-working magnetisers. Meanwhile, we confine ourselves to asking, whether or not this conversion or transposition of the senses has not been a fact known amongst medical men, from the ages of Hippocrates, Aretæus, and Galen? Has it not been in existence for two thousand years to our knowledge, and for how much longer we know not? Can the documentary evidence for these things be invalidated? We think not; and are, therefore, the more contented to compare the experience of the old world of science, superstitious and dreamy as it was, with the marvels now happily brought under the more enlightened in-

vestigation of modern philosophy. But then, that philosophy must be genuine, and sincere, and honest, and impartial. It must not sneer at practical wisdom : it must not condemn unheard : it must not allow prejudices to run away with common sense and sound understanding,—or else how shall we demonstrate ourselves, with all our vaunted advantages, to be *patribus nostris sapientiores* ? To discover that, in a certain sense, there is little, if any thing, positively new under the sun, may serve to make us modest and humble. It requires a very slight degree of clairvoyance indeed to get at the information, that Surgeons' College and Apothecaries' Hall stand fearfully in need of thorough reformation,—that there are multitudes of licensed bunglers scattered up and down the country,—that they deserve the characteristic title of *leeches*, which the entire faculty once rejoiced in,—and that the truths of sound science are not to be cut down, nor cut up by a Lancet, even though its clever editor be a metropolitan member of parliament and coroner for the county of Middlesex. *Magna est veritas et prevalebit.*

It is doubtless an error to suppose, as our author says, that 'the patient sees or hears,' whether in natural or magnetic somnambulism, 'by the actual intervention of the solar or cardiac plexus of nerves. It is easy to mistake an echo for an original sound ; and thus it is in the present instance ; the plexus of nerves of organic life only re-echo the movements of spiritual life, which have been transmitted to them by the brain, under peculiar circumstances.' What is more wonderful is, that the magnetic somnambulist sees not in his own person, or through his own senses, but through those of his mesmeriser. He has become an isolated individualism ; a mirror reflecting the thoughts, sensations, and volitions of the stronger mind, with which he is placed in a certain state of mysterious relationship. Two nervous systems, possessing peculiar affinities, are so brought to sympathise with each other as to appear having but one life. This is not so difficult to imagine as it is to trace the links of causation. But sometimes similar effects seem to be exhibited when the individuals are not *en rapport*, as it is termed. Instances occur of somnambulists even seeing things, and detailing circumstances, of which they could have had no previous knowledge ; and in localities to which access must have been impossible. This, although well supported by facts, is at present inexplicable. We must watch and wait for more knowledge. There would appear to be in the greater number of cases, generally, such a development of sensibility on the part of the nerves, that they become agents beyond their ordinary power,—and messengers to the sensorium of an unwonted kind. Yet is this in reality one whit more marvellous than the common

action of the optic nerve, which, as we know, gives the idea of an upright reality from an inverted spectrum? No reason can be given for this phenomenon: we are merely taught that it is so by reiterated experience. We have no space for any further details from Mr. Newnham, as to the surprising concentration of self in the interior of organic life, among somnambulists, so that they are apparently cognizant of what is passing there; and can direct the magnetiser to the remedies or regimen requisite for the cure of their own maladies, or those of other parties, with whom they may be placed in the mesmeric relation. Nor can we do more than mention the fact, that many individuals, thus affected, taste whatever is tasted by their magnetisers. The flavour of wine, beer, milk, and other fluids or substances has been equally revealed through the energetically exercised brain of the operator, almost without the concurrence of his own senses, and merely through the exercise of his will. Yet these are purely mental proofs, observes Mr. Newnham, 'of mental affinity, of that kind of intellectual relationship, which exists in consequence of the two organs of mind having entered into that condition of approximate sympathy which is expressed by the phrase *en rapport*.' Mind, in one word, is analogous to what Hecker calls the fundamental principle of all life, namely, the propagation of itself in congenial soils. Magnetism, nevertheless, may probably be in its infancy as a science; and, therefore, of course, a large portion of what is offered can be little more than well-intentioned conjecture. The chapter on phreno-magnetism will hardly bear abridgment; and we commend it to the serious consideration of those unfortunate sciolists, who have been drawn aside into infidelity by the attractiveness of superficial subtleties. Its final sentence may demonstrate its nature:—'To ascribe the manifestations of thought, feeling, desire, will, and all the evils of mankind to the motion of a few cerebral molecules, is about as childish as it would be for a grown person to believe that the reflection of himself in a looking-glass arose from another individual placed behind it, and *has actually no better ground for its support*.'

The small neat volume, by the Rev. George Sandby, is not less creditable to its compiler, than it has been useful even to Mr. Newnham himself, standing as that gentleman does in the foremost ranks of his profession. Our worthy vicar of Flixton first broached his sentiments in a zealous little pamphlet called 'Mesmerism the Gift of God.' He felt it to be such; and, aroused by the blasphemous annunciations from Liverpool, that the same was neither more nor less than a donation from the devil, his primary brochure has swollen into the dimensions of a book. His work professes not only to treat of the religious

scruples that have been raised in the minds of some Christians, but to discuss with the philosopher the previous question, as to the truth of mesmerism,—‘for a due inquiry into which, circumstances have greatly favoured the writer.’ His first chapter is little more than a reprint of the original pamphlet, in answer to the absurd charge of Satanic agency ; which is again taken up in the second, with sundry discreet admonitions to our parochial clergy about their overweening love of spiritual power. As a clergyman himself, perhaps his brethren may listen to him, whilst he denounces ‘their intolerable spiritual tyranny in lording it over the minds and consciences of men, which has done more injury to the pure evangelical faith, and more retarded the blessed course of the everlasting gospel, than all the writings of all the deists from Bolingbroke to Voltaire.’ His fulminations sweep round the ecclesiastical horizon of this country with almost universal scope. He boldly taxes the episcopalian and presbyter, the Wesleyan and the baptist, the tractarian at Oxford, and ‘the free-church schismatic at Edinburgh,’ with an essential display of priestcraft, whenever it may suit their respective purposes. ‘Our evangelical party,’ he observes, ‘have in their own peculiar way, shewn the warmest predilections for this power.’ Magnetism has evidently elevated this worthy Suffolk incumbent into a very tolerable church reformer,—no mean proof by the way, of that higher moral development which mesmerisers love to dwell upon in connexion with their darling topic. His third and fourth chapters contain an analysis and refutation of the ordinary objections, as also a variety of cases more or less interesting ; all given from his own experience, or from the testimony of parties whose position in society is a pledge for the correctness of what they state. The curative nature of animal magnetism is particularly brought forward, and proved both by induction and observation. The remaining sections of the treatise are on the dangers apprehended by some persons, who live in a region of nightmares ; on the wonders of mesmerism as bearing on the miracles of the New Testament ; and on the phenomena of somnambulism as compared with certain modern marvels said to have occurred amongst the Methodists and Roman-catholics. We must say, that with regard to the fancies of fanaticism, there appears to us scarcely any hope of arguing them down. Fervour may be the source of the sublime, but it is also the parent of insanity. Reason has no chance against it,—simply because there is no sense to work upon ; *Dat sine mente sonum*. Our conduct towards the individuals in question would be to recommend early rising, cheerful companionship, silence upon all subjects beyond the range of their comprehension, with the

milk of asses swallowed plentifully before breakfast every morning. If we treat mental weakness too seriously, self-conceit begins to fancy its intellectual imbecility a matter of paramount distinction.

As respects the resemblance imagined to exist between the results of magnetism, and the marvels mentioned in the Scriptures, there is no shadow of basis for it whatever. The former are natural, the latter are miraculous; that is to say, they involve an interruption of those laws by which the government of the universe has been administered from the moment of creation. Take for example, the change of water into wine at Cana in Galilee,—the draught of fishes repeated twice,—the tempest hushed upon the sea of Tiberias,—the double multiplication of the loaves and fishes,—the fact of our Lord walking upon the water,—the blast of the fig-tree,—the raising of the dead,—the transfiguration,—various acts of Moses, Joshua, the Judges, Elijah, and Elisha. Here there can be no parallel, notwithstanding the malignant insinuations of the phrenomagnetisers, the vaunted descriptions of trances, extacies, influences exercised from a distance, and the learned explanations, or rather hallucinations, of socialism and neology. But on turning to the merciful cures narrated in the gospels, what analogy can there be between the word of God, which gave a new limb where the old one had been lost, and that therapeutic process, which, however useful, however genuine, and however extraordinary, is admitted to be utterly powerless where there is any læsion or destruction of the muscular fibre, or where the functional system has undergone positive metamorphosis? The magnetic powers of De Louthburgh, Gassner, Levret, Great-rakes, and others, were beyond question wonderful, but their efforts did not always succeed; and when they did, it was by repeated efforts with frequently partial or imperfect results. The most successful practitioner has never laid claim to an universal and infallible talisman. There is precisely that difference between human magnetism and divine miracles, which subsists between all the other works of the Creator and his creatures, when compared together. The sharpest needle from Sheffield, placed under a powerful microscope, gets magnified into a broomstick, where the sting of a bee will but augment in its pointed fineness. The same may be predicated of the richest lace from our looms, as compared with the skeleton of a leaf, or the network of nerves encompassing the human system. Mesmerism, we repeat it, is a medicine of nature, and nothing more; but, as Mr. Sandby remarks, the interval separating it from the miracles of Jesus Christ or his apostles, is an impassable chasm! 'No one ever went to the Redeemer, and returned

unrelieved. His language was decisive, and with authority. His touch was in its effect certain, foreknown, invariable. His sanative power extended to every pain, to every complication of disease.' To use the happy expression of Paley, 'there was nothing tentative or experimental in his manner.' There are eleven specific cases of leprosy being cured, and ten of them at once, recorded in the gospel, to say nothing of paralysis, fever, or the demoniacs. There are at least five characteristics distinguishing the curative miracles of the Bible from any resemblance to the highest order of mesmeric power: namely, their universality, the desperate or organic nature of the diseases healed, the relief being instantaneous, permanent, and sometimes performed at a great distance. The power, moreover, was transmissive, extending to relics, such as the bones of a departed prophet, the handkerchiefs or aprons brought to the apostles, and even the shadow of Peter! We rather wonder that these last incidents should not have occurred, as seemingly they did not, to the memory of the worthy vicar of Flixton.

He admits that there is some difficulty in speaking of the predictive faculty, or that which mesmerists describe under the term Prevision. Many remarkable facts have certainly been stated on the most undeniable authority: but strange as some few of them may appear, to place them in the same category with the prophecies of the Old or New Testament—'to compare them with the fulfilment of facts which had been predicted hundreds of years before, is preposterous. They somewhat approach the stories of second-sight among the Scotch. How far, in certain states of diseases, the mind may become more spiritual and acquire a peculiar character of exaltation and subtle judgment, so as to decide more clearly *as to the probability of an event*, we leave to physiologists to determine.' The anticipation of an event a few weeks before hand is surely very remote from the raptures of Isaiah or the Apocalypse. Joan of Arc, Beauregard, and Cazotte, have however left behind them most curious specimens of coming events showing their shadows before. Such instances are, of course, still open to discussion. But with regard to that class of strange appearances, which has received the name of Devotional Ecstasis, in the opinion of our reverend author, 'mesmerism throws an especial light.' Physiological effects, in young sickly women of peculiar nervous temperament, have often been mistaken for miraculous ones. Disease, aggravated or developed by circumstances, will explain the entire affair. Dr. Elliotson describes one of his patients as thrown into a beautiful trance of extatic bewilderment, which, amongst an ignorant people, like those who believed Thoms to be the Saviour of mankind, might easily have been used for any super-

stitious purpose. Mr. Sandby refers to an instance, where in the magnetic sleep, the patient became invested with an apparently prophetic character. Her attitude seemed angelic: 'at one moment looking up with heavenly smiles, and clasping her hands together in prayer; at another, uttering the most mysterious opinions, with a degree of knowledge, freedom, and decision, of which she is perfectly incapable when awake:' so that, like the Holy Maid of Kent, designing men might successfully have persuaded both herself and hearers, that her rhapsodies were inspired by the Holy Ghost. He alludes also to the prophetic mania, which prevailed throughout the Cevennes mountains on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes; to the Bohemian Poniatova during the Thirty Years' War; to the Brazilian nun, Sister Germaine, in 1808; to the 'History of an entranced female, a narrative drawn up and attested by the Rev. R. Young, Wesleyan minister;' and the more recent Ecstatica and Addolorata of Lord Shrewsbury. All these cases appear to him as admitting an elucidation perfectly natural and consistent, through the principles of mesmerism. The effect of habitual exclusive thought upon the state of the body, especially amongst secluded members of the gentler sex, when connected with certain morbid peculiarities, and fostered both by religious retirement and fanatical excitement, would seem almost incredible. We select the following from the Foreign Quarterly, cited by Mr. Sandby:

'At this moment there exists in a village of the Department of the Var, of which Brignoles is the chief town, a young woman possessed by divine love. This passion has always been her fixed idea, the object of her thoughts and aspirations. She meditates and prays; and when her prayer is at its height in her moments of ecstasy, a crown is seen to surround her forehead and the rest of her head, which looks as if it were opened by a regular tattooing, from each point of which a pure blood issues. The palms of her hands, and the soles of her feet, open spontaneously at the places where the nails of the crucifixion were inserted; her side offers the bleeding mark of a lance-thrust; and, finally, a true cross of blood appears on her chest. Cotton cloths, applied to these places, absorb the red marks. This fact can be avouched for by hundreds in the country. The stigmata of the females mentioned by the Earl of Shrewsbury must be accounted for in the same manner; and fifty similar instances are said to have occurred amongst the members of the Roman Catholic Church.'—Sandby. p. 252, *et al.*

Miss Harriet Martineau need not detain us long. She will accept, perhaps, our cordial congratulations on her recovery from severe and protracted indisposition, in which few persons could have more sympathised with her than ourselves. Differing from

her, as we do, in religious sentiment, we will yield to none of her admirers in our respect for her genius, and her disinterestedness. Mesmerism, through divine providence, has operated in her case most felicitous relief, which we trust will prove permanent. When first treated, she thus describes her sensations :—

‘I became sensible of an extraordinary appearance, most unexpected, and wholly unlike any thing I had ever conceived of. Something seemed to diffuse itself through the atmosphere—not like smoke, nor steam, nor haze—but most like a clear twilight, closing in from the windows and down from the ceiling, and in which one object after another melted away, till scarcely any thing was left visible before my wide open eyes. First, the outlines of all objects were blurred; then a bust standing on a pedestal in a strong light, melted quite away; then the opposite bust; then the table with its gay cover; then the floor and the ceiling; till one small picture, high up on the opposite wall, only remained visible, like a patch of phosphoric light. I feared to move my eyes, lest the singular appearance should vanish; and I cried out, ‘Oh, deepen it! deepen it!’ supposing this the precursor of the sleep. It could not be deepened however; and when I glanced aside from the luminous point, I found that I need not fear the return of objects to their ordinary appearance while the passes were continued. The busts reappeared, ghost-like, in the dim atmosphere, like faint shadows, except that their outlines and the parts in the highest relief, burned with the same phosphoric light. The features of one, an Isis with bent head, seemed to be illumined by a fire on the floor, though this bust has its back to the windows. Wherever I glanced, all outlines were dressed in this beautiful light; and so they have been at every sitting, without exception, to this day; though the appearance has rather given way to drowsiness, since I left off opiates entirely.’—p. 8.

Her letters, as is well known, are re-printed from the *Athenæum*. Her description of the remarkable kind of light, which seemed to invest all objects, is a very common occurrence in mesmerism; and will recall to our minds, probably, the interesting theory of Chardel, already alluded to. She has gone into a good deal of detail with regard to a case of lucidity upon which some doubt seems to have been thrown. This by no means need affect the general mass of her statements, which are given with a force of simplicity and truth, carrying with them their own recommendation for sincerity. We must hasten, however, to fulfil our promise, and record those conclusions to which a candid review of the entire subject of mesmerism has brought us.

1. We can no longer avoid agreeing with those who assert, as the result of actual experiment, that there is a state of human existence in which the mind perceives external objects through

some other medium than the ordinary one of the senses; and that, when in this state, the mind perceives things which are imperceptible in its natural condition. We are endeavouring to keep ourselves within the limits of that very guarded language which was adopted by an able writer on this subject, in the 'Critic,' for last February twelvemonth. Whether this be the result of what has been termed 'a sixth sense,' or of an extraordinary quickening of our five senses, as at present known, or whether 'by the partial severance of the immaterial mind from its material tenement, and its perception of things directly without the intervention of those senses through which only it is usually permitted to hold intercourse with the material world; or whether it be by an unexplained, and therefore mysterious sympathy,'—whatever be the hypothesis, the fact appears certain. Such phenomena, however, as cannot be too often repeated, may and do occur, altogether independently of mesmerism, in cases of hysteria and natural somnambulism. All that the magnetiser professes to do, is to produce, at his will, that which sometimes happens spontaneously; such as when the young ecclesiastic, mentioned by the Archbishop of Bordeaux, read and wrote his sermons with his eyes closed, although an opaque body was interposed by the prelate between them and the paper! We now know, says a German work cited by Mr. Edwin Lee, on Clairvoyance, 'that the human soul, which employs for its instrument, as regards earthly things, the nervous system more particularly, can also feel and perceive *beyond the sphere of the nerves*. We know that in certain conditions of nervous disorder, man may possess increased powers, may perceive distant things, which are separated from him by an interval of many miles!' These cases are, no doubt, very rare, and it is well that they are so; but there is no use in denying that which rests upon irrefragable evidence.

2. We frankly own ourselves constrained to admit the curative influences of animal magnetism. The contact of the thumbs or hands, or certain gestures made upon system, at a small distance from the body, and which are called *passes*, will unquestionably, in many instances, transmit magnetic action. These exterior means, indeed, are not always successful, nor, on the other side, are they always necessary: for often a mere look, or an exertion of volition alone, will produce the phenomena; and, that, too, now and then, even against the will of the magnetised. Whenever this last happens, there can be no room for imagination in the way mentioned by Franklin and his associates. It is not, indeed, denied that imagination may exercise considerable power over magnetic phenomena; but then it is the imagination of the magnetiser, and not of the patient,—a

truth which seems to us as demonstrating the effect, rather than impugning the reality of mesmerism. The second French report justly considered, that as a therapeutic agent, it should be allowed its rank, and that a very high one, amongst medical remedies. Some individuals, when thrown into the magnetic crisis, have undergone the most painful operations; during which, neither the expression of the countenance, nor the pulse, nor the respiration, has betrayed the slightest emotion. Extraction of teeth, the amputation of a thigh, the excision of a cancer in the female subject, under these circumstances, may be no longer disputed. The singular changes which happen in the perception and faculties of individuals when magnetised, are also admitted: some hear only the voice of the operator, in the midst of noisy and confused general conversation. Some answer the questions addressed to them very precisely,—others not. For the most part, they are completely insensible to exterior and unexpected sounds, such as the noise of a gong loudly struck close to their ears, the falling down of a piece of furniture, the ringing of bells, and even the report of firearms: as to which, moreover, analogies will readily recur to our recollection, taken from common life. Thus, the weary accoucheur will sleep soundly through a thunder-storm, and yet awaken in a moment at the slightest tinkling of his night alarum. An affectionate nurse or mother, worn out with watchfulness, will seem buried in a catalepsy as to all external assaults upon her slumbering senses,—yet the cry of her sick child, or the least movement of her patient, arouses to prompt activity the ‘ministering angel.’ Who can argue down these invisible sympathies,—or define their precise nature, or say, ‘they reach just to this or that point or line, but they can go no further?’ We believe with Mr. Sandby, that ‘man does not live for himself alone: that man must be reared by man, must be taught by man, must be comforted and healed by man. We are all necessary, the one to the other; we are all formed from the same clay, and are hastening to the same end: and whilst our sojourn continues on earth, all are intimately identified with the happiness of each other.’ Why should we not in a peculiar sense, and when facts upon facts start out upon us to support the theory, be perfectly willing to believe in something like a physical, as well as a spiritual inter-communion of human beings, derived, as we all are, from one common source, and carrying about in our veins that crimson tide of life, which has never ceased to flow, since the heart of Adam in Eden first throbbed with its pulsations? Thomas Carlyle was not afraid to aver, that ‘under the strangest new vesture, *the old great truth* begins again to be revealed,—that man is what we call a miraculous creature, *with miraculous*

power over men; and, on the whole, with such a life in him, and such a world around him, as victorious analysis, with her physiologies, nervous systems, physics, and metaphysics, will never completely name, to say nothing of explaining!' The epithet *miraculous*, must, of course, be understood here in a very limited signification; and not as militating against what has been intimated beforehand, with respect to the essential difference between the natural and supernatural. For this, we may appeal to the candour and indulgence of our readers.

3. Should, nevertheless, an objection be hinted to the declarations of so religiously unsound an author, as the wild yet powerful one last quoted, let us attend to the intimations of Francis Bacon, when he says, 'it certainly is agreeable to reason, that there are some light effluxions from spirit to spirit, when men are in presence one with another, as well as from body to body;' or when he speaks of the 'sympathy of individuals, so that there should remain a transmission of virtue from the one to the other.' Doctor Collyer has written an able work on the subject of the transfer of thought, in which he supposes 'that a vital electricity is the medium of communication from mind to mind; and that there is such a thing as an *embodiment of thought*,—or, in other words, an impression of the thoughts of one mind, through mesmeric agency, on the mind or brain of another.' Hence one seems to discern something of the extent to which the principles of this extraordinary science are spreading throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland, as well as in France, Germany, Holland, Italy, and in America. The Vicar of Flixton declares, that 'large bodies of scientific men are taking up the question; that the junior members of the medical profession are only biding their time, till the ripened mind of the public affords them a signal for its more general adoption; and that many individuals among the younger portion of the clergy are conscious of the medicinal value of mesmerism, and are introducing its practice as one of their means of parochial usefulness.' Meanwhile we may hope, that the mountain of human miseries will undergo immense diminution. In rheumatism, sciatica, and other neuralgic conditions,—in all functional disorder dependent upon atonic action,—in congestion, chronic inflammation, and exhaustion,—in all these afflictions, and what a list it is,—magnetism has already worked wonders. In cases even of organic malady, over which it exerts no final controul, it may furnish some palliative results, in the way of temporary relief. It will, of course, fail to restore where there is a downright disorganization of tissue, as Mr. Newnham says; but every day, and week, and month, and year, will multiply the evidence, that Divine Providence has merci-

fully vouchsafed us a power, which, if properly directed and controlled, may be found eminently serviceable in alleviating the sufferings, and thereby increasing the happiness, of myriads amongst our fellow creatures.

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- Art. II.— 1. *Pauli ad Galatas epistola. Latine vertit et perpetud annotatione illustravit*, Dr. G. B. Winer. Lipsiæ, 1829. 8vo.
 2. *Epp. ad Thessalon. et Galat.; text. recognovit et perp. commentariis illustr.*, H. A. Schott. Lips. 1834. 8vo.
 3. *Commentar über den Brief Pauli an die Galater von L. J. Rückert.* Leipzig, 1833. 8vo.

THE works specified at the head of this article are equally distinguished by various excellencies, and marred by several defects. Winer is an admirable expounder of words and constructions, but in the development of doctrinal peculiarities he is exceedingly defective. With a spirit of fairness which we cannot but admire, and by which he is incapacitated for the littlenesses of party, he seeks after the true meaning of the sacred writers; but in all the higher qualities necessary to a commentator on the Pauline epistles, he is wanting. His mental peculiarities are not fitted for grasping the spiritual and life-giving doctrines of the gospel as delineated by the master-spirit among the apostles. In the light of an *expositor*, Schott must be placed in a superior rank. His mind was more comprehensive than Winer's: it was imbued with a higher spiritual perception. In point of learning, too, he was perhaps equal to the laborious grammarian of the Greek Testament. The commentary of Rückert is valuable. It is preferable to those of Winer and Schott, as developing the doctrinal sentiments and religious peculiarities of the epistle with greater skill. Whoever possesses it, need scarcely desire the others. It handles all the topics connected with this difficult portion of the New Testament in a spirit of religious susceptibility not common among the Germans, although it is in itself meagre. Abundant learning is found in Rückert. Whoever would undertake to write a *masterly, exhaustive* exposition of the epistle, must consult and excel these and all other commentaries on the Galatian letter in their united excellencies. We want no exegesis which will fall short of this character; neither shall we welcome any defective performance. Perfunctory writers on the New Testament are sufficiently numerous. It were as easy to dictate specimens of English commentary similar

to those current in the preaching world, as the poet dictated verses—

— in horâ sæpe ducentos,
Ut magnum, versus dictabat stans pede in uno.

To all superficial transcribers, paraphrasers, or *condensing* commentators, we say—

Ohe ! jam satis est.

In treating of the epistle to the Galatians, we shall take up the following topics in order :—

- I. Some circumstances relative to the history of the Galatians.
- II. Time and place at which the epistle was written.
- III. The apostle Paul's adversaries in Galatia.
- IV. Authenticity and genuineness of the letter.
- V. Contents.

I. Galatia, or Gallogræcia, was a province of Asia Minor, bounded by Paphlagonia, Pontus, Cappadocia, Bithynia, Phrygia, and Lycaonia. About the year 280 B.C., a numerous horde of Gauls, consisting of the Trocmi and Tolistoboi, and the Celtic tribe of the Tectosages, emigrated into Greece and Macedonia. After various fortunes, one party of them went into Thrace, and there founded a kingdom. A number of those who had settled in Thrace afterwards passed over the Bosphorus into Asia Minor, with a leader named Lutarius, and served as soldiers under Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, who rewarded them with a country for their faithfulness to his cause. But they were not disposed to remain within the territory which they had thus received for a possession. As they became stronger and more numerous, they seized upon adjacent places, until, about the year 240 B.C., they were driven back by Attalus, king of Pergamos, and confined to the fertile plains bordering on the Halys, between that river and the Sangarius. Here, in ancient Phrygia, they became incorporated with the Greeks, learned their language, and were called Gallo-græci. They appear, however, to have retained their own language, customs, and institutions, for a long time; since Jerome, in the fourth century, says that their language was the same as that of the Treviri. In public documents and inscriptions they used the Greek, although the Celtic seems to have been their vernacular and current tongue. In the year 188 B.C. they were brought beneath the Roman dominion by Cn. Manlius Vulso, although they were still allowed to enjoy their own princes. The last of these was Amyntas, who was murdered B.C. 26. Augustus then converted Galatia into a Roman province, governed by a Roman president (Dion. Cassius, lib. liii. 26). Little is known of their ancient religion. It has

been conjectured that they united the worship of Cybele, which they learned from the Phrygians, with that of the Gallic deities. It is certain that they had temples, although that was contrary to the custom of the Germanic and Gallic nations. The commerce carried on in their chief towns drew a number of Jews to them, who, according to Josephus, enjoyed considerable privileges. These Jews were, without doubt, solicitous to propagate their religion, and had made many proselytes (comp. 1 Peter i. 1).

The apostle visited Galatia twice, as we are informed in the Acts of the Apostles, viz., on his *second* and *third* missionary journeys. The act of his planting Christian churches in the country, is thus noticed in the sixteenth chapter, sixth verse: 'Now when they had gone throughout Phrygia and the region of Galatia, and were forbidden of the Holy Ghost to preach the word in Asia, &c.' To some, this passage has appeared indefinite, because it does not *plainly* state that Paul and Timothy taught the doctrines of Christianity in Phrygia and Galatia. It has even been imagined, that the conclusion of the verse is adverse to the fact of their preaching in the two countries. This, however, is a hasty inference. The terminating clause is not inconsistent with the supposition that the apostle proclaimed the word of God in Phrygia and Galatia, although these countries belonged to Asia, because the term *Asia* is taken in a restricted sense, denoting *proconsular Asia*, or *Ionia*. The manner in which the clause relative to the divine prohibition to preach in Asia is introduced, intimates, with tolerable clearness, that Paul had been preaching the word until that time in the districts through which he passed, and therefore in Galatia and Phrygia. When the apostle set forth on his third missionary tour from Antioch, he came a second time to Galatia, as related in Acts xviii. 23; 'and after he had spent some time there [at Antioch] he departed, and went over all the country of Galatia and Phrygia in order, strengthening all the disciples.' The word ἐπιστηρίζων, *confirming*, presupposes that the inhabitants had been already converted to Christianity. Thus two visits to Galatia are distinctly marked.

It has been the opinion of some, *ex. gr.* Koppe, Keil, Mynster, Paulus, Niemeyer, Macknight, &c. that a journey prior to these two is intimated in Acts xiv. 6: 'They [Paul and Barnabas] were ware of it, and fled unto Lystra and Derbe, cities of Lycaonia, and unto the region that lieth round about.' But in the explanation of this verse they are not agreed. Koppe, Keil, and Macknight, think that τὴν περίωρον means Galatia; because Pliny (Nat. Hist. v. 25) speaks of a part of Lycaonia as bordering on Galatia, and says that it possessed fourteen cities, the most noted of which was Iconium. Strabo, too, mentions a part of Lycaonia

which lay contiguous to Phrygia ; and it is well known that both Galatia and Phrygia were nigh Lycaonia. This explanation is unnatural, because, contrary to the obvious sense of the passage. Agreeably to the context, *περίχωρος* denotes *the region round about Derbe and Lystra*, and that cannot be extended to Galatia, without comprehending a wide range of country. Derbe and Lystra lie at the other side of Lycaonia, away from Galatia, and not on the side of Lycaonia next it. Others conceive that Galatia comprehended Lycaonia and Pisidia, consequently Lystra, Derbe, and the parts adjacent to these towns. In favour of such a notion it has been said that Lystra and Derbe belonged to the Galatian king Amyntas, and that Pliny (Nat. Hist. v. 42) assigns Lystra to Galatia. According therefore to the present hypothesis, the persons to whom the epistle before us was addressed, should not be considered as the inhabitants of Galatia proper, but of Derbe and Lystra. Able advocates have not been wanting to defend it. Mynster, Niemeyer, and Paulus, have given it their sanction, while Ulrich and Böttger, with greater ingenuity and learning, have stated every thing that can be supposed to uphold it. In the hands of the last two writers, it has assumed considerable importance. We shall glance at the circumstances adduced in its favour, stating at the same time our reasons for rejecting it as a fanciful innovation.

1. All Asia Minor was divided by the Romans into seven provinces, viz. Asia, Phrygia, Bythynia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Pamphylia, and Pontus. According to this allotment, Galatia certainly included Lycaonia with Derbe and Lystra ; but, if Pliny is to be believed, only one part of Lycaonia, another part belonging to Cilicia (Nat. Hist. v. 25). If therefore the apostle adopted the Roman division, a part of Lycaonia may be reckoned to Galatia. But this arbitrary partition made by the Romans is not followed in the New Testament. At that time, perhaps, it had not come into general use. In the Acts of the Apostles, Lycaonia is mentioned separately, which could not have been had the Roman division been followed (Acts xvi. 1—6 ; xviii. 23). Galatia proper is distinguished from Lycaonia ; while Derbe and Lystra are expressly called cities of Lycaonia (xiv. 6). Hence the churches of Galatia (Gal. i. 2 ; 1 Cor. xvi. 1), cannot designate the Christian communities belonging to Lycaonia, especially those of Derbe and Lystra.

2. Nothing is said of the apostle's labours in preaching to the Galatians ; while, on the other hand, copious particulars are given respecting his connexion with the Lycaonian churches. It is simply stated that he passed through Galatia (Acts xvi. 6 ; xviii. 23) ; whereas Luke expressly records the fact of Christian societies being formed in Derbe and Lystra. Hence it is more natural to

think of the apostle as writing to churches among whom his labours are described, than to others of whose origin and locality no particulars are given in the New Testament.

An argument *e silentio* can prove nothing, especially as the book of the Acts does not relate *all* the journeys of Paul, or describe *all* the places in which he preached. It was not designed to exhibit a full and complete history of his multiplied labours in disseminating the doctrines of the Cross. Besides, there is an indirect allusion, at least, to the apostolic activity in Galatia, in Acts xvi. 6, a passage obviously implying that Paul had preached the word in the province. We believe, therefore, that Galatia proper is meant by the apostle; and that the churches of Galatia (Gal. ii. 1) designate communities formed in the principal towns, such as Ancyra, Tavium, Pessinus, and Gordium.

II. *Time and Place*.—Great diversity of opinion exists with respect to the time and place at which the epistle was written. We shall mention the different hypotheses in the order of time.

1. Some few have supposed that it was written previously to the council at Jerusalem. So Weingart and Beza; the latter of whom conceives it to have been written in Antioch, before Paul and Barnabas went up to Jerusalem, (Acts xiv. 28).

2. Macknight thinks that it was written from Antioch, after the council, and before Paul set out on his second missionary journey, (Acts xv. 30).

3. Michaelis and Townsend think that it was written during the second missionary journey, probably from Thessalonica, (Acts xvii. 1).

4. Drusius, L'Enfant, Beausobre, Lardner, Benson, Barrington, and others, suppose that it was written at Corinth, during the apostle's residence there for the space of eighteen months, (Acts xviii. 11).

5. Capellus, Witsius, Wall, Rosenmüller, Bertholdt, Eichhorn, Hänlein, Hug, Schott, De Wette, Olshausen, Winer, Neander, Burton, Guerike, date it from Ephesus, when Paul was there a second time and stayed three years, (Acts xix. 1).

6. Grotius, Fabricius, Pearson, and Stein, date it from Corinth, during Paul's second visit to the city, (Acts xx. 2, 3).

7. Mill thinks that it was written from Troas, as Paul was going to Jerusalem, (Acts xx. 6).

8. Theodoret supposed it to have been written from Rome, as the subscription has it. So also Lightfoot.

In regard to time, some think that it was the first of all the Pauline letters. So Marcion in ancient times; and of the moderns, Michaelis, Baumgarten, Zachariae, Schmidt, Mynster, Niemeyer, Koppe, Keil, Böttger, and Ulrich. Different circumstances have been urged by the various advocates of this

hypothesis. It has been asserted, for instance, that Galatia included a part of Lycaonia, and that the planting of the Galatian churches is designated in the expression τὴν περιχώρον. But, as has been already observed, ἡ περιχώρος means *the region round Derbe and Lystra*, (Acts xiv. 6). Others find a journey into Lycaonia and Galatia in Acts xi. 25. Yet the narrative gives no hint of such a visit. It rejects the arbitrary assumption. But it is affirmed that the Galatians were acquainted with Barnabas, since Paul thus writes:—‘Then, fourteen years after, I went up again to Jerusalem *with Barnabas*, &c. And the other Jews dissembled likewise with him [Peter]; *insomuch that Barnabas also was carried away with their dissimulation*,’ (Gal. ii. 1, 13). Barnabas did not accompany Paul on his second missionary tour, and therefore it is inferred that the Galatians must have received an earlier visit from both. But the words just quoted do not convey the idea that the Galatians had *seen* Barnabas, or formed a *personal* acquaintance with him. Doubtless these Christian converts had heard of him, and of his labours in the gospel, which is all that the passage necessarily implies. Again, in Acts xv. 36, et seq. and xvi. 4, 5, 6, the object of Paul’s second missionary journey is said to have been to *confirm* the churches, which pre-supposes a previous visit. But the strengthening of the brethren was not the *only* object which the apostle had in view. While travelling at this time, he preached the gospel in places where it had not yet been promulgated; for example, in Macedonia. He confirmed the disciples in the faith: but he also taught it, for the first time, to many. There is no incompatibility between the two things. On the contrary, they are closely and naturally allied. If the passage in Acts xvi. 6, 7, be attentively examined, it will be perceived that the Galatians are not placed among those whose faith was *strengthened* on that occasion. The latter are spoken of from chapter xv. 41, to xvi. 5; then the subject is changed, and the Galatians introduced.

The preceding considerations have only an indirect bearing on the early date of the epistle. They go to shew that Christianity was planted in the country of Galatia earlier than is generally assumed. But it does not thence follow that the epistle was written before the year 57 or even later. They simply afford a *presumption* in favour of a very early date; but they do not *directly* support so early a date as 51. Their bearing on the question of late or early writing is somewhat distant and indirect.

Others, on the contrary, have assumed that this was the last epistle which Paul wrote during his second captivity at Rome, a little before his death. So Koehler and Schrader. It is true

that the subscription states it to have been written from Rome, but the subscriptions are often erroneous. As far as this appendix is concerned, it agrees equally well with *the first* imprisonment in the imperial city. Appeal is made to Gal. vi. 17, where the writer is said to allude to his impending death, and the suffering he endured immediately before it; but the passage, properly understood, is far from supporting such a view. The apostle was continually persecuted by the Jews, and it is unwarrantable to confine the marks of the sufferings in his body, which he mentions, to Rome, as if they had been received there only. This hypothesis is closely connected with Schrader's Chronological Arrangement of the Epistles. During the apostle's long sojourn at Ephesus (Acts xix.), it is supposed that he made a journey to Jerusalem, which is inserted by Schrader between the 20th and 21st verses of the nineteenth chapter. This journey from Ephesus he identifies with the one mentioned in Gal. ii. 1, 'Then, fourteen years after, I went up again to Jerusalem with Barnabas, and took Titus with me also.' But when Paul went to Ephesus he had been for some time separated from Barnabas (Acts xv. 36, &c.), and throughout the entire history there is not a word of their having again travelled together. Koehler assumes that Acts xviii. 23, gives an account of the first preaching of the gospel in Galatia; but the phrase, *strengthening all the disciples*, implies that christianity had been already planted in the country.

The hypothesis which we have just noticed, is simply the ancient view of Jerome and Theodoret carried to excess. These fathers looked upon the epistle as the first of those written during the Roman imprisonment, the former appealing for proof to such passages as iv. 20, vi. 11, 18. In the time of Euthalius, this opinion had found its way into the MSS., and prevailed likewise in the Syrian church. It was adopted in modern times by Flacius, Sixtus, Baronius, Bullinger, Hunnius, Lightfoot, Calovius, Hammond, and others. But it was reserved for Koehler and Schrader to divest it of any probability, by pushing it out to a most unwarrantable excess.

Rejecting extreme views, it may contribute to the ascertainment of the correct date, to inquire whether the epistle was written between the first and second visits to the country, or after the latter. L'Enfant, Beausobre, Benson, and others, think that nothing is said in the epistle of Paul having been more than once in Galatia. Lardner accedes to the same view, and places it in A.D. 52, or the beginning of 53. In proof of this, much stress is laid upon the words, 'I marvel that ye are *so soon* removed from him that called you into the grace of Christ, unto another gospel,'—words implying, it is said, that

the epistle must have been written *a short time* after Paul had preached in Galatia. But the phrase *οὕτως ταχέως* is too slender a basis on which to build an argument of this nature. Some explain it as denoting *the suddenness* of the change, or *the quickness* with which it had taken place. So Schott, Burton, and others. Still it is more natural to refer *ταχέως* to *time intervening* than to the *rapidity* of the alteration effected. There is nothing in the phrase requiring its restriction to *a first* more than to *a second* visit. If the epistle were composed immediately after his *second* visit, *οὕτως ταχέως* would be equally applicable. Hug, Rückert, Olshausen, Burton, Greswell, and Anger, confidently refer to Gal. iv. 13, for proof that Paul had been twice in Galatia, before sending the letter, 'Ye know how through infirmity of the flesh *I preached the gospel unto you at the first.*' It is not easy to see how this passage pre-supposes an earlier and later visit. As far as it is concerned, Paul may have been but *once* among the Galatians. *Τὸ πρότερον* does not mean *the first time* in opposition to *the second*, but *formerly, before*. The expression occurs in John vi. 62, ix. 8, neither of which passages countenances the notion that it signifies *the first time*, indicating *a second*. The usage of *τὸ πρότερον* in other places overpowers the argument of Greswell, deduced from the parallels *τὸ δεύτερον, τὸ πάλιν, τὰς πρότερον ἡμέρας*, in favour of a second visit. We do not find, with this writer, the same reference to a second visit, in the literal signification of *ἐπιχορηγῶν*, which he understands of some *second* supply of the gifts of the Spirit in addition to a *first*, and such as might be imparted by Paul on a *second* visit. The preposition may be, and probably is, merely intensive, (Gal. iii. 5). Thus, the epistle itself contains no clear indication that it was written after the second visit. We believe, however, that it did follow that event. De Wette concludes that it was written after the second visit, because the errorists would not otherwise have had sufficient time to work against the apostle. The great change which had taken place in the sentiments of the Galatian converts required time, in order to its full development. The errors into which they had fallen were not imbibed at once. The false teachers could not have been in Galatia before Christianity had been planted in the country. They came thither after Paul had sowed the true seed of the word. We are disposed to attribute some weight to this circumstance. If, then, the epistle was written after the apostle's second visit, the most probable place at which it was composed was Ephesus. Perhaps the first epistle to the Corinthians, which was written from Ephesus, furnishes some confirmation of the opinion that the present was also dated from the same place. There is a remark-

able passage in the first epistle to the Corinthians, which, if Dr. Burton's conjecture be correct, harmonizes with the opinion that the epistle before us was written at Ephesus. We refer to 1 Cor. xvi. 1 :—'Now concerning the collection for the saints, as I have given order to the churches of Galatia, even so do ye.' The first epistle to the Corinthians was written from Ephesus. The injunction respecting the collection does not occur in the Galatian epistle. Hence Capellus conjectured that the epistle to the Galatians was written immediately before that to the Corinthians; that Paul gave to the bearer a verbal message relative to the money; and that the injunction being fresh in his mind when he began to compose the letter to the Corinthians, gave rise to the allusion. Burton adopts this supposition as a probable one. Perhaps there is more ingenuity than truth in the assumption; for when the apostle paid his last visit to Galatia, he may have given directions about the collection. There is, however, some similarity between passages in these two epistles, that shews the same train of thought to have been in the writer's mind when composing them. In both he alludes to his infirmity in the flesh, (Gal. iv. 13, 1 Cor. ii. 3). Some individuals at Corinth had suggested doubts as to his apostleship, to whom he refers in 1 Cor. ix. 1—3. Similar objections had been made to him in Galatia, and therefore he copiously refutes them at the commencement of the epistle to the Galatians. The same proverb is quoted in Gal. v. 9, and 1 Cor. v. 6. (Compare also Gal. v. 6, and vi. 15, with 1 Cor. vii. 19).

In addition to these remarks, it should be observed, that οὐτως ταχέως favours Ephesus in preference to any other place, on the supposition that the letter was written after the second visit. The apostle abode there more than two years; and if he heard *very soon* of the Galatian apostacy, it is improbable that he should have allowed a long period to elapse before he wrote concerning the defection.

If the preceding observations be founded in truth, they tend to disprove an earlier as well as a later date. Composed at Ephesus, it must be referred to 57, or the beginning of 58, according to the chronology which appears to us most correct.

The epistle itself warrants us to infer thus much, that Paul had found, during his second visit, a Judaising party in Galatia, from whom he knew that danger was to be feared. Wherever persons entertaining such sentiments appeared, they were not inactive, either secretly or openly. They had been endeavouring, in the present case, to undermine the structure reared by the apostle. Doubtless he saw what they had been attempting to do in his absence, and although they had not succeeded, yet past experience made him sensible of the importance of fortify-

ing the minds of recent converts against machinations so insinuating in their aspect and pernicious in their results, (i. 9, v. 8). But the leaven which had been silently fermenting previously to his second visit, was not wholly destroyed. Soon after his departure symptoms of its existence appeared. A great defection speedily took place. The apostle had taken precautions to render the designs of his enemies abortive, and was therefore much surprised when he heard of the grievous departure from the faith. The information which reached him was unexpected. This surprise cannot be well accounted for on the supposition that he had visited the Galatian churches but once. It occasioned an outburst of righteous indignation, as the letter evinces.

We shall now examine the principal arguments which militate against the opinion we have espoused. They are generally negative and indirect, either such as have been adduced to prove that the epistle was written at some other place, or resting on the silence of the author in regard to circumstances whose omission is considered strange if our hypothesis be correct.

1. It has been urged, that there is no mention in the second chapter of the council at Jerusalem, at which it was decreed that the Gentiles should not be compelled to observe the law of Moses as necessary to salvation, (Acts xv). And yet the decrees of that assembly would have been apposite to the writer's purpose, because strongly condemnatory of the Judaizing teachers whom he opposes. Whence, then, Paul's silence in regard to them? Does not the omission imply that the letter was composed prior to the council?

The convention at Jerusalem did not effect perfect unanimity of sentiment between Jewish and Gentile Christians. It did not extinguish Pharisaic modes of thinking. Though it repressed, for a time, the Judaizing spirit, yet many were unconvinced by its decisions. The Hebrew Christians probably regarded its decrees as of temporary obligation. Perhaps they did not look upon them as perpetually binding or authoritative, but simply as a temporary provision to preserve the church's unity. The apostle knew that the hostile party were not silenced by the decrees of the council. In other places besides Galatia, a reaction proceeded from that party against the free spirit of the assembly's letter. The distance, too, of many Gentile churches from Jerusalem, favoured the Judaizers in disclosing nothing about the convention. Hence they continued to quote the authority of the apostles in favour of circumcision, especially the names of James and Peter, in opposition to the sentiments of Paul whom they depreciated and hated. Since, therefore, the determination of the convention had proved ineffectual in pre-

venting the Galatians from entanglement in the yoke of ritual performances, *if indeed they had heard of it*, the apostle, without reverting to it, insists upon his own apostolic commission, and urges various arguments adapted to convince his erring readers. It should also be recollected; that it was not usual for the apostle Paul to appeal or defer to the authority of the other apostles in any of his writings. He was conscious that he had been immediately called by Christ, and endowed with extraordinary gifts. It would have been not only contrary to his method, but irrelevant to his purpose, to have done so on the present occasion, in which he conceived it necessary to insist upon his own apostleship and supernatural illumination. He takes up the matter of dispute between himself and the Judaizers as one of principle. Standing upon this high ground and not on authority, he confutes the corrupters of the gospel. It was natural for them to appeal to names, or to resort to decisions, could they have done so with the shadow of truth; but the apostle of the Gentiles, instead of adducing the decrees enacted at Jerusalem, asserts his own independence as a preacher of the truth, and the power which accompanied the proclamation of his gospel among the Gentiles, as an evidence of its divinity. Hence he goes much farther in the epistle than the tenor of the decree. He states the great principle of justification by faith in Christ as entirely opposed to justification by outward observances. The decision of the council was, that the Gentile converts should not be required to keep the Mosaic law in order to their full recognition as Christians; while Paul, agreeably to his mode of refuting error, affirms a great doctrine—an essential fact in the Christian system—which virtually confutes *every other* method of salvation than that proceeding from faith in the crucified Saviour.

2. The journey of Paul to Jerusalem, noticed in chap. ii. 1, has been adduced in favour of the hypothesis that the epistle was written prior to the council at Jerusalem. To us it is evident that the journey in question was either the second or the third which he made to Jerusalem. Let us briefly specify the respective visits to that city, for the sake of obtaining a clearer apprehension of the present.

(a) The first is noticed in Acts ix. 26. See Gal. i. 13, A.D. 40 or 41.

(b) Acts xi. 30, A.D. 44 or 45.

(c) Acts xv. 1, et seq., A.D. 51 or 52.

(d) Acts xviii. 18, 22, A.D. 54 or 55.

(e) Acts xxi. 15, A.D. 59 or 60.

Thus five journeys to Jerusalem are detailed in the Acts of the Apostles.

Schrader, as we have already observed, supposed the journey noticed in Gal. ii. 1, to be omitted in the Acts, and that it was made from Ephesus after the fourth of those just named, (Acts xix. 20, 21). He has been ably opposed by Schott. Koehler, who identifies it with the fourth, has also been refuted by the same writer. It remains for us to choose between the second and third. Calvin, Eichhorn, Paulus, Keil, Süsskind, Gabler, and Flatt, favour the former: the majority of expositors adopt the latter. The following arguments are adduced for the second. The connection of the passage with the preceding, points to the second journey, and Paul could not with propriety omit any of his visits to Jerusalem, lest it should be asserted by his enemies that what had happened during one, had fallen out in another. Besides, the adverb *πάλιν*, introducing the notice of a new journey, equivalent to *δεύτερον*, is adverse to the omission of that referred to in Acts, xi. chap. It is also improbable that Peter could have been guilty of such conduct in relation to the Gentile Christians, as is attributed to him in the second chapter of our epistle, after the decision of the council. He would most probably have opposed every attempt to establish the works of the law among the idolatrous Gentiles. Again, Paul is said to have gone up to Jerusalem *by revelation* (Gal. ii. 2), but, in the Acts, he was deputed by the church at Antioch. Paul also communicated his mode of preaching to the Gentiles, privately to the 'pillars of the church,' but if this formed the subject of his public mission, there was no reason for such private interview. It is farther asserted, that Paul abated somewhat of his anti-Jewish notions after the council at Jerusalem, for he himself circumcised Timothy, in opposition to his former ideas. (Compare Gal. v. 2.) Hence it is inferred, that his second visit to Jerusalem is here intended, before which his anti-Jewish ideas were so strong, as to prevent him from yielding to the Judaizing teachers, in the matter of circumcision.

But we can see nothing in the connexion and previous context to justify the assertion, that Paul meant to narrate *all* his journeys to Jerusalem. The 20th and 21st verses of the first chapter do not warrant that conclusion. One visit may be omitted, and yet *πάλιν* be employed in beginning to speak of the journey next succeeding. The adverb does not *necessarily* refer back to the date of the first journey mentioned in chap. i. 18, although Burton speaks very confidently respecting it. As to the adverb *ἔπειτα* standing at the commencement of chapter ii., 1, which speaks of this journey, it is quite consistent with the idea that a journey has been previously omitted. It simply introduces a succeeding event. It is employed at the beginning

of verses 18 and 21. of the first chapter, and then at chapter ii. 1, implying that the events which it thus introduces were successive, the one following upon the other, but without conveying the idea that the second occurrence was the next *in point of time* to the first, or the third to the second. The adverb is not used in a manner so rigidly definite. It admits of far greater latitude. In regard to the alteration of Peter's sentiments before and after the council, and a consequent inconsistency in his conduct, on the supposition that the journey in question was any other than the second, it may appear more formidable and fatal to the opinion of those who assume the present journey to be the third. But there is nothing in the text of the second chapter imperiously requiring that the reprimand given to Peter at Antioch should have happened after the journey described at the beginning of the chapter. That journey may have been the *third* to Jerusalem, and yet the rebuke have been given before. Hug and Scheckenburger, who identify the journey with the third, place the meeting of Peter and Paul at Antioch *before* the convention of the apostles and elders at Jerusalem. This opinion proceeds on the ground that Paul does not follow chronological order, in narrating the events of his previous life—a ground perfectly tenable and correct. To us, however, it appears far more natural to place the description of such an event as that of Antioch *after* the journey previously alluded to in the commencement of the chapter. There is nothing in the entire narrative to indicate the necessity of transposition. The apostle, indeed, does not pursue chronological exactness; but yet there appears to be no reason for violating it so obviously as the hypothesis of Hug implies. The speech of Peter, in the council, shews that his sentiments were sufficiently liberal. He well knew that the Gentiles were freed from the yoke of the law, and boldly pronounced any attempt to impose it again upon them as a *tempting of God*. Did his opinions become less liberal afterwards? No change seems to have come over them. The conduct which Paul censured proceeded from *fear*, not from *ignorance*. Afraid of the converted Jews, he refused to eat with the Gentiles. He disssembled, and was guilty of hypocrisy. As to the notions of Paul in relation to the Jewish Christians who had still a lingering attachment to the Mosaic law, we can perceive no real difference between their more lenient and their severer phases. On the contrary, they were invariably the same; equally strong at one time as at another. He always opposed the observance of circumcision, when it was insisted on as *necessary* to the Gentile converts. Hence he would not yield to the false brethren, who wished Titus to be circumcised. *There* he regarded principle as

involved, and resolutely withstood the Judaisers. But, on the other hand, out of a prudent accommodation to the weakness and prejudices of the Jewish converts, he took Timothy and circumcised him with his own hands. He became all things to all men, where principle was not at stake, yielding to the infirmities of the weaker brethren, so far as that could be effected without violating truth. Whenever the gospel could be advanced, he was willing to yield as much as Christian integrity and purity would allow. Thus the difference of his conduct under different circumstances argues no variation in his *sentiments*. The necessity of Mosaic observances to Jewish converts, he ever strenuously opposed. The record in Acts xvi. 8; xxi. 20—26, harmonises with the general tone of the Galatian epistle.

We are inclined to identify this journey to Jerusalem with the *third* mentioned in the Acts of the apostles. In doing so, we have the authority of many distinguished names, of Irenæus, Pearson, Semler, Koppe, Vogel, Gabler, Haselaar, Schmidt, Borger, Hug, Winer, Schott, Macknight, De Wette, Olshausen, Credner, Neander, and others. In Acts xv. 2, other persons besides Barnabas accompanied Paul; and accordingly, Titus is here named. It is remarkable that Titus is never mentioned in the Acts. It is perfectly consistent to say that Paul went up to Jerusalem as a deputy from the church of Antioch, while at the same time he went up *by revelation*; and it is remarkable that the clear-headed Paley should have adduced them as somewhat contradictory. The subject was one of so much importance, that God vouchsafed to the apostle a *peculiar revelation* regarding it, directing him what to do, and how to proceed. It was so intimately connected with the truth of the gospel, the liberty of the Gentile converts, and the peace of the newly-formed churches, that a supernatural communication was granted to Paul relative to the matter. We are not informed of the manner in which the proposal to send the deputation to Jerusalem originated, but it probably originated with Paul himself. But whether it originated with the church at Antioch or with himself, it is reconcileable with the fact, that he had a divine illumination directing him to go. It is almost unnecessary to allude to the alleged superfluity of his private interview with the most eminent apostles, because it related to the subject of his public mission. Before the public consultation was held, there was a private conference between the apostles. The latter was important towards effecting the object to be promulgated at the former. It was necessary that the most eminent apostles should know from Paul himself that the gospel which he preached among the Gentiles was the same as theirs, and that it was

sanctioned of heaven in the great results attending its proclamation. In this way the apostles of the Jews were divested of the prejudices which they may have entertained against the conduct of Paul in publishing the gospel to the Gentiles, and the nature of his gospel, if indeed they entertained any prejudices against him from ignorance.

Farther, in the second journey (Acts xi. 30) Paul appears, to use the words of Neander, in a subordinate relation both of age and disciplinship to Barnabas, the elder preacher of the gospel. This must, therefore, have been soon after his conversion. But on the supposition that the journey here mentioned was the second, a long time must have elapsed between his conversion and the second visit to Jerusalem. It is by far the most probable and natural mode of reckoning, to count the fourteen years (Gal. ii. 1) from *the conversion* of Paul, and not his first journey to Jerusalem. If such, then, be the date of these years, the time between his first and second journey would appear long and inexplicable—fourteen years; but if the fourteen years embraced the whole period from his conversion to his third journey, we are not obliged to assume a number of years, of which nothing is known. All attempts to alter the received reading either into *four*, or any other number, are opposed to the best critical authorities. In view of all the circumstances, we suppose that the second journey, undertaken for *eleemosynary* purposes alone, is omitted by the writer, because it had no connexion with his argument or object. He mentions the *third* journey both as being important and suitable to his purpose. Those who think that the *second* journey of Paul to Jerusalem was meant, generally read *four*, instead of *fourteen*, although this change is not *necessarily* required by their opinion.

3. The inscription of the epistle is adduced, in which it is stated, that all the brethren who were with Paul joined with him in writing. They united in attesting the facts stated in the first and second chapters for the purpose of proving his apostleship. They must, therefore, have known the truth of these facts, independently of Paul's own testimony. Hence it is argued that they could belong to no other Gentile city than Antioch, because the brethren there had intercourse with those of Jerusalem, and must have been acquainted with what happened to the apostle at that place. So Macknight reasons. The argument rests on the assumption, that 'the only view with which any of the brethren could join the apostle in writing to the Galatians, was to attest the facts adduced for the sake of proving his apostleship in the two first chapters.' This ground is narrow and insecure. It is rash to assert that such was the *only* view with which any of the brethren could join the apostle.

In other epistles, some of the brethren are associated with him in sending friendly salutations to churches, as Sosthenes, Silvanus, and Timothy, without conveying the idea, that by so doing they attested facts, as independent witnesses. It was an expression of their agreement with the apostle in doctrine and sentiment, and also of their Christian regard for the communities addressed. In the present instance, *all the brethren* are mentioned, probably, as Jerome thinks, for the purpose of imparting greater weight and authority. Cordially attached as they were to the apostle's person, and recognizing his divine commission, they were not ashamed to appear on his side, and to unite with him in addressing the Galatians. The believers residing at any place where Paul was, whether Troas, or Corinth, or Ephesus, may have been thus associated with him in his epistolary address to the churches of Galatia. The conviction that he was a true apostle, need not have been derived from intercourse with the brethren at Jerusalem. Circumstances were sufficiently powerful to induce such as had never been at Jerusalem to acknowledge his apostleship. The nature of his teaching, the power with which it was accompanied, the extraordinary gifts he possessed, his whole conduct, impressed men with the belief that he had been both divinely called by the Author of Christianity and supernaturally fitted for propagating and defending the truth which he preached with an energy so marvellous. Even though they rested on his own testimony in receiving the leading facts of his previous history, they may have united with him on the present occasion for the purpose of showing that they implicitly believed his divine commission, and relied on his statement of Christian doctrine as infallibly correct.

Michaelis, who supposes the epistle to have been written during the interval which elapsed between Paul's departure from Galatia and his departure from Thessalonica, rests the weight of his proof in favour of that early date on the fact that the brethren associated with him in writing were the same who accompanied him when he left Galatia, and such as were known to his readers, without any further description. These brethren were, therefore, Silas, Timothy, and others, who remained with him till he left Thessalonica.

It should be observed, that the term *brethren* is not appropriated in the New Testament to preachers of the gospel, whether apostles, evangelists, or others, in contradistinction to Christians generally. *All* believers, whether such as were exclusively employed in making known Christianity, or such as were humble hearers and believers of that Christianity, were equally denominated *brethren*. That all the brethren whom Paul joined with himself in writing to the Galatians were

known to the latter, is a position neither required nor implied by the way in which they are so mentioned. The Christians of any place who had been converted by Paul, and who continued to be well affected towards his person, would naturally unite with him in expressing their regard towards the Christians of another city; and especially would they do so in circumstances similar to those in which the apostle stood when he wrote to the Galatians. *That* was a time at which his friends would adhere to him all the more closely, and feel a livelier interest in upholding his character.

4. It is urged, that the epistle was written *soon after* the council at Jerusalem, because Paul's apostleship, which the Judaizers had denied, was recognised on that important occasion. Peter, James, and John, then gave him the right hand of fellowship, as of equal authority with themselves. As soon, therefore, as the brethren of any church became acquainted with the transactions of the council, they could not listen to any who called his apostolic character in question. Hence Antioch is fixed upon as the place where it was written, whither the apostle repaired *immediately after* the assembly. There is nothing in this argument which contradicts the supposition, that the letter was written at Ephesus. The brethren belonging to this place may have heard of the decision at Jerusalem, but not minutely. Many of the particulars narrated in the epistle they probably did not know by report. And even should they have heard *all* the transactions by which Paul's authority was established, a supposition by no means likely, yet in consequence of the insinuations of the Judaizing teachers, they may have lost the impression once made upon their minds by those distant events. That the false teachers should have undermined his apostleship among the Galatian converts, even although the latter knew what had happened at Jerusalem, is not remarkable, when we reflect upon their character, their principles, and their hostility to the advocate of Gentile freedom. They did not hesitate to propound impudent falsehoods to promote their selfish purposes. But, indeed, it is quite improbable that the Galatian Christians had become acquainted with the particulars contained in the first and second chapters before he wrote to them. The distance of Galatia from Jerusalem, and the slowness with which information was then transmitted, combine to indicate that the believers in that province had not heard of the transactions at Jerusalem. Hence the fulness and particularity with which every thing affecting his apostleship and the independent source of his gospel, is narrated.

5. 'That the epistle to the Galatians was written after the council of Jerusalem, and before St. Paul set out from Antioch

on his second apostolical journey, appears from his not giving the Galatians any exhortation therein, or direction concerning the collection for the saints. At the time Paul went into Galatia from Tarsus, he does not seem to have planned that collection. Neither had he it in view when he went into Phrygia and Galatia with Barnabas from Lycaonia. What first suggested the idea to him was, if I mistake not, the exhortation of the apostles, when they give him the right hand of fellowship, and agreed that he should go among the Gentiles, namely, *that he would remember the poor*; that is, remember to make collections among the converted Gentiles for the poor of the saints in Judea. Or he may have formed the resolution, in consequence of some conversation on the subject which he had with the three apostles before he left Jerusalem. But in whatever manner it originated, as Paul doth not seem to have formed that resolution till he went up to the council and conversed with the other apostles, he could not with propriety mention it to the Galatians in any letter, till he had explained the matter to them in conversation. And this, I doubt not, the apostle did, when he carried to them the decrees of the council in his second apostolical journey through Phrygia and Galatia. And the Galatians having agreed to make the collections, he directed them in what manner to make them with the least inconvenience to themselves; and no doubt received from them their collections, when *he went over all the country of Galatia and Phrygia in order*, in his way to Ephesus, as mentioned Acts xviii. 23. Or, if any of the Galatian and Phrygian churches had not then finished their collections, they may have sent them to him during his three years abode in Ephesus. These things I infer from the following circumstance: in his first epistle to the Corinthians, chapter xvi. 1, 2, which was written from Ephesus, after he had gone over all the country of Phrygia in order, he mentioned the directions concerning the method of making the collections, which he had given to the Galatians before he wrote that letter; and desired the Corinthians to follow these directions in making their collections. Wherefore, as he did not after that go into Galatia, but went from Ephesus to Corinth, and from Corinth straightway to Jerusalem with the collections, he must have received the collections of the Galatian churches in the manner I have described.

We have quoted this paragraph at length because the argument it contains is so obscurely propounded as well as loosely constructed, that we are not sure of having rightly understood it. One thing it implies, which, if incorrectly assumed, vitiates the force of the whole. It is taken for granted, that the idea of Paul's making a collection for the saints did not suggest

itself to his mind before he met the apostles at Jerusalem. This is not necessarily implied in the words of the second chapter, tenth verse, 'Only they would that we should remember the poor; *the same which I was* [have been] *also forward to do.*' It should be remembered that he and Barnabas had previously carried contributions from Antioch to Jerusalem, as is related in Acts xi. 29, 30; and it is no improbable supposition that such had been promoted by the exhortations or advice of the bearers. Thus the argument, if we apprehend it aright, falls to the ground, since it mainly rests on an erroneous hypothesis.

It has been already stated that the Jews had made proselytes from among the heathen Galatians. These proselytes, however, seem to have constituted a *very small* proportion of the churches. By far the greater number of the believers to whom the epistle is addressed had been heathens. Many of them, however, had been acquainted with the Jewish doctrines and favourably disposed towards their reception; while some at least had been proselytes. The epistle leads us to conclude that few of the Galatian Christians were Jews by descent. The apostle writes to them as having once been heathen. He asserts that the heathen are justified by faith (iii. 8); that his readers had formerly done service to idols (iv. 8); and among them were many still uncircumcised (v. 2; vi. 13). That they were inclined to the observance of the Mosaic law, and familiar with Jewish ideas and Jewish modes of interpretation, is manifest from the epistle; but this circumstance will not prove them to have once been native Jews. They were heathen converts upon whom zealous Jews had laboured to produce an impression in favour of the Mosaic institutions. Exposed, as they were, to the combined influences of Jews and Judaisers, not a few exhibited a strong disposition towards the religion of the ancient economy, or had even become proselytes. Imperfectly acquainted with the great truths of Christianity, and observing the direct antagonism in which this new religion stood to their former modes of thought and life, it is natural to suppose that they would be less averse to such a system as consisted of outward ceremonies, and presented, in consequence, some slight points of contact with the habits and prejudices which they had imbibed from infancy.

The state of the Galatian churches at the time of Paul's second visit, as compared with that in which he had left them, has been variously represented. Formerly it was always believed that he found every thing encouraging. They had not yielded to any attempt made with a view to deprive them of their Christian freedom, but remained steadfast in their attachment to the faith. Accordingly, it is stated in the Acts of the Apostles, that he *confirmed* the brethren, imprinting anew on their minds

the important lessons he had previously inculcated in relation to justification by faith alone. But in modern times, this opinion has receded in a great measure, to give place to another. Several able commentators have given a different representation of the condition in which Paul is said to have found the churches when he came to them a second time. We allude to Hensen, Rückert, Usteri, Schott, Credner, Olshausen, and others, who have thus stated the matter.

Between the first and second visit it may be supposed that Paul's enemies, the Judaizing Christians, were not idle. Yet their hatred against him was not stirred up to any considerable height. His prudent and wise accommodation to the weakness of Judaism, as also his carrying of contributions to the poor Hebrew Christians at Jerusalem, may have contributed to soften their prejudices and to restrain violent opposition to his person and doctrines. But some attempts had been made, in his absence, to inculcate upon the converts observance of the Mosaic law, and thus to deprive them of gospel freedom. The germ of the errors into which they afterwards fell, had certainly appeared. The Galatian Christians had been affected to some extent by the persuasions of the Judaizing teachers. On this supposition alone can such passages as Gal. i. 9; iv. 12—18; v. 3—21, be satisfactorily explained. The apostle had seen the leaven which had been fermenting in his absence. The state of things was by no means sound or satisfactory when he paid them a second visit, and he doubtless did all in his power to prevent the farther development of those pernicious principles which had already taken root, and which, if not checked, he clearly foresaw, would prove ruinous to the peace and purity of the newly-formed societies. Accordingly he rebuked the perverse maxims of the false teachers, exposed their corruption of the gospel, and put a stop for the time to the incipient apostasy of the Galatian converts. Animated by the presence of the apostle, strengthened and reassured in the true faith, their doubts were removed, and the insinuations to which they had lent too favourable an ear, dislodged from their minds. But his reproofs, equally as his earnest endeavours to eradicate the errors in question, had nothing more than a *temporary* effect. Their influence soon passed away. The evil broke out in a form at once distressing and aggravated. He had repressed it for a season, without rooting it out for ever.

Such is the view that has obtained considerable currency in modern times, and of which Rückert is regarded as the ablest expounder. It is necessary, however, to attend to the basis on which it rests; for there are many who are exceedingly ingenious in constructing hypotheses with slender materials. In such

exegetical architecture the Germans are particularly skilful. The passages appealed to are, Gal. i. 9; iv. 18, &c.; v. 3—21:—‘As we said before, so say I now *again*, If any man preach any other gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accursed. But it is good to be zealously affected always in a good thing, and not only when I am present with you. My little children, of whom I travail in birth again until Christ be formed in you; I desire to be present with you now, and to change my voice; for I stand in doubt of you. For I testify *again* to every man that is circumcised, that he is a debtor to do the whole law . . . of the which I tell you before, as I have also told you in time past, that they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God.’ We shall glance at the passages separately:—

The words *ὡς προειρήκαμεν* (i. 9,) are referred to what he said on a former occasion, and the strong statement with which they are connected, ‘If any man preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed,’ is thought to imply that some one had preached before the time when they were uttered, another gospel to which the Galatians had listened with favour, though it was contrary to Paul’s. But the statement of the verse may allude to that of the preceding, of which it is merely a repetition. Or, should the reference be to what he had said when last present with them, as we are inclined to believe, it involves no more than *the existence* of Judaising Christians, who may have endeavoured to lead the believers astray by the inculcation of a pharisaic Judaism opposed to the free spirit of Christianity. Certainly there is nothing in the passage to justify the conclusion that the Galatian converts *had imbibed*, either *wholly* or *in part*, the false dogmas of these teachers, or that they had submitted to circumcision in order that they might be raised to the same fancied level as the Jewish Christians.

In regard to the true meaning of iv. 18, &c., there exists great diversity of opinion. It is not necessary for our present purpose to detail the various expositions which have been proposed. The writer wishes his readers to be equally zealous in a good cause, in his absence as in his presence, expresses the extreme anxiety he felt until they should be established in the Christian doctrine, and then says that he could wish to be present with them now and to change his voice, so as to adapt it to their peculiar circumstances, because he was at a loss about their exact state. Here the terms *ἀλλάξαι τὴν φωνὴν μου* imply, that all had been well with them when he last saw them. The change in their condition, which now required a change in his voice, had been effected since that visit, and his being in perplexity about them *now*, argues that he was not *then* in the same perplexity.

Those who refer these expressions to his *first* and not his *second* visit, do so arbitrarily and unwarrantably, since no unbiassed reader would think of such reference.

Chapter v. 2, 3, alludes to his *former* testimony among the Galatians, which was to the same effect as *this* his written observation. That testimony, however, need not have been based upon *the actual manifestations* of submission to the ceremonial yoke. Viewing the prospective danger of the converts, it is highly probable that Paul saw fit to warn them against the machinations of Judaisers. The 21st verse furnishes no appropriate evidence for that which it is adduced by Rückert and others to prove. The apostle had *always* occasion to warn his readers and hearers against practical ungodliness, as excluding men from the kingdom of God.

In opposition to this hypothesis we may quote the words of Gal. i. 6, 'I marvel that ye are so soon removed from him that called you into the grace of Christ, unto another gospel,' intimating that shortly after he had visited them the second time, they had departed from the faith which he had taught. Surely this shows that they had not been previously estranged from himself or his doctrine. Gal. iv. 13—15 may be also adduced for the same purpose, 'Ye know how through infirmity of the flesh, I preached the gospel unto you at the first; and my temptation which was in my flesh ye despised not nor rejected, but received me as an angel of God, even as Christ Jesus. Where is then the blessedness ye spake of? for I bear you record, that, if it had been possible, ye would have plucked out your own eyes, and have given them to me.' If we are right in taking τὸ πρότερον to mean *formerly*, including his first and second visit—the time preceding the act of his writing, without confining it to the *first* visit—then the passage clearly conveys the idea that the Galatians gladly received his message and respected his person; nor does any alienation of their affections from him seem to have happened in consequence of their yielding to false teachers. The description of their attention to himself and his message, embraces *all* the visits he made to them before he wrote after learning their apostacy, if he had been among them more than once before sending the letter. There is nothing in the passage itself, or in the context, to limit τὸ πρότερον to *one part* of the time antecedent to writing, or to *one visit*.

In short, we believe that no defection had taken place at the time of Paul's second visit. The faith which the Galatians had received they still kept uncorrupted. They stood, however, in peculiar danger of being seduced. Hence the apostle, foreseeing the danger to which they might be exposed, warned them against Judaisers. He strengthened them in the great principles of

gospel purity and freedom, that they might be able to resist the persons whose presence among them he could not but apprehend. Whether he left them without solicitude in regard to their steadfastness, may be matter of question, however sound and healthy their spiritual condition may have been. It cannot be supposed that he who watched over all the churches with parental solicitude, especially those which he had himself planted, should banish all uneasiness from his thoughts in regard to the Galatian Christians.

Symptoms of apostacy appeared *soon after* he left them. The Judaizing teachers, who may have waited for his departure, not daring to discover themselves in their true character while he was present, or who may have been sent from other places by the anti-Pauline party, immediately after he went away, applied themselves so zealously to the work on which they were intent, that they speedily drew away many from the faith, persuading them to submit to the law of Moses, and be circumcised. We refer οὐτως ταχέως (i. 6,) to *time*. The apostacy happened *not long* after his second visit. The words of chap. iv. 18, do not contradict the fact that the epistle was sent *soon after* that visit, although Credner strangely asserts that they *are* adverse to it.

III. The Judaizing teachers among the Galatians held, that obligation to observe the Mosaic law, lay not only on the Jewish but the Gentile Christians. The decision of the apostles and elders at Jerusalem did not avail to break up their rigid notions in regard to the strict observance of legal precepts, although it went clearly to show that the Mosaic law was no longer binding, and therefore no longer needful for the procurement of salvation. Probably it moderated their extreme Jewish tendencies, without removing them. In proportion as they still insisted on the outward and the moral, did they neglect the inward and spiritual, assuming the character of a *sect*, by their narrow exclusiveness. The apostle Paul, who had the most liberal views of gospel freedom in connexion with gospel purity, maintained that Jewish as well as Gentile Christians were delivered from the yoke of legal enactments. He knew that the genuine tendency of the gospel was to set aside the externality of the law, by introducing Jew and Gentile into a region of spiritual liberty. Such, however, were his prudence and wise adaptation to circumstances, that he did not demand of Jewish Christians that they should forget the dispensation to which they had been before attached. With rash and revolutionary spirit he did not at once put himself in an attitude of direct opposition to the prejudices of such persons. He left it to time to clear away these prepossessions, and to unfold the perfect genius of the gospel, so that all lingering adherence to Judaism might gradu-

ally dissolve in the brightening atmosphere of gospel freedom. In his own conduct we have an example of consummate prudence, manifested in his becoming all things to his countrymen, as far as he could do so consistently with his apostolic office and Christian character. Among Gentiles he did not think of conformity to the law, but enjoyed that freedom which the gospel confers. On the other hand, in the society of Jews, he observed the law, lest needless offence might be given. Hence his conduct was exposed to misrepresentation. It furnished ready occasion to the misconstruction of his enemies. The Judaizing Christians affirmed accordingly, that he taught the abrogation of the Mosaic law, and maintained, in addition, that he was inconsistent with himself. Because again he did not directly pronounce adherence to Judaism essentially *sinful*, he was censured by the rashminded of the Gentile Christians, who wished at once and for ever to discountenance every semblance of restraint arising from the injunctions of a vanishing economy. He was blamed for teaching the people to make light of a divine institute—for encouraging disrespect to the authority of Moses, because his general conduct, especially in the company of Gentile Christians, was conformed to the genuine spirit of the gospel. From this Judaizing tendency—a tendency essentially Pharisaic in its nature—Paul encountered much opposition. Insisting as it did upon the obligatory nature of the law on Gentile as well as Jewish Christians, it was diametrically opposed to the essential principles of true Christianity.

But who were *the leaders* of the anti-Pauline party who corrupted the purity of the Galatian churches by mixing Judaism with Christianity? Were they Gentile Christians who submitted to circumcision at the time when the Judaizing teachers manifested their activity in gaining converts, or were they such as had been proselytes from among the heathen, previously to the introduction of Christianity into Galatia; or, on the other hand, were they Jews by descent? It is important to mark the precise differences between these three hypotheses. 1. According to the first, they were recent converts from among the Gentile Christians to the sentiments of the party which had its principal seat in Palestine, *i. e.* from being believers in simple Christianity they had been persuaded to associate Judaism with it, maintaining that both must be adopted as necessary to salvation. 2. The second makes them proselytes from among the heathen to Judaism, before Christianity had been planted in the country; then they had embraced the gospel, but were afterwards persuaded to unite their former with their present faith. Thus *this* hypothesis implies that they had been *once more Jews*; the preceding does not involve the same idea. 3. According to the

third hypothesis, they were Jews by extraction, who, having embraced Christianity, were the more easily induced to return in part to their ancient faith and to submit to its observances, though at the same time retaining their new creed.

It is difficult to decide between the comparative merits of these opinions, and yet our assent is required to one of them. Neander advocates the first. On the other hand, Olshausen approves of the third. The decision must rest mainly on the reading and interpretation of Gal. vi. 12, 13. The reading *περιτετμημένοι* adopted by Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Scholz, favours the *third* hypothesis, and also the *second*, if they were *proselytes of righteousness*; whereas the common reading *περιτεμνόμενοι* favours the *first*. *Περιτεμνόμενοι* would be awkward and unusual if the third and second opinions be true; while *περιτετμημένοι* would be equally awkward as applied to the *first*. In view of the authorities and circumstances adduced for the rival readings—for the *present* participle and the *perfect passive* participle—the former deserves the preference. So far, therefore, as the *text* is concerned, the *first* hypothesis claims our assent. Another consideration in favour of the same is furnished by the phrase ‘for neither they themselves keep the law.’ Those who had grown up in heathenism would find it difficult to keep the law, while others accustomed to the round of Jewish observances would naturally find it easy. If they had been recent proselytes to Judaising sentiments they would be peculiarly zealous for the party to which they had attached themselves, and would prove more insinuating and powerful in drawing away their countrymen than false teachers of the Jewish-Christian character. Neander also thinks that we can explain more naturally on the first hypothesis the singular word *ἀποκόψονταί* (v. 12), one of the impassioned terms employed against the seducers, ‘If they are so exceedingly anxious for *circumcision*, let them have *excision* too. Perhaps the one is not enough for them—let them carry out their intemperate zeal to still greater length by practising *excision*.’ This hypothesis is certainly more plausible and probable than the second. Our choice lies between the *first* and *third*. In regard to the *latter*, it is by no means impossible to interpret vi. 12, 13, of *Jewish Christians*, and if *περιτετμημένοι* were indubitably the right reading, we should be inclined to adopt the third. But it has been already intimated that there is a stronger reason for abiding by the *received text*. That they were Jewish Christians some may infer from the analogy of all other epistles where Judaising teachers are described, particularly from the second epistle to the Corinthians, which must have been written at no distant time from the date of that to the Galatians. The circumstance that these very persons did not

themselves keep the law, has been illustrated in part by Matthew xxiii. 4 :—‘For they bind heavy burdens and grievous to be borne, and lay them on men’s shoulders ; but they themselves will not move them with one of their fingers.’ *The hypocrisy* of the Jewish Christians is condemned by Paul. Like the Scribes and Pharisees, they endeavoured to impose upon others what they did not practise themselves. They who were so zealous for ceremonial ordinances, did not themselves adhere to the round of such ordinances as were prescribed in their own law and the traditions of the elders. Thus it is quite possible to explain the passage consistently with the *third* hypothesis. No violence is done to it. Still, however, we are disposed to adopt the *first*, as more natural and more readily suggesting itself on the surface of the text. And yet, even then, *the body* of the Judaisers may have consisted of Jewish Christians, such as are described in the *third*. It is only the most zealous, active, and influential of the Judaising party whom we suppose to have originally belonged to the ranks of Gentile Christians. Certainly all the false teachers were not such, but only the majority of those who disturbed the peace and purity of these churches. Doubtless there were Judaising teachers of Jewish extraction, not proselytes, who having been active in the first instance in Galatia, and having succeeded so far as to gain over from among the Gentile Christians such proselytes, were soon outstripped by the latter in zeal, as well as in the success that attended their attempts. The anti-Pauline party had probably sent emissaries into Galatia, who must have been Jewish Christians, and *they* began that agitation among the Christian societies, which terminated in an extensive apostacy from the faith. *They* first sowed the seed which produced a harvest so pleasing to their view, especially if we believe them fortunate enough to have obtained able assistants in the work of perversion—men who soon cast into the shade the very masters to whom they had formerly listened.

It has been conjectured by Benson, that *one* Judaising Christian or false apostle, who had either crept in or risen up among the Galatians, called forth the present epistle. It was *he* that made insinuations against the apostle, and gave rise to all the disagreeable consequences which happened. This is based on Gal v. 9, 10. It is further alleged that he was a man of immoral character (vi. 12, &c.), not acting from religious motives, but vain-glory and fear, wishing to escape persecution. The foundation on which this hypothesis rests, appears to us far too feeble and slender to bear it up. The plural number is almost always employed in speaking of Paul’s opponents. There is but the one passage in which the singular is used. It is, therefore, safer and more natural to expound the one by the many, than to

cause the many to conform to the rigid letter of the one. In Gal. v. 9, 10, the *leaders* of the party are *individualized*, a thing quite common in Scripture phraseology, especially in the book of Psalms.

In the prosecution of their design to bring the Galatians under the yoke of ceremonial observances, the false teachers industriously circulated various calumnies, which were of such a nature as contributed materially to their purpose. They attacked the apostleship of Paul, affirming that he was not *immediately* called by Christ to the office, like the others, especially Peter, James, and John, but that he received it from men. Hence it carried with it neither perfect illumination nor infallibility. As a preacher of the gospel, he had been taught Christianity by *the true* apostles. His knowledge, therefore, was inferior to theirs, because it was not conferred by a direct divine illumination. They endeavoured to show that Peter and the other apostles of the circumcision did not oppose the circumcision of converts from among the idolatrous Gentiles; that in this respect there was an inconsistency between them and Paul; and, therefore, that the latter had deviated from the true doctrine of Christ. They even intimated that there was an inconsistency in the apostle's own sentiments and conduct; for when he was among the Jews, he observed the law; but when, in the society of Gentiles, he neglected it to please and flatter the latter. In short, they had endeavoured to raise in the minds of the converts a suspicion of Paul's affection towards them, and thus the believers were alienated from his person.

These Judaisers did not labour in vain. The credulous Galatians listened to their insinuations. Many of them had submitted to be circumcised, and had either kept the Jewish festivals, or were disposed to observe them. Thus the entire aspect of their Christianity was altered and disfigured. Faith came to be regarded as a subordinate thing. Religion was viewed as consisting in the performance of externals, rather than the purity of inward principles resting on the crucified Redeemer, and the work of sanctification among them seemed fast verging towards extinction. But the apostle meets and effectually refutes all the charges. He combats with energy the various insinuations that had been advanced against him. In opposition to the unfounded accusations, he vindicates himself with triumphant success. The refuge of lies to which his adversaries had recourse, is swept away with a torrent of bold and manly argument. Nothing is left unanswered. The independence, freedom, and purity of the gospel which he preached, are openly asserted. His conduct and doctrines are placed in the broad daylight of integrity, ingenuousness, and truth.

The epistle sufficiently indicates that the writer took up his

pen under the excitement of strong feelings, produced by unexpected and disagreeable tidings. Hence a fiery energy and impetuous tone pervade the letter. In the composition there is an absence of the formal and the regular. It exhibits less calmness and appearance of deliberation than most of his other writings. Yet the character of the apostle is strikingly stamped upon it. Strong emotion, manly earnestness, a tone of emphasis and sharpness alternating by easy transitions, with mild, affectionate sympathy, bespeak none other than the great apostle of the Gentiles. In addressing the cultivated Romans and Corinthians, there is a degree of elegance and refinement not found on the present occasion. Hence Tertullian represents him as a novice in Christianity, when he wrote this epistle; and Jerome apologises for some of the impassioned terms which he employs, as if he were not a man of like feelings with ourselves. In accordance with these observations, we find that the ideas do not follow one another regularly or consecutively, as in a premeditated composition. The writer begins to reprove at the commencement of the letter; and frequently bursts out into impassioned addresses and appeals in the course of it.

The apostle wrote the entire letter with his own hand, as he himself informs us, without employing an amanuensis, according to his usual practice. 'Ye see how large a letter I have written unto you with mine own hand.' These words do not refer to the shape of the letters or characters which he wrote; although, from his want of practice, we may well suppose that they were ill-shaped and unseemly in appearance, but *to the length of the epistle*. Yet the language, *taken by itself*, favours the former. The reason why he wrote the entire epistle with his own hand, was not to prevent forgery, as Olshausen affirms, but rather to prove to his readers the extent of his affection, which prompted him to undertake any task, however painful and difficult, to promote their welfare, and to show the vast importance which he attached to the subject about which he addressed them. If it be recollected that the false teachers had at least *endeavoured* to alienate the minds of the Galatians from him, by representing him as less devoted to their welfare than he really was, and that his adversaries sought their own glory (vi. 12, 13), the fact of his writing the letter himself will appear highly appropriate.

In regard to *the bearer* of the epistle we are left entirely to conjecture. Macknight supposes Titus to have carried it, because, as a Greek, he was much interested in the doctrine which it was designed to establish, and also, because he was present with Paul at Jerusalem, during the council, and could attest the things which happened there, as related by the apostle. In the absence of proper data, it is impossible to determine whether Titus was

the bearer. Perhaps he would have been mentioned as such in the letter, had he been entrusted with it. Tychicus, the bearer of the epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians, is noticed in that capacity by Paul; and Titus was a person of more note. Happily, however, the point is one of no moment. It matters not *by whom* the letter was carried into Galatia. *The document itself* is the matter to be investigated and examined.

On another occasion, and for another purpose, we referred to the similarity between the second epistle to the Corinthians and the epistle to the Galatians. They seem to have been written against the same opponents, under similar feelings and circumstances. The present epistle, however, bears a greater likeness to that which was addressed to the Romans, both in ideas and phraseology, as the following table of parallels will shew:—

Gal. ii. 16	. . .	= Rom. iii. 20.
Gal. ii. 19	. . .	= Rom. vii. 4.
Gal. iii. 6	. . .	= Rom. iv. 3.
Gal. iii. 7	. . .	= Rom. iv. 12; ix. 6, 7.
Gal. iii. 13	. . .	= Rom. viii. 1—4.
Gal. iv. 4	. . .	= Rom. viii. 3.
Gal. iv. 5, 6	. . .	= Rom. viii. 14, 15—17.
Gal. iv. 28	. . .	= Rom. ix. 7.
Gal. v. 14	. . .	= Rom. xiii. 8—10.
Gal. v. 17	. . .	= Rom. vii. 13—24.
Gal. v. 19—21	. . .	= Rom. i. 28—31.
Gal. vi. 1, 2	. . .	= Rom. xv. 1—3.
Gal. iii. 6—iv. 1—7	} . = {	Rom. ii. 17—29.
Gal. iv. 21—31		Rom. iii. 9 etc.
Gal. v. 1—6		Rom. v. 21.

Both epistles set forth the relation of the law to the gospel, the epistle to the Romans, *objectively*, without a polemic reference to Judaizing errors; that to the Galatians expressly in opposition to the Judaizing tendency. Taken together, they exhibit a complete view of the essential principles of the gospel. The language of the law is imperative. It makes demands on every individual—demands which the weakness of humanity is unable to fulfil. It cannot make sinners holy. It convinces them of their want of holiness. On the other hand, the gospel promises and confers pardon, regeneration, and sanctification. It supplies what the law cannot give. It is scarcely necessary to remark, that the expression *law*, or *law of Moses*, as used in the epistles to the Romans and Galatians, is taken in its most comprehensive sense. It is wrong to restrict it to *the ceremonial law* of the Jews. It embraces *the moral* as well as *the cere-*

monial. Both are inseparably united. The ceremonial is merely *one aspect* of law, or, if we may be permitted the phrase, a *grosser form* of it. The moral, again, is a *finer form* of the same. Sometimes the one aspect is rendered prominent, sometimes the other, just according to the writer's purpose in a particular place. It is the *ceremonial law* to which there is a primary reference in the epistle before us. But in demonstrating *its* inability to save—the impossibility of obtaining salvation by means of it, *every* form of law is virtually excluded from the same inherent power. *All* law, whether in the form of ceremonial observances, or deeds of Catholic sanctity, or cultivated morality, is declared to be a false ground of hope. Christ, the great representative of a humanity incapable of *perfect* obedience to law, has fulfilled it on behalf of all. By faith, *his* work becomes *ours*. The works of the law and the righteousness of faith are incompatible as means of salvation. Salvation is wholly of faith.

IV. *Authenticity and Genuineness*.—These have been generally admitted, even by the most sceptical critics. Both the contents of the epistle and the style refer it, beyond a doubt, to Paul the apostle. It agrees, too, with Luke's narrative in the Acts of the apostles. The early heretics were acquainted with the epistle, and ascribed it to its true author. Marcion received it, although he omitted two important passages which contradicted his tenets. (See Jerome on Gal. vi. 14, and Tertullian against Marcion, book v. chap. 3.) Celsus says, that all the Christian sects, much as they may have hated one another, had perpetually in their mouths the words of Gal. vi. 14:—'The world is crucified unto me and I unto the world.' (Origen against Celsus, book v. chap. 64.) The Valentinians wished to prove by Gal. vi. 14, that Paul attributed the same virtue to the Cross as they, (Irenæus, book i. chap. 3); and Theodotus by Gal. iii. 19, et seq., that Adam received, by angels, the seed of a better wisdom. (Epitom. Theodot., chap. 53.) A certain leader of the Encratites drew a false inference from Gal. vi. 8, for the purpose of casting a stigma on marriage. (See Jerome on Gal. vi. 8.)

The first definite testimony to the genuineness and authenticity of the epistle is furnished by fathers at the close of the second century, and in the third, by Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian. Lardner has also found allusions to the epistle in Clement of Rome, Ignatius, and Justin Martyr, but they are not direct or clear.*

* The passages in question are in Clement's first epistle to the Corinthians, 49th chapter; in Ignatius's epistle to the Philadelphians, § 1, and his epistle to the Magnesians, § 8; and in Justin Martyr's oration to the Gentiles, p. 40, D. The originals may be found in De Wette's *Einleit.* § 107, *third edition*; and an English translation of them in Lardner's *Credibility*, 2nd vol. of the octavo edition of his works.

They are liable to doubt. Yet they are not needed as long as we have the conclusive evidence of Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian. Irenæus writes:—‘The apostle, in the epistle to the Galatians, says, of what use, then, is the law of works? It was added, until the seed should come to whom the promise was made.’*

Clement of Alexandria has the following:—‘Wherefore, Paul also writing to the Galatians, says: my children, of whom I travail again, until, etc.’†

The testimony of Tertullian is to this effect:—‘But no more need be said on this head, if it be the same Paul, who, writing to the Galatians, reckons heresies among the works of the flesh, etc.’‡

V. *Contents*.—The epistle may be conveniently divided into three parts—I. i. 1—ii. 21. II. iii. 1—v. 12. III. v. 13—vi. 18. The first contains a narrative of some circumstances in the writer’s personal history; the second, a doctrinal statement; and the third, the practical application. Each of these, again, may be subdivided into paragraphs:—

i. i.—ii. 21.—This portion of the epistle is historical, giving an account of several important particulars in the life of the writer, for the purpose of refuting the assertions of his adversaries, and establishing his true apostleship. It contains the four following paragraphs:—

(a) i. 1—5. (b) i. 6—24. (c) ii. 1—10. (d) ii. 11—21.

(a) i. 1—5, is the salutation, in which Paul begins with asserting that he was not made an apostle by man, but by Jesus Christ and God the Father, who raised Him from the dead. He then wishes the churches in Galatia grace and peace from the true God and his Son Jesus Christ in whom they now believed.

(b) i. 6—24.—In this paragraph he reproves their fickleness, by expressing astonishment at the sudden change in their belief, pronounces a strong anathema on any one who should preach another gospel than his, and declares in opposition to the insinuations of the Judaisers, that his object was not to please men, else he should not be the true servant of Christ. The gospel which he preached was not of human origin, nor conformed to human wisdom, but he received it from Christ by immediate revelation. In reverting to his past life, he shews that he was

* Sed et in eâ quæ est ad Galatas, sic ait [apostolus]: Quid ergo lex factorum? Posita est, usque quo veniat semen, cui promissum est, etc.—*Advers. Hæres. Lib. iii. cap. vii. p. 210, ed. Grabe.*

† διὸ καὶ Παῦλος Γαλάταις ἐπιστέλλων, φησί· Τεκνία μου, οὓς πάλιν ὠδίνω, ἄχρις οὗ κ. τ. λ.—*Strom. Lib. iii. p. 468, ed. Colon., 1688.*

‡ Nec diutius de isto, si idem est Paulus, qui et alibi hæreses inter carnalia crimina numerat, scribens ad Galatas, etc.—*De Præscript., cap. 6.*

at first a zealous Pharisee, and a violent persecutor of Christians. But when God revealed his Son within him, Paul did not consult with any man as to his plans, nor go up to Jerusalem to learn the gospel from any of the apostles. On the contrary, he went into Arabia, and did not go up to Jerusalem till after three years; on which occasion he saw none of the apostles, except Peter and James, and remained there only fifteen days, a period far too short to allow of his being instructed in the entire range of gospel doctrine, supposing he had been previously ignorant of it. In order still further to prove that he had not been taught Christianity by the chief apostles, he states that he was a stranger to the Christian societies of Judea, who had merely *heard* that the once noted persecutor of the church had been converted to the faith.

(c) ii. 1—10.—After this, he proceeds to state, that on the occasion of his *third* journey to Jerusalem, fourteen years after his conversion, he went thither in consequence of an express revelation, in company with Barnabas, taking Titus with him. There he explained the gospel which he had preached to the Gentiles, to James, Peter, and John, privately; and to shew that they approved his conduct in regard to the heathen, he remarks that no demand, on their part, was made for the circumcision of Titus, although he was of Gentile origin. It is true that he circumcised Timothy, but not by compulsion. It was a spontaneous act, dictated by Christian prudence. He did not yield in any matter to the Judaisers. Neither did the most eminent apostles, in whom the Judaisers gloried, impart to him additional information, but acknowledged him as a brother, giving him and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship. They agreed that he and Barnabas should labour independently among the Gentiles, as they themselves did among the Jews. The only thing proposed to Paul was, that collections should continue to be made in the churches for the use of the poor Christians at Jerusalem, but he himself was solicitous about that matter.

(d) ii. 11—21.—This paragraph contains an account of a reprimand administered by Paul to Peter, in order to prove that the gospel preached by the former was independent even of the most eminent among the apostles. The writer alleges that he publicly rebuked Peter himself at Antioch, who, through fear of the Judaisers, acted in such a way as to betray the liberty of the Gentile converts. The substance of his language to Peter was, that such as were born Jews—and therefore not so gross sinners as the idolatrous Gentiles—even they believed in Jesus Christ for justification, since, with all their observance of the law, they knew that by works of law no flesh could be justified. If, said Paul, we who thus seek to be justified solely by Christ,

be represented as sinners, because not observing the law, this would be pulling down what we ourselves had built up. The believer, by means of the law, becomes dead to the law, that he might begin to live to God. He is crucified with Christ. Christ lives within him, and thus the life which he lives is a life of faith on the Son of God. This doctrine of justification by faith in Christ, so far from annulling the grace of God, establishes the necessity of it; but, on the contrary, if justification be by the law, Christ died in vain.

II. The second division may be also subdivided into four paragraphs.

(a) iii. 1—14. (b) iii. 15—iv. 7. (c) iv. 8—v. 1. (d) v. 2—12.

(a) iii. 1—14.—He now appeals with the greatest confidence to the Galatians themselves, demanding of them whether they had received the Spirit by the law, or by the preaching of the gospel. Are ye so foolish? he asks. Having begun in the spirit, are ye now making an end in flesh? Would they render all their past sufferings for Christianity vain, by not persevering as they had begun? And because his adversaries relied on the Old Testament, he shews that Abraham himself was justified by faith and not by the law, and that righteousness belongs to all who by faith are Abraham's spiritual children. On the other hand, the law, as such, pronounces condemnation on all, because it requires absolute obedience, which none is able to render. Christ, by dying, delivered men from the curse of the law, being made a curse for them, in order that the blessing promised to Abraham might come upon the Gentiles, that they might receive the promised Spirit, by faith.

(b) iii. 15—iv. 7.—In this paragraph the writer explains still farther, the relation of the law to the gospel by a compact or covenant among men. A human covenant cannot be broken, much less the promise of God made to Abraham and his Seed, which is Christ. The law intervening between the promise and its fulfilment could not, therefore, prevent the latter. But some might ask, Of what use is the law? The answer is, it was added, to convince of sin, and to restrain its outbursts, till Christ the promised seed should come. Covenants require an inter-nuncius, a person whose existence and office pre-suppose two parties. At the giving of the law, or Sinai covenant, Moses was internuncius; God was one party. God cannot be inconsistent with himself; and as he was the chief party in the covenant made with Abraham, he could not design to annul that covenant or promise, by the law subsequently given from Sinai. The law, then, is not opposed to the promise. It was rather intended to prepare the way for the fulfilment of the promise, *i. e.* for the

gospel. All being sinners, all have need of mercy, of which the law exhibited nothing. The law was a schoolmaster, leading men to Christ, that they might be justified by faith. It was like a severe tutor, from which the Jews were delivered as soon as the gospel came; for in Christ Jesus, under the gospel, all are the sons of God by faith. There is no distinction between the Jew and the Greek. Artificial and outward lines of separation are abolished. All are bound together in spiritual unity. Antecedently to the gospel, both Jews and Gentiles were in bondage; but now God has sent his Son in human nature to deliver such as were under the dominion of an outward religion, that they might be adopted as sons. As a proof of this, he had given them the spirit of His Son. The conclusion at which the writer arrives, is, that they were no longer in a state of servitude, but sons and heirs of God.

(c) iv. 8—v. 1.—He reminds the Galatians of their state before conversion, when they were in bondage to idolatry. It would surely be preposterous for them, now that they knew God, to turn again to the weak and beggarly elements of an outward religion. This would be a descent from the higher to the grosser forms of spiritual life. He then proposes himself to them for imitation. ‘Be as I am, in regard to freedom from the law, for I am as ye are, in respect to non-observance of the law, although a native Jew.’ He reminds them of the great respect and affection with which they had received him when he visited them. Though he laboured under a great infirmity in his body, yet they exhibited ardent attachment to his person. Was it possible, then, that they could have become his enemies, because he told them the truth? The Judaisers had a great zeal towards the Galatians to gain them over to their party, but their motives were not right, for they wished to loosen their attachment to the apostle, and to exclude them from the kingdom of God as uncircumcised Gentiles; in order that the Galatian converts might zealously emulate them by submitting to circumcision and other Jewish ordinances, for the sake of becoming members of that kingdom. Not to damp, however, their zeal towards himself, he remarks that zeal is a good principle in a good cause; a principle which should be continued in his absence no less than his presence. He expresses his exceeding solicitude about them until they should be spiritually renewed a second time, and restored to the true doctrine of the gospel. He then reverts to the Old Testament, for the purpose of shewing them that they did not understand the law aright, else they should discover in it *his* doctrine. Sarah, Abraham’s wife, with her son Isaac, represents the New Testament church, which is free; Hagar, the bondwoman, with her son Ishmael, represents the legal dis-

pensation. The latter must give place to the former. The former alone must prevail to the thrusting out of the latter. These transactions are allegorized by the prophet Isaiah. The Galatian Christians should, therefore, remember their freedom under the new economy, and not allow themselves to be entangled again with a yoke of bondage.

(d) v. 2—12.—He warns them against circumcision, declaring that if they submitted to that institute, Christ should be of no avail to them, because the circumcised person virtually binds himself to keep the whole law, and whoever seeks justification by the law, is fallen from a state of grace. Under the gospel, neither circumcision nor uncircumcision avails anything—nothing external—but only a true faith working by love. The Galatians had begun well; he asks them why they should have stumbled, and ceased to obey the truth? The persuasion by which they were induced to do so was not of divine origin, but proceeded from the pharisaic leaven of some false teachers who had gradually corrupted the whole Christian community. But he expresses his confident hope that they would not entirely abandon themselves to errorists who should assuredly be punished as they deserved. As for himself, if he still preached the necessity of circumcision, there could be no reason for the Jews persecuting him as they were wont. In that case, the offence which the Jews took against Christianity, because it proclaimed salvation by simple faith in Christ crucified, without the observance of the law, would be done away. But the fact that he was still persecuted by the Jews sufficiently attested that he did not preach the necessity of circumcision.

III. In this third part there are two paragraphs.

(a) v. 13—vi. 10. (b) vi. 11—18.

(a) v. 13—vi. 10.—The writer exhorts them, while adhering to the liberty of the gospel, not to abuse it. They were bound to love one another, and thus to fulfil the whole law. By leading a life of spiritual conformity to the will of God, they should take the most effectual method to suppress the sensual and depraved nature within them; and this spirituality should release them from the law as a system of outward observances. He then enumerates the works of the flesh and the fruit of the Spirit, reminding them that Christ's true disciples have crucified their sinful nature, and walk in the freedom of the divine life. Among various exhortations he recommends them to be generous towards their instructors, knowing that as they sowed, so should they reap thereafter. Their duty was to do good to *all* men, especially to their fellow Christians.

(b) vi. 11—18.—After mentioning that he had written the entire letter with his own hand, his anxiety for the Galatians

bursts forth again, and he repeats, in brief propositions, the doctrinal points already contained in the epistle. He informs them that the Judaisers, wishing to have some outward pre-eminence to glory in, insisted on having them circumcised, only that they might not be persecuted by the cross of Christ. The Judaisers regarded the doctrine of a crucified Saviour as *adverse* to their making a fair show of superiority in zeal for outward observances, because it would lead them to abandon *such* grounds of fancied superiority, and to seek salvation by the cross alone.* In contrast with the pride of pre-eminence in external observances, the apostle declares of himself, that he gloried in nothing but the doctrine of Christ crucified the author of salvation, by which the world ceased to be a centre of attraction to him. He pronounces peace on such as walked in accordance with the principle that nothing but a new creation in Christ avails under the gospel; and finally desires the Galatians to give him no further trouble, since he bore in his person the marks of sufferings endured in the cause of Christ. The letter closes with the usual benediction.

Art. III. *American Facts. Notes and statistics relative to the Government, Resources, Engagements, Manufactures, Commerce, Religion, Education, Literature, Fine Arts, Manners and Customs of the United States of America.* By George Palmer Putnam, Member of the New York Hist. Soc., &c.. London: Wiley & Putnam. 12mo. pp. 292. 1845.

HALF a century ago there was a considerable amount of war-feeling in this kingdom. The desire of victory and of conquest actuated all ranks. Personal sacrifices were cheerfully endured to promote the honour of the British arms,—illuminations and rejoicings followed the tidings of every success,—and the few who dared to oppose the prevailing military ardour, were regarded with suspicion by the agents of government, and were disliked by their fellow-townsmen. The fact that a mighty change has come over public opinion, in this respect, is full of encouragement. No one can doubt, that every year renders war between civilized nations more difficult, and more abhorrent to the feelings of the opposing communities.

This improved tone of the public mind is partly owing to the

* For the true explanation of this passage, see Neander's *History of the Planting and Training*, etc., translated by Ryland, vol. i. pp. 263, 4. The right reading is given by Lachmann.

gradual diffusion of the principles of peace. Christians begin to discover, that if they do justice to the doctrines of their holy religion, they cannot give any sanction to bloodshed. The conviction is being forced upon them, that the guilt of a grievous crime is not removed because it is committed by wholesale on a battle field, and with the approval of recognised authorities. They can no longer rejoice over an abomination in the sight of God, glorious though it may be in the sight of men.

We regret, however, that in this direction much has yet to be accomplished. The influence of Christian feeling upon the popular mind is by no means strong enough, of itself, to prevent war. Indeed, many whom we cannot but regard as men of piety, are not yet prepared to admit that war is anti-Christian and unjustifiable, whilst ministers of the gospel and others who have adopted that opinion, too often neglect to enforce their views in their pulpit ministrations, or by other means of influence. We would urge upon such the great importance of attending to this duty. They are responsible for its performance. Let them remember that there are powerful influences in the opposite direction, which can only be overcome by the earnest zeal of the friends of peace. The government of this country is in the hands of those who have a direct personal interest in the maintenance of a war establishment, and they spare no pains in cherishing a public opinion in its favour. Votes of both Houses of Parliament, Extraordinary Gazettes, the Prayers of the Church, and Episcopal Benedictions are all pressed into the service. Even the noblest temples, professedly dedicated to the worship of the true God, are made the means of exciting a military spirit, by being filled with splendid monuments, erected at the public expence, to magnify the honours of departed warriors. A visit to St. Paul's ought to shock a Christian mind, by the exhibition of this gross inconsistency between the professed object of the building and its practical use. It is not therefore surprising that against so formidable an antagonism, based on interested motives, and supported by even the forms of religion itself, the purer influence of the gospel of peace should have struggled hitherto with but partial success.

But the result which Christianity, if carried out to its legitimate extent, would inevitably secure, other causes appear to be rapidly hastening. Bad in principle, war is equally bad as a matter of expediency. It is not only utterly opposed to common sense, but it entails consequences directly adverse to the interests of the large majority of the people. In these days, the 'propensity in human nature' which Adam Smith calls 'the propensity to truck, barter, and exchange one thing for another,' has more power than the propensity to destroy. Both cannot

well be gratified together. The choice has to be made between shooting our customers, and 'trucking' with them. The latter is decidedly more agreeable, and *pays better* than the former! Hence the best guarantee for the peace of the world is commercial intercourse between its various families. The more intimate that is, and the more difficult it becomes for one nation to injure another, without at the same time injuring itself. The recent dispute between America and England, which under other circumstances would almost certainly have led to a declaration of war, will no doubt be amicably settled in consequence of the paramount motives for peace, presented by the extensive commercial relations of the two countries.

In this kingdom, the commercial spirit is acquiring fresh strength every year. The opening of new markets for the products of our industry is felt to be far better than the glory of new victories. The boast that the sun never sets on the Queen's dominions, is regarded with little sympathy by men, whose ships are in every harbour of the globe, and whose best customers are not always the Queen's subjects. They prefer the extension of their own trade, to the increase of national territory, and regard an independent country which consumes a large quantity of their goods, as of far more value to them than an unpeopled and barren dependency of the British crown. All this may be very selfish, but it is very wise, and in its results, it is beneficial in the highest degree.

We think it may be shewn very plainly, that with a perfect system of free trade, the nominal sovereignty of any land is a matter of little importance. Hitherto it has been assumed that it must necessarily be an advantage to a nation to acquire colonial and other foreign possessions. The cost of them is lost sight of in the specious assumption, that in them we have our best customers, as we can prevent their inhabitants from purchasing goods from competing nations.

This great fallacy, supported on very plausible grounds, and gratifying the foolish desires of national pride, has been almost universally received. The thing has been taken for granted,—and the opinions about it held so firmly, as to admit of neither examination nor doubt. Statesmen after statesmen have given the weight of their sanction to the vast importance of territorial aggrandizement. However much they may have differed on other questions, they have perfectly agreed on this. Our entire foreign policy has been based upon the acknowledged maxim, that we should do every thing to extend the boundaries of our own empire, and to prevent the same thing being accomplished by other kingdoms. This is maintaining the 'balance of power!' In the fulfilment of our designs, the ablest diplomacy has been

that which has most successfully outraged the 'golden rule' prescribed by Jesus Christ.

This policy, of course, rests upon the general opinion that it is of great advantage to the British people. And it is not difficult to perceive that certain benefits are derived from it by that section of the people out of whose ranks are selected ambassadors, plenipotentiaries, governors-general, military and naval officers, with the host of other subordinate agents. But *this* view of the case is carefully avoided, and the plea is shrewdly advanced, that our colonial and foreign policy has, for its primary object, the extension of our commerce. Such is the chief argument put forth in the speeches of Majesty, urged by the eloquence of parliamentary leaders, and almost universally supported by the members of the legislature. The hook, so cleverly hidden, has been greedily swallowed, and its painful consequences are even now blindly attributed by multitudes to other causes. It is surprising that commercial men, accustomed as they are to the nicest calculations respecting the profits of their various undertakings, have not, more generally, taken the trouble to enquire what proportion the amount expended, under the pretence of promoting their interests, bears to the amount of business done, as the result of such 'protection.' One of themselves—'A Manchester Manufacturer'—has made this enquiry, and his testimony cannot be too generally known, or too deeply pondered. We shall select one of the instances adduced by Mr. Cobden in the work referred to.* On the authority of the *United Service Journal*, he states that 'on the 1st. June (1836) our naval force, on the West Indian station amounted to twenty-nine vessels, carrying four hundred and seventy guns, to protect a commerce just exceeding two millions per annum. This is not all. A considerable military force is kept up in those islands, which, with its contingent of home expenses at the War Office, Ordnance Office, &c., must also be put to the debit of the same account. Add to which, our civil expenditure, and the charges at the Colonial Office on behalf of the West Indies; and we find after due computation, *that our whole expenditure, in governing and protecting the trade of those islands, exceeds, considerably, the total amount of their imports of our produce and manufactures.*' In another place Mr. Cobden remarks that 'an acute writer of the day estimates the annual loss by our dependencies at something like four millions; but he loses sight altogether of the interest of the money spent in conquering them, which is twenty or thirty millions a year more! Leaving these unprofitable speculations as to the past,

* *Russia, By a Manchester Manufacturer*,—pp. 33—43. The entire pamphlet is admirable.

let us beg our readers to look at a chart of the world, and, after comparing the continent of free America, with the specks of islands forming our colonial possessions, to ask themselves whether, in choosing our *future* commercial course, the statesman, who presides at the helm of affairs, ought to take that policy for his guide, which shall conduct us to the market of the entire hemisphere, or that which prefers the minute fraction of it.'—(Russia, p. 35.)

The fact is, that the various nations of the globe have in reality more interests in common than they have individually. God, in making us all brethren, has stamped upon us the necessity of mutual assistance in promoting each other's happiness. This is not denied when its application has reference to a small community. We readily perceive how completely we are dependent for most sources of comfort and protection, upon our fellow townsmen. Nor is the principle much less distinct when applied to this kingdom. The various classes of the population are all so mutually dependent, that it would be impossible to damage the interests of one section, without the shock being felt throughout the whole. It has been found, too, that attempts made by any to advance their own interests at the expence of the rest of the community, have reacted with injurious effect upon themselves. Monopolies, although sometimes apparently of service to the possessors, must ultimately do them more harm than good. Selfishness generally overreaches itself. In the case, which, at the present time, more especially excites the public attention, every day brings additional evidence to shew that the cherished monopoly of the landowners has brought in its train, evils of the most serious character, under which even they are themselves suffering. There seems to be every reason for believing that had the cultivation of the land been conducted on right principles, and under a system of free competition, the progress of agricultural science would have been such as to have rendered the soil, from increased production, more valuable than it is at the present time. The landowners must also take to account as a set-off against the presumed advantages of their monopoly, the risk which they run at every period of popular suffering caused by the high price of food. In 1842 this, as Sir Robert Peel has since told them, was sufficiently imminent. And the danger will increase with the increase of the population, unless it is averted—as we believe it will be—by the abolition of the source of the evil. The landowners may thank the intelligence of the manufacturing classes for exploding their selfish delusion, as—if persisted in,—they would find in the wreck of the commerce which gives their land its chief value, and in the struggles of a famishing population for subsistence, that riot

and ruin would be the necessary consequences of their short-sighted course of injustice.

So intimate are the relationships, and so mutual the interests, between the inhabitants of the various counties, that the idea of one district attempting, by physical force, to wrest advantages from another, is perfectly absurd. It is felt that the advantage of all is best secured by free scope being given to the industry of each. The greater the prosperity of any classes of the community the greater will be their demand for, and their ability to remunerate the labour of the rest.

That such is the case within the limits of this island, is abundantly evident, and its application to mankind generally, would not be difficult, could we entirely cast aside all mere national prejudices, and all considerations arising from the existence of hostile tariffs, and of restrictions on commerce. Let us imagine that the interchange of commodities between different nations were as free as that between the counties of England, and we should cease to regard the prosperity of other kingdoms with dislike or jealousy. There is abundant remuneration in the world for all the labour in it. Persons who are afraid of foreign competition, must have a very narrow idea of the world's requirements. Labour can never be exercised, nor capital acquired, without rendering other labour necessary. The amount of skilled labour in a country may be taken as a test of its civilization, as the people that are the most civilized display the greatest amount of industry. And as a necessary consequence of this industry, they require more of the products of the labour of other countries. Great Britain, the 'workshop of the world' is the best customer the world has. The traffic between naked savages is necessarily limited as their wants are few, and their means of payment very trifling. Except when under the pressure of hunger, or some other powerful motive, they are universally lazy. With every advance in their condition their requirements increase, and they have to satisfy those requirements by paying for them with the work of their own hands. They thus add to the great stock of labour in the world, but at the same time, become the pay-masters of other labour. It follows that in a free state of society the more labourers there are and the greater will be the demand for labour. If this be true, the increased industry of other countries, and the extension of manufactures and agriculture, ought to give us no disquiet, but rather afford grounds for rejoicing. Our customers will increase faster than our competitors.

This will be still more obvious when we recollect the facilities afforded by the 'highway of nations' for the interchange of products of labour. It is often the case, that the cost of freight

from one port to another at a great distance, is less than the laud carriage of goods over a comparatively limited extent of a single territory.

This providential arrangement is obviously in perfect harmony with that benevolence which has endowed different parts of the earth with peculiar advantages for the exercise of different kinds of labour. God has thus rendered all the various branches of the human family, in a great measure, dependent on each other, and, at the same time, has given to them facilities for intercourse, and for the exchange of their respective productions.

The recognition of these opinions, is impeded by the prevalence of a fallacious impression, that manufactures must necessarily afford a better remuneration for capital than agricultural employments. Hence it is supposed that if foreign nations commence the manufacture of goods they will cease to direct their attention to the cultivation of the soil, and so become our rivals instead of our customers,—and that as a result, the markets of the world will become overstocked with cloths and calicoes, leaving our spindles and looms in idleness, and the source of our national greatness dried up! A most terrible consummation truly,—but under a system of free trade, and with cheapness of production on our part, perfectly chimerical.

This fallacy has unquestionably arisen from the almost universal fact that the cultivation of the soil has not, hitherto, been by any means so profitable as the pursuit of other branches of trade. Nor is this surprising, when we consider the power which the owners of the soil have possessed, and which they have everywhere selfishly exerted for their own aggrandizement. Feudalism, in Europe, has weighed down generation after generation, and it has only been when nations have shaken off its yoke that they have prospered. Had the land-owners of this kingdom possessed the same power over the manufacturers as they have had over the farmers, there would now have been no grounds for reproaching mill-owners with amassing large fortunes. The drones would have taken all the honey, and, in doing so, would have gradually impoverished and ultimately destroyed the workers. Let us suppose that there were only a limited number of mills in this kingdom, whose owners allowed the occupiers no lengthened tenure in them, but seized, from year to year in the shape of increased rent, every additional profit, and intelligent men of capital would be quite as reluctant to enter them as they are now to become tenants-at-will on the estates of our landowners.

Without overlooking the disadvantages which a scattered prædial population necessarily has to contend against, there can be no doubt that had security of tenure and free competition

stimulated the employment of capital and the exercise of ingenuity in agricultural operations, they would have made proportionably as rapid a progress, and in the long run would have been equally as profitable as commercial pursuits. This indeed has been amply demonstrated by Mr. Mechi and other intelligent men, who are now reaping large profits from an improved system of cultivation.

If we anticipate the general adoption of these wholesome principles, and imagine that equal facilities were given throughout the world for the prosecution of every branch of industry, the application of capital to manufactures or agriculture would, in that case, be governed by the conditions which now regulate its application to different departments of commerce. If the production of any article exceeds the demand, prices fall, until they cease to be remunerating, and, as a natural consequence, part of the capital employed in the overstocked department is withdrawn, and seeks a profitable investment elsewhere.

In this way, the labour of the world would be regulated, without the necessity of any government interference. Supply and demand would be accurately adjusted. Capital would flow naturally into those channels where it could secure the greatest amount of profit. As an inevitable consequence, no branch either of manufactures or agriculture could for any lengthened period be overstocked. The principle of buying in the cheapest and selling in the dearest market, would every where be acted upon. Nations, like individuals, would not make what they could buy cheaper from others. Each would discover the peculiar branches of industry for which it had the greatest facilities, and by the successful prosecution of these, would be able to purchase a supply of all other commodities. A certain portion of mankind will thus always find it to their interest to devote themselves to the cultivation of the soil, whilst the other great portion will be engaged in manufactures.

These considerations lead us to believe that Great Britain, with unrestricted trade, and economical government, will have no reason to fear, but, on the contrary, have cause to rejoice in the progress of foreign industry. With every advance towards the general civilization of the world, there will arise new markets for our produce. This general progress can only result from the extension of foreign commerce, and though some nations once our customers may become our competitors in certain branches of trade, yet distinguished as this island is with peculiar facilities for various manufactures, there will always remain ample scope for the profitable employment of our immense resources. It would well become the first commercial nation of the world to show, by the abolition of all restrictions on trade,

that she regarded her own prosperity as bound up with that of the rest of mankind; that fearing no competition, she was anxious to take no unworthy advantage, but to treat those as friends, whom she sought as customers. The adoption of this course would at once give to our own trade a new impetus, and the example would speedily be followed by other states.

It is true there is one reason which may well justify the fear of foreign competition. With an enormous debt and heavy expenses, Great Britain is necessarily placed at a serious disadvantage in struggling with more economical and less taxed rivals. Hitherto this disadvantage has not been felt, as from a variety of favourable circumstances, British goods have always been able to obtain a price that has covered this extra cost of production. But this margin of profit is necessarily decreasing every year under the pressure of competition: and unless proper means are taken, we may find ere long that other nations, with all our advantages and none of our disadvantages, will be able to sell goods cheaper than ourselves, in which case they would at once take the lead in the markets of the world.

A wise course might avert this danger, which, unfortunately continues to be aggravated by the policy of the British government. Import duties (nominally for the 'protection' of our interests,) and the squandering of millions of pounds annually on the army and navy (also for 'protection!') can only have the effect of still further enhancing the cost of our goods by adding to the national burdens. It is about as wise a policy as that of a tradesman who, being unable to sell his goods as cheap as his rival, owing to the heavy rent he had to pay, should attempt to improve his position by employing a number of additional clerks and other unnecessary servants for his 'protection.' The extra expenses of this absurd procedure would of course hasten his bankruptcy.

We believe that the rules of common sense, and of common prudence apply as much to the management of national, as to that of individual affairs. There is too much mystery in the statesmanship of these days. Things are rarely called by their right names. The gravity of official wisdom, propounded from the Treasury bench, impresses multitudes, who would think themselves lunatics, if they adopted its conclusions in the management of their own business. The system is a clever one, for it has enabled a single class of the community to promote its own interests, in every conceivable way, at the expense of the others, who have all along fancied that *they* were the obliged parties! And it is no easy matter to convince them of the contrary.

There is a very prevalent delusion that only a few individuals

—the leaders of the two great political sections of the aristocracy, —have the ability and knowledge necessary for the proper direction of the vast interests of this kingdom. The ‘little sense with which the world is governed,’ is thought to be lodged alone in patrician brains. Merchants and manufacturers have allowed themselves to be drilled into this humble dependence upon aristocratical guidance. And yet nothing can be more absurd. They have men amongst themselves, whose sagacity, vast experience, enlarged views, mercantile knowledge, and practical judgment render them far more competent to superintend the affairs of this commercial nation, than either the present cabinet of titled ministers or any former one.

If any one doubt this, let him carefully compare the sound views and statesmanlike policy developed in the unassuming popular productions of Mr. Cobden, with the costly and shortsighted half measures of Sir Robert Peel, or the not less absurd proposal of Lord Palmerston for increasing our already overgrown war establishments. But, as we have already intimated, the statesmanship of these days depends for its success upon its powers of deceit and mystification:—an honest government would be inevitably weak,—an ‘organised hypocrisy,’ at the present time, boasts of its strength! It remains to be seen how long the trading classes will allow a system of things to continue, so pregnant with the most disastrous consequences. They have the power in their own hands, as soon as they learn to *trust to themselves*, and cease to waste their strength in mere party disputes.

We are not only firmly convinced that the middle classes in ability and information considerably surpass the higher, but we are also of opinion that they possess a larger amount of moral and religious feeling. On both these grounds, we earnestly hope that our legislators, at future elections, will be more generally selected from the commercial ‘order.’ It is surely not too much to expect that this will be the case in manufacturing towns, as one of their own inhabitants must be much better fitted to represent their interests than any land-owner, however able and honest. Considering the present complexion of the House of Commons, we do not hesitate to counsel the electors of many boroughs, now represented by gentlemen having no connection with commerce—‘liberal’ though they may be in their political opinions,—to seek out others more conversant with mercantile pursuits, and less under the influence of aristocratical bias.

But we must revert to the question more immediately under notice, and the general principles which we have laid down are strikingly illustrated by our relations with America. We have

had experience of the United States as our colonies—as successful rebels against our authority—as commercial rivals—and as extensive consumers of our goods. Which of these relations is the best for the interests of Great Britain may very easily be discerned. No wise man, we will venture to say, would wish to see them reduced again to the state of British colonies, as it can scarcely be denied that the assertion of their independence has been of immense advantage to us as well as to themselves.

There is no country on the face of the globe, whose prospects and resources are so well deserving of the careful attention of Englishmen as those of North America. And yet it is surprising how much ignorance prevails respecting them in this kingdom. There exists also a considerable amount of prejudice, fostered for an obvious purpose by the enemies of free government, and of national economy. The worst phases of American society are studiously paraded, false impressions are propagated, facts are distorted or suppressed, and every thing done to excite a contempt for their national institutions, and a low opinion of the character of the people, and of the resources of the country. The result of all this has been to impress many persons in this kingdom with the idea that our connection with the United States has been a continued series of losses,—that the government of America is bankrupt, and the merchants are a set of swindlers!—and that the less we have to do with them the better. These persons would scarcely believe—what can however be satisfactorily demonstrated—that our American trade has been far more profitable to us during the present century than our commerce with any other part of the world. We shall attempt to show that this branch of our commerce, already so extensive, may be increased to a much greater amount.

Before proceeding further, we entreat our readers carefully to study the map of the United States, and realize, as far as possible, the relative extent of that immense territory. Its area (exclusive of Texas) is 2,300,000 square miles, with a sea coast of 3,600 miles, intersected throughout with rivers of surpassing magnitude, one of which (the Missouri) is 3,600 miles in length.

A single state—that of Virginia—occupies nearly 70,000 square miles, and is about one third larger than England.

The population is increasing very rapidly, as will be seen by the following statement.

1790,	3,929,328	|	1820,	9,638,166
1800,	5,309,758	|	1830,	12,856,165
1810,	7,239,903	|	1840,	17,062,666.

It will now have increased to upwards of twenty millions, and if it proceed in the same ratio, it may be calculated that, within

a century from the present time, the American people will outnumber the inhabitants of any other country ! A prospect like this inspires the brightest anticipations. These teeming millions will be worshippers of the true God—will be endowed with all the energy of the Anglo-Saxon race—will be acquainted with the arts and sciences in their highest perfection—will possess enormous wealth and influence—and in their extended intercourse with every part of the earth, will become benefactors of mankind by the diffusion of knowledge and truth. We fervently hope and believe that, united as England and America are by so many bonds, they will also be one in this high destiny.

Were there no other reasons, the considerations to which we have referred, ought to be amply sufficient to excite the strongest interest in the present condition and resources of the United States. It is, however, of deep importance to enquire how far, and in what way, the trade of England is likely to be affected by this rapid increase of the American people. Will they become our rivals, or our customers ?

According to the last census, (1840,) it appears that there were employed—

In Agriculture	3,717,756
Commerce	117,575
Manufactures and Trades	791,545
Navigating the ocean	56,025
Navigating rivers and lakes . . .	33,067
Mining	15,203
Learned professions	66,236

It is evident, therefore, that at present, a considerable majority are consumers of such goods as we manufacture, whilst a certain number are our competitors. We shall consider the last first, and select for our readers' consideration a few 'facts,' taken from various authorities, relative to the progress and prospects of American manufactures.

In 1789 a cotton factory was established at Beverley, Massachusetts, since which time that branch of trade has gradually advanced. We subjoin a statement of the quantity of cotton consumed by, or in the hands of, American manufacturers in the following years :—

	Bales of 375 lbs.		Bales.
1833-34 . .	196,413	1838-39 . .	276,018
1834-35 . .	216,888	1839-40 . .	295,193
1836-36 . .	236,733	1840-41 . .	297,288
1836-37 . .	222,540	1841-42 . .	267,850
1837-38 . .	246,063	1842-43 . .	325,129
		1843-44 . .	346,744

During the same period the gross amount of cotton taken for consumption in England increased from 282,675,000lbs. in 1833, to 522,913,568lbs. in 1843.

The other branches of manufacture are the silk and flax, hats, caps, bonnets, &c. leather, soap and candles, powder, drugs, &c. glass, earthenware, paper, &c.

It now remains for us to consider the present condition and prospects of the agriculture of the United States.

We may select as an example of the wheat growing states, the statistics of Ohio, furnished by the census of 1840. It contains 25,000,000 acres, of which it is estimated 20,000,000 are of arable land; the remainder being wet, broken, and sterile. There are at present in cultivation 7,500,000 acres, including meadow and pasture land. Ohio became a state in 1802, when its population was 50,000, and in 1840 it had increased to 1,515,161. In that year its exports were—

	Estimated value.
'Bread stuffs, mostly wheat and flour . . .	7,098,810 dollars.
Other agricultural products	1,874,402 ..
Pork, lard, butter, cheese, and wool	2,315,069 ..
Domestic animals	2,600,000 ..
Products of mines and forest	782,700 ..
Manufactured articles	5,000,000 ..
Total	19,670,981 ..

American Facts, pp. 211, 212.

We beg our readers to give these statistics their careful consideration. Let them remember that Ohio forms only a small portion of a vast extent of country, possessing in the character of its soil and climate, the highest capabilities for the production of human food. It occupies the northern part of the Mississippi valley, and, exclusive of 200,000 square miles still in the possession of Indian tribes, is nearly 250,000 square miles in extent. In addition to Ohio, it includes the states of Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan, together with the territories of Wisconsin and Iowa. The population of this important district has been rapidly increasing, as will appear from the following table:

	1810.	1820.	Increase per Cent.	1830.	Increase per Cent.	1840.	Increase per Cent.
Ohio . . .	230,760	381,434	152	937,675	61	1,515,695	61.5
Indiana . .	24,520	147,178	500	341,582	132	683,314	100
Illinois . .	12,282	55,211	349	157,575	185	486,173	208
Michigan .	4,762	8,896	87	28,600	222	211,705	640
Wisconsin .	..	..	..	2,660	..	30,692	1,054
Iowa . . .	..	..	..	..	..	48,117	..

This rapid progress is not surprising, when we recollect that land, can be purchased from the government in small quantities if desired, at 5s. 6d. per acre. Not only is the country well watered with springs, &c., but is throughout intersected with navigable rivers or canals, and bounded on the north by the great lakes, thus furnishing every facility for the transmission of its produce to the various markets of the worlds. A striking illustration of this was afforded by the arrival in Liverpool, a few months since, of the *Muskingham*, a vessel of 350 tons, built at Marietto, seventy miles above Cincinnati, and no less than seventeen hundred miles from salt water ! It had come direct from Cincinnati with a cargo of oil cake and Ohio provisions.

The number of inhabitants to the square mile in Ohio, in 1840, was 38.8 ; in Indiana, 18.5 ; Illinois, 9.1 ; Michigan, 5.3 ; Wisconsin, .3 ; and in Iowa, .2. The average throughout the United States, was 13.5.

When we remember that, in England, we have above three hundred inhabitants to the square mile, (Lincolnshire, the most thinly populated, having one hundred and thirty-eight,) we may form some idea of the resources of the fertile territory of which the statistics are given above. Allowing only two hundred to the square mile, it would support fifty millions of inhabitants ! Need we have any apprehension that we shall be unable to dispose of British manufactures, when consumers to such an extent are rapidly rising up, and even now would purchase much larger quantities of our goods, if we took their produce in exchange ? Their vessels, with cargoes of corn, might, as we have seen, sail direct from the heart of the Mississippi valley to the ports of England, and return laden with the produce of British looms.

The states in which cotton is chiefly grown are the following (we quote from the official returns of the census of 1840) :—

	lbs.
Mississippi	193,401,577
Georgia	163,392,396
Louisiana	152,555,368
Alabama	117,138,823
South Carolina	61,710,274
North Carolina	51,926,190
Tennessee	27,701,277

The produce of cotton in all the other states does not exceed 24,000,000lbs.

About one half of the total value of the exports from America, consists of cotton ; of which the greatest quantity is purchased by England. The value of cotton exported, increased from

20,157,484 dollars in 1821, to 47,593,464 dollars in 1842. The largest quantity exported was in 1836, when it reached 71,284,925 dollars.

Tobacco is the next article in importance, the exports of 1841 amounting to 12,576,703 dollars, and in 1842 to 9,540,755 dollars.

The value of exports of flour had fallen from 10,143,615 dollars, in 1840, to 6,759,488, in 1844, of which above one-half was taken by Great Britain and her dependencies. The amount of flour exported to our West Indian possessions was 1,397,630 dollars, and to the Canadas, 1,397,847 dollars; whilst England itself, out of the entire flour produced in America, only purchased 166,576 barrels, valued at 742,538 dollars!

A careful consideration of the statistics and facts which we have now laid before our readers, will, we think, clearly prove that our trade with America, already so large and profitable, is only limited by our own restrictions upon American imports. It is quite evident that their demand for our goods keeps pace with our purchases of their commodities. They buy from us as much as they can with their cotton, tobacco, lard, &c.; but when those means of payment are exhausted, they are necessarily driven to other markets with their 'bread-stuffs' and provisions.

This is a fact that cannot be too often stated. Many persons imagine that the heavy duties placed by America upon our manufactures, are the only barriers to our exports to that country. But were that the case, the considerable reduction of duties subsequent to 1839, ought to have been followed by a corresponding increase of our exports; instead of which, they have decreased since that period.

Nor could any other result be reasonably anticipated from the entire abolition of the American tariff. If such an apparent opening of the trans-Atlantic markets were to induce our manufacturers to ship increased quantities of goods thither, the balance of trade would rapidly turn against America, and they would then find it impossible to obtain profitable exchanges for their sales. As a natural consequence, the excessive exportations would cease. This would be the result even though our manufactures were considerably cheaper than those of America. More than a certain quantity *could not* be paid for, and anything above that quantity, exported from England, would entail a loss. The immediate effect of large importations might severely injure American manufacturers, by reducing the prices of their goods below the cost of production; but that could only last for a very short time, as British merchants would soon see the necessity of limiting their exports to the extent of their

returns : and when that course was adopted, the supply of English goods would again fall far short of the consumption of the American people ; and the necessary result would be the manufacture of calicoes, woollens, &c., in America, or elsewhere, to supply the deficiency, and which would find a ready market in exchange for such agricultural produce as Great Britain refused.

But this is by no means the extent of the evil. It influences very injuriously our transactions with other countries. Take China, for instance, whose markets are now filled with our goods, and where the only limit of our trade is found in the difficulty of securing profitable exchanges. Tea is almost the only article the Chinese have to offer in return for our manufactures, and if our merchants, after supplying the English markets with that commodity, could dispose of a further quantity in America, our trade with China would be placed on a most satisfactory footing. But here again the difficulty of returns meets us. *America requires the tea, but she cannot buy it from us*, and is therefore compelled to purchase it direct from China, with her own manufactures, which are thus brought into competition with ours in a neutral market.

Let it therefore be distinctly understood, and deeply pondered, that American manufactures and American competition are a *necessity* created by British laws.

It may be urged that the evil is past remedy, and that the repeal of our corn laws would now be in-operative in preventing the further extension of the manufactures which they have called into existence. But the facts of the case do not, by any means, justify this opinion.

The present circumstances of the United States are such, that with perfect freedom of commerce, they would offer much greater inducements for the employment of capital in agricultural than in manufacturing pursuits. The fertility and cheapness of the soil are, of course, primary considerations. It requires very small means to enable a man to purchase a quantity of land, which at once furnishes a scope for his industry, that, with a market for its produce, would be highly remunerative.

This will be the case for a long period,—indeed, until the vast territories of the States become densely peopled, when, as in our own country, a certain amount of capital and labour will be driven, by the competition for land, to seek employment in other branches of industry.

The value of land, an essential element in the cost of corn, is obviously of little importance in the cost of manufactured goods. In this respect, therefore, the position of the Americans is not

superior to our own. Whilst, on the contrary, the cheapness of their land would, with an increased demand for its produce, seriously impede the progress of their manufactures. This will appear from the following considerations.

When the ports of Great Britain are opened for the reception of American wheat, a great stimulus will be immediately given to its production. Skilled labourers in factories, who have accumulated a little money, will be induced to lay it out in acres at five shillings and sixpence each, and seek an independent fortune in the western states. 'Bread-stuffs,' on a soil so fertile, and freed from most of the burdens that press on European agriculture, in the shape of game-laws, rent, and taxes, can be produced sufficiently cheap to command a ready sale, and still afford ample remuneration for the labour engaged in their culture. The demand for such labour, in operations extending further west every month, would necessarily raise the price of all descriptions of work in factories. Masters must pay handsome wages to their more valuable workmen, to prevent their assuming the profitable and easily acquired dignity of landed proprietors. This would affect all branches of industry alike. The cost of every thing would be raised by it. American manufactures, under such circumstances, could not be produced as cheaply as our own, and as the facilities for payment would not be greater for the products of Lowell looms than those of Manchester or Leeds, the cheapest goods would command the preference.

It is true that the mill-owners of America might seek 'protection' in heavy import duties; but their countrymen are too 'wide awake' to allow a minority to maintain a system which would be utterly opposed to the interests of the great corn-growing districts, as well as to those of the southern cotton states.

It will thus be our own fault if the Americans continue, to any serious extent, our competitors. They are able to produce corn cheaper than we can, whilst we can manufacture goods cheaper than they. Each nation, freed from restrictions, would find that branch of industry the most profitable for which it had the greatest facilities; and, in consequence, the barter at present existing between them, would be increased to a vast extent.

Before bringing this article to a close, we must make a few remarks on the work placed at the head of it. We are glad that Mr. Putnam has called the attention of the British public to certain important 'American Facts.' We much wish that correct information about the governmental arrangements, national institutions, and social condition of the United States were more generally disseminated. We should like to see a more friendly feeling exercised towards our trans-Atlantic brethren. There

cannot be any excuse for the unfair and ungenerous treatment they constantly receive at our hands. The reply will be 'Slavery!' 'Repudiation!' and for such crimes no reprobation is too severe—but, in justice, we should spare the innocent. 'THIRTEEN of the states and two territories, *equal together, in extent, to the whole of Great Britain, Ireland, France, Belgium, Holland, Prussia, Greece, Switzerland, and Portugal, either abolished slavery several years since, or never had any at all.*' TWENTY out of the twenty-nine states and territories, equal in extent to the whole of Europe, save Russia, *either have no debt at all, or have honourably and promptly fulfilled all their pecuniary engagements, to the extent of several millions annually.* The national debt of America was paid off in 1837, but since that time the executive government have found it necessary again to incur a small debt, of which, however, the Stock is now quoted at a premium. These facts ought not to be lost sight of.

Let it be remembered, too, that every form of benevolent association, and every kind of religious effort, are extensively supported in America—that the temperance movement originated there—that means of education are co-extensive with the population—that knowledge is diffused throughout the land—that the people may safely challenge comparison for energy and intelligence with any other nation—and that amongst the authors of America are men whose extensive acquirements, depth of thought and able researches, are highly esteemed everywhere:—let all these facts be remembered, and we think there is sufficient to justify a much higher regard for the country than is generally entertained by Englishmen.

We are not apologists for America, nor do we shut our eyes to the great social evils there existing. We look forward to the influence of the religious and moral part of the community ultimately abolishing those evils. Meanwhile, the character of the British people is by no means so free from blemish as to encourage any assumption of superiority. Our own sins should teach us charity. At all events, we should be as ready to praise the good, as to condemn the bad in others. Nor should we receive, without great caution, the statements respecting American manners given by travellers, who have set out with minds full of prejudice, who seek to be *piquant* by caricaturing, and who, in their hurried journeys through the states, have necessarily been thrown into contact with the most unfavourable specimens of society.

It is only fair to hear both sides, and Mr. Putman has published his work, with the patriotic motive of rebutting many of the charges brought against his countrymen. It bears, as might be expected, very much the appearance of an advocate's plead-

ing. The best case is made out. The author takes care not to err in *understating* his 'facts,' and is a little too fond of 'round numbers.' Still, as many of the documents and statistics that he furnishes, bear official authority, they may be relied upon, and afford valuable information.

These 'Facts' sufficiently demonstrate, that under the rule of 'plebeian' statesmen—whose abilities are sneered at here—the national wealth of America is increasing every year, railways, canals, and other public works, have been completed, to an immense extent, and commerce with other nations has advanced with a rapidity hitherto unequalled. All this has been accomplished with the most economical national expenditure. The cost of *every department* of public service, including the civil list, army, navy, &c., for the year ending June 30th, 1844, only amounted to 32,958,827 dollars, which is not much more than the sum expended in merely *collecting* the revenue of England! * A single 'fact' will strikingly mark the difference between the governments of the two countries. There are as many *commissioned officers* in the army and navy of Great Britain, as the *entire number of men* engaged in the forces of America! And yet we profess to be on friendly terms with all the world!

Our limits will not permit us to consider, further, the relative merits of British and American statesmanship. We recommend our readers to investigate the question for themselves, fully assured that they will not allow the fact that the United States possess neither king, landed aristocracy, nor established church, to prejudice their conclusions.

• The cost of collecting the Customs last year, was	£1,408,486
" Preventive Service charges	559,098
" Collection of Stamps, Assessed Taxes, &c.	2,860,536
	<hr/>
	£4,828,120

Our army and navy, &c., alone, cost last year, nearly fourteen millions of pounds sterling!

Art. IV. *Life of Jean Paul F. Richter*. Compiled from various sources. Together with his Autobiography. Translated from the German. 2 vols. London: John Chapman.

IN our last number we took a review of the humorous writers of Germany, from the earliest period to the time of Nicolai, and we now propose continuing our sketch to the present day. The subject is interesting, and the materials, though not generally accessible to the English reader, exceedingly abundant. We have endeavoured to make our review as complete as our restricted limits permit, and have therefore confined ourselves to the one point of view contemplated. Other opportunities will occur for noticing the serious moral blemishes with which some of these writings are chargeable, and to these we shall refer the animadversions which occur to us.

Satirical powers of a very high order are evinced in the writings of Nicolai (1733—1811). Distinguished as the editor of several periodicals, and as a reviewer of great eminence, Nicolai wrote various satirical articles, which at the time met with a highly flattering reception. His first satire, which was published anonymously, is more in the shape of a treatise, and is entitled 'Letters on the present state of the fine arts in Germany.' In this production, certain parties (which at that time caused great disturbances by their opposition to the improvement of the German character, as well as that of the native literature in general) are held up to ridicule with a singular power of reasoning and sarcasm. Nicolai's chief d'œuvre, however, is his satirical novel, entitled the 'Life and Opinions of Master Sebalduß Nothanker.' In this novel, which has been designated the 'German' Vicar of Wakefield, the author, with an admirable precision and much adroitness, hits off the peculiarities and vile habits of certain classes of people. Hypocrisy, infidelity, blasphemy, mawkishness, love of rank, fashion, and greediness after wealth, as also an unquenchable thirst for persecution and oppression, are mercilessly attacked and exposed to ridicule and contempt. It, describes moreover, in a masterly style, the tone and state of society of those days. Owing to its intrinsic merit, and the good it has effected by the aid it afforded in establishing the present German literature, 'Sebalduß Nothanker' has become one of the standard works of Germany.

Nicolai is great as a philosopher, a scholar, and a moralist, a fact, which even his enemies are unable to dispute. This, as well as the bitter sarcasm of Juvenal, the stoicism and

Catonic mode of Persius, and the frequent hearty laugh of Horace, make him one of the greatest German satirical writers.

Very superior, and endowed with a spirit of unusual cheerfulness and grace; possessed too of a mind free from prejudice, envy, and malice, is the amiable Musaeus (1735—1787). This excellent man is not only a charming satirical writer: he is also a thinker, and one who possesses the power to raise himself to that eminence, from which he can easily overlook the rest of his fellow-men. He is extremely warm-hearted, and combines with that a strong love for virtue and truth; and though he ridicules and castigates the frailties of man, yet is he passionately attached to the race, of which he constitutes so worthy a member. In his judgments, he is always modest, manly, and just. He never laughs at our foibles and imperfections for the sake of gratification; but does it in order to advance our welfare. Unlike that of many other satirical writers, the language of Musaeus bespeaks a pure and innocent mind. It, indeed, appears as though purity of soul were inseparable from his outer man. And this may be considered as one of the great advantages which he and many other German humorous writers have over Voltaire and our own Swift. With him, satirical language is the vessel which contains the precious though bitter draught; yet it is always as pure and as costly as the draught itself. Mindful of his duty as an instructor of mankind, he never forgets the true dignity of the man, whence that esteem arises, which he constantly cherishes for his own race, and which with him is based on self-respect.

Owing to his amiable disposition, Musaeus's satirical writings are embued, more or less, with a very mild and charitable spirit. His 'German Grandison,' or 'Grandison II.,' a work which reflects the highest honour upon the period in which it was produced, appeared at a time when the British one had almost turned the mind of the German youth, as Göethe's 'Sorrows of Werther,' did at a later period. This German Grandison, without the smallest particle of malice, possesses a vein of the richest humour and most pungent wit. The 'Physiognomische Reisen,' a satire on Lavater's system, is remarkably spirited, and displays a superior taste, much drollery, and an amiable temper. This work, which appeared anonymously, is generally allowed to be Musaeus's best production, in consequence of which he is placed beside Hippel, Thümmel, and Sterne. Speaking of the merits of this satire, the celebrated Kotzebue, a pupil and friend of Musaeus, says, 'As few persons knew the name of its author, Musaeus, as though he had no interest in it whatsoever, would calmly listen to the opinion of the world, and

persevere in his silence, even when the voice of fame would proclaim its great merits, or when the literary journals of the day would mention any name but his own as the author of it.' For the copyright of this satire, by which the publisher realized many thousand pounds, Musaeus received the immense sum of *eight shillings*! Beautiful ideas, a lovely simplicity, naïveté, and the absence of every thing vulgar and ignoble, may be said to constitute the charm of his writings; their tendency seems to be not only to amuse, but to instruct.

Similar to Thümmel, although differing in style, and not ranked among the Germans as a satirical writer, *ex professo*, is Goethe, (1749, 1832.) This illustrious author, who spent the greater portion of his life at the Court of Weimar, had a most thorough knowledge of the world, and was too wise to suppose that it ever could be corrected by means of intemperate language and learned sputterings. Goethe himself enjoyed nothing so much as a well-meant joke, and, if possible, a fine wit. Himself a man in the fullest sense of the word, he takes men as they are, and not as they ought to be. Hence he always finds them deserving much less of hatred and malice, than of pity, or at the most of an irony combined with love. In these few words is contained the true nature of satire in general, and of that of Goethe in particular. He always distinguishes between good humoured and laughing satire, and that of a grave and biting nature; and though he, at first sight, seems to give no decided preference to either, a closer inquiry shews that he always leans towards the former. Herein we find one of the reasons of his immense success, as also why he has become one of the greatest favourites, not only with the Germans, but with the world at large. Less decided than many of his contemporaries, in matters connected with civil and mental freedom, which he clearly perceived could not well be obtained, unless a revolution were caused in the state of things, he suited himself to circumstances, and led the life of a philosopher, without giving ear to the abuse that was, in consequence, from time to time, heaped upon him. This calm and philosophical temperament, this laughing spirit, combined with much understanding and wisdom, gained for him the esteem and favour of the great, and the love of all ranks and classes. Possessed of a wonderful mind, and a rare taste, he is principally estimated by those whose attainments enable them to appreciate the beauties and real worth of his creations, and who, like himself, have lived long enough in the world to know the frailties which man is subject to. In fact, it is they who chiefly enjoy his writings. It has been said that

Goethe's satirical style is frequently more Greek than German. This is an erroneous view, which certain individuals have regarding Goethe's powers as a satirical writer, and which cannot possibly hold good, in as much as Goethe, even as such, is decidedly original. Few of modern satirists have had so many interpreters and translators. His style is decidedly German. German in its form, reasoning, and depth of thought; it is likewise German in its innate good humour and liberal views. Even to foreigners who are wholly unacquainted with the nature and construction of the German language and its idiomatic peculiarities, and who are little or not at all conversant with this author's style of writing, these satires afford no slight degree of pleasure, without causing them any difficulty whatsoever in order to be understood, which would be unavoidable were his style anything but German. We, moreover, believe, that not only his satirical style, but that Goethe's style of writing in general, that his mode of thinking, and his language are distinguished for their being more German than those of any other German author, even Schiller not excepted.

Very high among the German humorous writers, ranks the much admired philosopher von Knigge (1752—1796). A highly successful imitator of many of our most distinguished humorists, especially of Sterne, Knigge contributed much to the improvement and refinement of his countrymen. His great work, entitled a 'Tour to Brunswick,' is a magnificent performance. Its prominent parts evince rich humour, with a racy and exceedingly elegant language. Another very amusing work of his, bears the title 'The Posthumous Papers of the State Councillor Von Schaafskopf.'—Silent and taciturn among strangers, lively, hearty and witty among his friends, such was the man to whom we are indebted for the above named works, which, besides the features already pointed out, show a rare power of judgment, sound critical learning, and a thorough acquaintance with the human heart. In a brilliant manner he describes the passions peculiar to the human race, and the mode of remedying their evils. His reasoning very frequently is as lucid as it is convincing, and intermingled now and then with great naïveté, exquisite drollery, and an amiable temper, it affords no slight inducement to a careful perusal of his works.

Humour in writing, as has been said with much truth, is very different from humour in character, and an author, who outwardly appears serious, and yet who portrays his subject with a brush dipped in comic colours, is a humorous author. A humourist,

however, he only can become by doing so unintentionally. To the latter class belong Jean Paul, Addison, Hippel, Goldsmith, etc., and to the former, Lichtenberg, Sterne, Swift, Lafontaine, etc., and the author, to whom we shall next direct our reader's attention—Thümmel (1738—1817).

Fielding and Sterne, were evidently Thümmel's models at the time when he wrote his great work, 'Tour to the South of France.' Though written from memory, and at an age already far advanced, this work, beyond dispute, is one of the finest productions German literature can boast. With glowing youthful fancies, with a clear manly understanding, penetration, and reflections, it combines a broad English good humour, with highly refined wit. There is a certain wisdom contained in it, which, it is evident, could have been obtained by long experience, and activity in a useful and practical life only. In beauty, it much resembles the land which it describes, with its golden fields, emerald meadows, odoriferous flowers, fragrant and luxuriating fruit, lively people and fair women. This elegant and spirited work will always remain the favourite of mirth-loving people, and of all such as possess a taste for good humour and a hearty laugh.

In his mock-heroic poem, 'Wilhelmina,' written in imitation of Pope's mock-heroics, Thümmel surpasses his ingenious British model. The German author, with great ingenuity and a superb vein of witty irony, describes the droll features of some of the many petty German courts, as also the manners and customs of his age. The whole is written in an admirable style, and with elegance and grace. The brilliant life of the aristocracy, and the magnificence of the proud courtiers, are so admirably contrasted with the servility, poverty, and even wretchedness, of the other classes, especially of the peasantry, that we cannot but admire this production. *Wilhelmina* is, in the fullest sense of the word, one of the best specimens of social satire extant. Faithful in its delineations of an age long past, replete with scenes and occurrences wholly relating to German life, pleasing and graphic in its descriptions, it forms one of those creations, which bear the stamp of immortality, and address themselves to the human heart with a power and interest not to be resisted.

Wieland (1733—1813), who introduced into Germany the graceful spirit of classic Greece, is a cheerful, and accomplished satirical writer, possessing a remarkable fund of polished wit and good humour. His style is graceful and imposing, free from prejudice and unmanly servility. His jests are always racy, and his language is elegant, pure, and classical.

Being of an exceedingly fertile imagination, many of his humorous writings, especially those in prose, display much drollery and great vivacity, both of which he manages with dexterity and force. The sole endeavour of this author, apparently, is to excite a smile—to gratify the taste of the most fastidious, rather than to cause a broad grin or immoderate laughter. In his *Abderiten*, we have a satirical description of the course of life pursued by a portion of the human society, whom the Germans call 'Krähwinkler.' These Krähwinklers are a kind of Lilliputians, or 'petty' members of a 'petty' country, which is ruled by a 'petty' prince, whose 'petty' light of understanding is reflected on these his 'loyal' subjects, who, — notwithstanding the oppression they suffer in various ways from a rapacious government, and a dissolute and corrupted priesthood,—pursue a course of intrigues and cabal-making, which is at once ridiculous and despicable. The form of, and the personages acting in this production, are wholly Greek; yet the real aim of the author is no other than that of scourging his own countrymen. Its chief recommendation is fidelity to nature. The lash inflicted is powerful and unsparing.

'The Dialogues of the gods,' composed in imitation of Lucian, display Wieland's versatile genius to the greatest advantage. They are not only not inferior, but are superior to those of the noble Roman, and have, moreover, an advantage over the latter, inasmuch as they are much more free from a verbose pomp and loquacity, not unfrequently to be met with in Lucian. The exquisite humour, sparkling wit, brilliant satirical spirit and imagination which we find in the Roman, we also discover in the German, but in a superior, and truly surprising manner. And what enhances this interest is, their display of a deep knowledge of nature, and a minute acquaintance with human faults and excellencies. 'Der neue Amadis,' was evidently dictated by an insuperable disposition for merriment. It affords amusement and instruction in no mean degree.

'Musalion,' is a work full of superb grace, ease, and imagination. Its good humour is playful, and delicate; its language finished, and the whole is, perhaps, the most perfect and masterly production of this elegant scholar.

'Don Silvio von Rosalva,' a close imitation of Cervantes' 'Don Quixote,' is a work which he wrote at a time when inculcations of the grossest absurdities and falsehoods in the shape of miserable lying miracles, were practised all over Germany, by means of legends, nursery tales, and such like trash. This 'Don Silvio von Rosalva,' in the form of a fairy tale, was to be an antidote;

and to react upon the German mind, and thus in the form of a pleasing, yet satirical story, to destroy the effects of the poison instilled by the former. 'Wieland himself declared,' says Schlosser, 'that he wrote this novel to inflict a death-blow upon superstition.' The whole is a compound of satire and wit, which make it one of the most amusing tales produced in modern times. 'Kombabus,' 'Endymion,' 'Schach Lolo,' 'Aurora and Cephalus,' are works of the same author, and are written in the same satirico-humorous style.

It is deeply to be regretted that some of the writings of Wieland, as also those of Goethe, and other authors of Germany, bespeak an unfriendliness if not a bitter enmity to revelation. It would have been an endless task had we attempted to specify all the instances of this which occur in their works. The fact is too notorious to be questioned, and we refer to it simply to record our protest against the moral delinquency with which they are chargeable. We are now treating of the class in a literary point of view only, and shall take other occasions to point out their serious blemishes as moral instructors of their fellows.

Alois Blumauer, (1755, 1798,) formerly a Jesuit, afterwards a bookseller and censor, was at one time a great favourite with the German youth. Owing to a rather lively and natural flow of spirits, Blumauer wished to play the part of a second Voltaire, without possessing the Frenchman's wit, or sarcastic humour. The satirical talent and sprightliness shown in Blumauer's writings, make the latter favourites with a certain class of people, who seldom derive any gratification from productions of a high order. As descriptions of the depravities of bygone days, and as satires on the immoralities of the Romish priesthood, and the inventions and absurd falsehoods of the Romish Church, they are not without merit, and contain very frequently powerful reasoning and much good sense. So, for example, in the 'Travesty of Virgil,' which is extremely clever, he forcibly ridicules the contemptible and enslaving superstition of the Church already referred to. But though the arrangement of this poem, as well as that of all his other works, betrays much skill, and though his creations contain a stock of such materials as laughter-loving people are generally fond of; yet the language is often coarse and even obscene, and the whole void of an amiable spirit and a sense of decency. But in his days many things were considered as innocent and refined, the bare mention of which, in our time, would hardly be tolerated. However, if Blumauer's style of writing is anything but chaste, if his language is anything but pure and moral, he is in all this

surpassed by Boccaccio's and Bandillo's novels, by Lafontaine's tales, and Crebillon's romances, as also by the notorious Eugene Suë's, and Paul de Kock's immoral works.

A very amiable and excellent satirist; and one writing in the placid and naïve style of Rabener, is Joseph Richter. (1774—1813.) His '*Anatomia Monachi*,' and the '*Monachologie*,' by exposing the vicious habits of the monks in general, and of those of Austria in particular, have become standard works of Germany, and have been of immense use to the cause of true Christianity. The '*Letters of an Eipeldauer*,' and the '*A B C-book for Grown-up Children*,' are deservedly celebrated. Altogether his writings are full of excellent satire, and his language is light, elegant, and very fanciful. Had this author devoted himself entirely to satirical composition, there is no doubt but that he would have become one of the greatest satirical writers of his country.

The man, who next to Richter, wrote the best modern satire upon monks and monkery, is Boner. Formerly a Jesuit, this author, at a later period, practised as a naturalist and metallurgist. In his '*Monachologia Methodo Hinnaeana*,' '*Anatomia Monachi*,' and in the '*Defensio Physiophili*,' he literally anatomizes these holy men. Boner, who was the protégé and favourite of Joseph, Emperor of Austria, was unquestionably the wittiest man of Vienna. Another of his satires, entitled the '*Staatsperücke*,' was at that time received with immense applause, and is still a favourite with the German public.

Menzel, speaking of Claudius, (1743, 1815,) or '*Asmus omnia sua secum portans*,' the Wandsbeck Courier, a name which he derived from a political paper, of which he was the editor, says: 'The celebrated Wandsbeck Courier makes, even when read now, a strange impression—one rather of a touching than of a pleasing character. It is not that his beauties are not always beautiful, that his strong common sense is not always sensible; but the form, the style, belong to an age long past. We feel as if we saw one of our venerated ancestors leaping up from his arm-chair, in his high-peaked nightcap, and dancing a nuptial-dance. The joke is well meant, but it is rather disagreeable. If innate good nature, and a tameness and timidity taught him by oppression, had not tied too many fetters upon the satire of the poet, he would, in consequence of his excellent talents, have arrived at something distinguished.'

We cannot but coincide in what this writer says respecting Claudius's satirical style and form of writing. And as to his humour, it is certainly of a very peculiar kind. Somewhat in the style of Geiler and Father Abraham a St. Clara, authors

already referred to, Claudius, in a satirical manner, inculcates principles of religion, patriotism, charity, love for study, and general usefulness. And whatever may be said, (and we think, justly too,) of the cant, mannerism and mysticism, which are frequently met with in his later productions, in some of his earlier works, he certainly displays satirical powers of no common order, as also a highly pleasing naivety, good nature, and simplicity of language. Jacobi, the celebrated German philosopher and author, referring to Claudius, says: 'The Wandsbeck Courier has well deserved the gratitude of Germany. He not only delivered his messages (*i. e.* his instructions), to the rich townspeople, but he also acquitted himself of his arduous and honourable task towards the needy and oppressed both in towns and villages. Were a tax to be levied for every large and small window, which the Wandsbeck Courier, in his calling, has been knocking at, Master Pitt, (meaning the late British Minister,) would smile with complacency at the great amount of revenue derived from them.'

We must now say a few words respecting the character and writings of a man, who wholly differs from all those of whom we have been treating. We refer to Jean Paul Frederick Richter, or simply Jean Paul, (1763, 1825,) as he is frequently called. Many of our readers, no doubt, are already acquainted with this author of the finest modern German humorous writings, and must have been struck with the powers of his gigantic mind. In his writings human life assumes various poetico-real aspects. Sometimes it appears in the light of a brilliant and lively humour, and sometimes in a mood of melancholy and unspeakable sadness. At one time it is full of mockery, sarcastic and bitter; at another, it is playful, innocent, naïve, and reveling in a bliss and mental peace which passeth understanding.

But what ranks Jean Paul among the most superior minds, is his innate nobleness of disposition, his transcendent virtues, and the pure fire by which his whole being seems to be penetrated. Herein he much resembles the admirable Schiller, Lessing, as also his younger brother poet, William Hauff, and many others. Like them, he is the defender of oppressed virtue, morality, and justice. 'There is hardly a crime of the age,' says one of his panegyrists, 'which his eagle eye does not detect and unveil, which his amiable feelings have not guarded us against, or which his clever persiflage has not chastised. And there is nothing innocent and beautiful, there is no virtue of the age, which Jean Paul has not acknowledged and set up as an example, in beautiful and touching pictures. One of the chief beauties of this author's works, must be sought for in his amiable and placid temper.'

But even this masterly painter of human life is, perhaps, not quite free from faults. His style, for example, though on the whole extremely brilliant, displays, now and then, traits of mannerism; and his wit, too, as if nature had not liberally bestowed it upon him, is not seldom rather too *recherché*, too forced. His inclination, moreover, for allusions, is so palpable, as to impart to some of his writings a want of tact and æsthetical keeping. Taken, however, all in all, Jean Paul stands unrivalled. To criticize even the smallest of his productions, would be no easy task, and one requiring more space than we can at present possibly allot to it. We hope, however, to place before the reader, ere long, a notice of the writings of this gifted author, and in the meantime refer them to the 'Life' placed at the head of this article.

One of the most successful followers of the last mentioned author, is Saphir. With a rich imagination, and the best possible humour, this comic satirist is quite the fashion of the day. Those who are acquainted with the Austrian capital and its social life, will find his writings to be a real treasure. His numerous articles are full of playfulness, and contain a vein of the most costly wit: and even to future generations they will afford much scope for mirth and hearty laughter. His best works are: 'The Wild Roses,' and the 'Humoristic Evenings.' In the making of puns, Saphir is without a superior.

Falk (1770—1826), the author of a work entitled, 'Goethe portrayed from familiar Personal Intercourse,' a production which has been exceedingly well translated by Mrs. Austin, is perhaps one of the best modern German satirists. His chief compositions are: 'Der Mensch und die Helden,' 'Die heiligen Gräber zu Como,' 'Die Gebete,' 'Die Eitelkeit,' 'Schmauserei,' 'Jeremiade,' 'Die Mode,' 'Grotesken,' and 'Naivitäten.' All these works are written in a more or less serio-comic humour. The latter he displays in 'Scaramutz Reisen,' 'Electropolis, oder die Sonnenstadt,' and 'Louisiade,' works, all of which betray a close resemblance to Peter Pindar. These, as well as a multitude of other satires, have been collected in his almanacs, comprising a period of six years, from 1797 to 1803.

Introduced to the public by the celebrated Wieland, the author above referred to, seems to have disappointed many of the then living 'bels esprits,' which perhaps may be assigned as the reason of Falk's having given up, at a rather early period, satirical authorship. 'All styles,' says Menzel, 'whether classic, romantic, or modern, at one time played confusedly through his head. These he endeavoured to combine in the most unnatural and humorous forms; but seeing the folly of such an attempt,

he soon turned from the varied spectrum to a more concentrated, pure and simple light.' Menzel is quite right, in as far as this goes. But we widely differ from this acute critic, who denies to Falk originality, and a powerful sarcastic humour. It is true, that the latter is now and then perhaps too unsteady, and, that in consequence, it merely 'grazes objects,' to use Menzel's language, 'without wounding them deeply with its sting.' Yet if this be true, as also the notion that Falk has not the acuteness of Lessing or Jean Paul, Swift or Börne, nor the happy tact of Tieck and Lichtenberg, it is equally true, that all these defects are amply compensated by his simplicity, comic spirit, even and amiable temper, and, to crown the whole, by a most exemplary good nature, a feature, which at a later period he displayed by founding an institution in Weimar, for the education and benefit of poor orphans, and by his constant endeavours to promote the happiness of all, especially the lower classes of society. The language of this author, though now and then a little forced, is, on the whole, pure and artless.

Engel (1741—1802), one of the first writers of Germany, introduced himself to the reading world by the 'Lorenz Stark.' This work, which contains one of the best, if not *the* best description of the higher German life in towns, during the past century, is decidedly Engel's master-piece. It is well conceived, and shows in a favourable light the author's humour. 'Der Fürstenspiegel,' 'Ideas on Mimicry,' and many of his essays in his 'Philosoph für die Welt,' are creations of the highest order. The style of this writer is excellent, and free from mannerism; his language is correct, and may serve as a model of a simple, pure, and yet beautiful oratory. A more or less high degree of penetration, and knowledge of the world, are perceptible in all his writings.

Hoffmann (1776—1822), better known as Callot-Hoffmann, in consequence of his grotesque ideas, which forcibly remind us of the phantastic productions of the painter Callot, was a man of great genius. He is the head or founder of the Romantic School, called the 'School of Callot-Hoffmann.' His followers are distinguished by their predilection for the magical, terrible, and a kind of humorous sentimentality. The latter, with a due portion of dry sarcastic wit, and grave humour, are amalgamated in Hoffmann. But owing to a settled sadness and melancholy which are peculiar to his writings, the latter not unfrequently excites our fear, and affects our feelings, rather than our risible nerves. Perhaps the only works of Hoffmann, written both in an amiable and witty spirit, are the 'Seltsame Leiden

und Freuden eines Theaterdichters,' and 'Klein Zaches.' Both these productions are highly meritorious. The following creations have laid the foundation of this author's universal celebrity: 'Elixir des Teufels,' 'Nachtstücke,' 'Seraphionsbrüder,' 'Lebensansichten des Kater Murr,' 'Meister Floh,' 'Phantasiestücke,' 'Prinzessin Brambilla,' and the 'Doppelgänger.'

Jokes, good-nature, and a brilliant temper, are to be found in every page of Langbein's (1757—1835) delightful writings. His forte seems to be to consider human life in a very humorous light. Cheerfulness, openness, philanthropy, and straight-forwardness, are inseparable from him, which, mixed with a goodly quantity of *bonhomie*, are likewise infused in all his satirical productions. Langbein is particularly happy in his politico-satirical tales, novels, and poems: among others in his trifle, entitled, 'An Hour's Instruction in Political economy,' which is written in the manner of Philander von Sittewald.

Hippel (1741—1796), an intimate friend and pupil of Kant, the great philosopher, and one of the first critics of Germany, as also one of the great and most zealous adversaries of the narrow-mindedness then prevailing in matters connected with German literature, and the improvement of the people, is one of the many extraordinary men Germany gave birth to. At that time, when the country was groaning under all manner of oppressions, abuses, and innovations, when Voltaire, the prince and apostle of atheism, took the lead in learning and philosophical research, not only in France, but particularly in Germany, where he counted kings and princes among his disciples, a few Germans agreed to check the nuisance. One of these few, was the subject of this sketch. This, however, not being the proper place for enlarging on the benefits which accrued from his activity and zeal in suppressing this evil, we must only observe, that Hippel has been unjustly accused of introducing into his literary productions, biblical passages, and sacred hymns, in order to counteract the effects produced by the insipid and immoral writings of the day. A man like Hippel, endowed with so superior and philosophical a mind, could not but regard the scriptures as too sacred, to make use of them when dealing with infidels and acknowledged atheists. The only weapons he did use, and that, too, with immense effect, were his arguments, his reasonings, or his logic; with them he combatted his opponents, and with them likewise he defeated them.

Hippel's chefs d'œuvre are a novel, bearing the humorous title, 'Lebensläufe nach aufsteigender Linie,' i. e., the career of

life in ascending gradations ; his magnificent 'Autobiography,' written under the assumed name of Schlichtegroll, which is a kind of fiction, interspersed with innumerable interesting facts, and which forms an excellent commentary to the former, and finally, his treatise on marriage, 'über die Ehe.'

In the work first mentioned, we find a full review of the philosophical dogmas of Kant, as also various maxims collected during the course of a practical life, all of which are clothed in the garb of a lively spirit, and not unfrequently, of satirical humour. Deep thought, a brilliant fancy, and a remarkably luminous and polished style, are the characteristic marks of the two other works. Perhaps less beautiful, though extremely interesting, and witty, are 'Die Kreuz und Quersüge des Ritters A bis Z,' 'Über bürgerliche Verbesserung,' [this work displays, now and then, features of paradoxical gravity] 'Handzeichnungen nach der Natur,' and 'Zimmermann I. und Friedrich II.'

Distinguished alike as a humorist and a powerful satirical writer, is the Count Benzel Sternau (1767-1835). In wit, humour, and intellectual gambols, he is rivalled by Jean Paul only, over whom, however, Benzel Sternau has the advantage, inasmuch as a better keeping and more plan, are the characteristic features of his productions, at the head of which stands 'Das goldene Kalb,' a sort of biography which is exceedingly spirited and good humoured. Next to this deserves to be mentioned the 'Steinerner Gast,' a work, in which the author has endeavoured to erect a monument to the memory of those spiritual courts, which the hand of time has long since swept away from the face of the earth. 'Die privatisirenden Fürsten,' is but mediocre, with little geniality about it, and without much experience. Far better are his 'Pygmäen Briefe,' 'Proteus,' 'Titania,' 'Morpheus,' and 'Jason.' In the earlier writings of this author, a variety of styles (resembling particularly those of Musaeus and Kotzebue, as also that of the well-known novelist Zschokke,) cannot possibly be mistaken. All these, however, Benzel Sternau at a later period gave up, in order to form one of his own, which is distinguished for correctness and elegance. He ranks among the first humorous authors of Germany.

Great as a practical and natural philosopher, and as a wit of the very first class, but greater still as a man ; plain, disinterested, benevolent, obliging and modest, was Lichtenberg (1742-1799) ; beyond doubt the greatest satirist Germany ever produced, and next to Lessing, perhaps the only one, in whom there were combined the deepest and most varied knowledge and eru-

dition with the richest humour and taste. 'His nature,' a German savant says, 'fitted him to be the antagonist of all that nonsense of sentimentality, of fanaticism and of bombast, which in those days ruled the world, and to annihilate the advocates of such by his severe and pointed wit.' To us it is an enigma, how this little sickly man, who not seldom had to close his lectures for want of bodily strength—how he, with his solitary mode of life, could have arrived at the surprising and thorough knowledge of the world and of its productions, which, in the garb of a superb eloquence and caustic satire, he has bequeathed to posterity. Nor, indeed, did he want good-nature, cheerfulness, the noblest sense for every thing moral, and an unassuming mildness of character—features which never left him, and which obtained the esteem, good wishes, and approbation even of those whom he frequently chastised. Menzel, speaking of Lichtenberg's good humour and cheerfulness, says: 'It is highly pleasing to see how the little crooked man always seizes upon the cheerful side, both of things and human beings.' But Lichtenberg, with all this, combined the deepest feeling, of which many others, as for example, Hippel and Voltaire were so destitute, and whom Lichtenberg, for that very reason, never mentions; whereas the great names of Thümmel, Jean Paul, Fielding, Sterne, Claudius, and many others, are frequently the theme of his most interesting reflections. Nothing but presumption, haughtiness, and hypocrisy, could make him lose his equanimity; and then, indeed, his satirical temper was boundless, as for instance, in his 'Timones.' In this work, he scourges Lavater in a most unmerciful manner on account of his love for proselytism, as also for his presumption, bombast, and his 'Physiognomical' absurdities. To these circumstances are we indebted for his magnificent and humorous fragment, entitled the 'Burschen und Sauschwänze.' Had this inimitable author devoted himself entirely to satirical writings, there is no question but that he would have been one of the greatest satirists the world ever saw. 'He, indeed,' a very clever German author somewhere says, 'would have been the man to write a 'theory on the 'Ridiculous.' On a subject like this, his wonderful talent would have been spent less in vain, than by explaining Hogarth's plates. Speaking of these, which he had purchased in London, and at a later period presented to the university of Göttingen in order to get rid of the frequent visitors that came to see him on their account, he says: 'Very much in the way of a handsome wife, these plates proved to me a real domestic affliction.' Of the twelve volumes of Illustrations to Hogarth's plates, only the first five are his; the rest were added by his friends.

His 'Physiognomik,' and the polemical satires on Lavater, are extremely witty, and not unfrequently good-humoured; but our space will not permit us to give, as we could wish, fair specimens of his style of writing, especially of such of them as refer more or less to Lavater's 'Physiognomical Fragments for the Promotion of the Knowledge of Mankind and of Universal Love.'

Moses Mendelsohn, the celebrated philosopher, and author of 'Phaëdon, or On the Immortality of the Soul,' 'Lectures on the Existence of God,' &c. &c., happened on one occasion to say something in favour of Physiognomy. Zimmermann, an intimate friend and admirer of Lavater, without further ceremony availed himself of this opportunity, and prefixing, to the four pages of which Mendelsohn's remarks consisted, a kind of introduction, in which Lichtenberg was attacked in a manner at once coarse and unjust, he brought the whole thus unnecessarily before the public. Lichtenberg answered it in the form of a letter, 'which in consequence of its masterly wit,' as Schlosser says, 'is quite as remarkable as Lessing's 'Eleven Anti-Götzes.' This letter, and Lessing's fugitive satirical pieces, are the most vehement specimens which the German language contains of that species of bitter irony, directed against single individuals, which is at the same time free from all personal abuse. Lichtenberg and Lessing employed very different styles of satire, but both are perfect in their kind.

In the letter just referred to, Lichtenberg treats Moses Mendelsohn with marked respect, and directs all his bitterness against Zimmermann, on account of his vulgar and rude introduction. He says, with inimitable spirit, that this treatise, combined with Zimmermann's preface, made such an impression upon him as he never remembers to have experienced in any previous portion of his life, except once—when a Psalm-book was put into his hands, bound up with Till's 'Merry Jester,' (Til Eluenspiegel).

'Lichtenberg's labours,' Schlosser says, 'were of vast importance to German culture, inasmuch as he contributed to free the nation from servility, and from the subjection of their own judgments to that of the great world; and that he was most active in creating an independent feeling in his countrymen; and all this notwithstanding the opposition he had to meet with, and the outcry of evil-minded persons, as also the clamour of the journals.' Among the most successful of Lichtenberg's satires, deserve likewise to be mentioned the 'Betrachtungen über Schlüge,' and the 'Vorschlag zu einer Stubenuhr,' two masterly productions, which are particularly distinguished for broad humour, power, and beauty of language. Lichtenberg was, and

still is the greatest favourite with the mirth-loving portion of the Germans. It is said that Schiller, in the last few days preceding his death, whilst in a state of delirium, repeatedly exclaimed, Lichtenberg! Lichtenberg!

A society, of which two sons of this celebrated author are members, has lately been formed in Germany, in order to commemorate his name. At one of its meetings, held not long since, a resolution was passed to the effect, that all his works be republished, and also that those MS. articles, which for certain reasons had not appeared before the public, should be printed forthwith.

Börne (1807-1837) is one of the more recent humorous and politico-satirical writers. Though originally a Jew, Börne is considered as one of the most successful and charming authors of the day, and as next to none in matters connected with true learning and philosophical acquirements. His works, written somewhat in the style of Jean Paul, are frequently severe and extremely sarcastic. Critical coldness, however, though accompanied by a certain degree of *vis comica*, incessantly accompany the reader, even through many of his most admired satires.

It strikes us, however, that Börne ought to be considered in the light of a critic, rather than in that of a satirical writer. In the former capacity he betrays rare talent, and possesses innumerable striking points, which confer upon his critical writings the highest praise. Indeed, if we mistake not, his fame purely rests upon the beauty and correctness of style, as evinced by them. The only thing we are able to discover as being worthy of notice in his satires, is their form, in which he appears to have concentrated all his powers. The file seems to have been applied to them in a degree hardly known to the generality of satirical writings; hence their beauty and polish, and hence likewise that smoothness, which is one of the most striking points in all Börne's productions, though it cannot be denied that the matter contained within these forms is very often of little or no value.

This author, nevertheless, has the merit of having freed Germany from a great number of political and theological abuses, and of having weeded the German literary soil from numberless miserable scribblers, who at one time infested the country with their silly productions. A democrat of the first water, his republican spirit may be best judged of from his works, which are collected under the titles of reviews, fragments, aphorisms, etc. 'Die Zeitschwingen,' 'Die Wage,' and the 'Briefe aus Paris,' written in a style of great clearness and brilliancy, are, in our opinion, Börne's only productions that will escape oblivion. He died at Paris, a voluntary exile.

Another satirical writer of great eminence, and one in every respect resembling the last mentioned, is Heine (1797—alive). He, too, was formerly a Jew, and resided at Paris as a voluntary exile. Though much more violent than Börne, Heine's prose writings are masterly, and eminent for brilliant wit. But Heine is not only a magnificent humorous prose writer. He excels as the first, who, in imitation of Lord Byron, introduced irony and sarcastic humour into German lyric poetry. It cannot be denied, however, that he frequently wants the depth and energy of Byron, and is now and then perhaps too free and affected. Yet, in his inventions, he displays unusual powers of mind, as also an exceedingly fanciful humour. He lacks good nature, disinterestedness, and benevolence—features which so favourably distinguish Jean Paul, Lichtenberg, and a host of others.

His 'Reisebilder,' or Pictures of Travel, is a splendid work, and is written with the utmost elegance of expression, and correctness of style. Rich in refined humour, it is to be deplored that the whole abounds in passages which, for revolting atheism leave sometimes even the worst of Voltaire's far behind. Very beautiful is his fragment of the 'Florentinische Nächte.' And so is his 'State of France,' which is considered his best work, and which has met with immense success both in France and elsewhere.

Among the many other more or less famous politico-satirical writers of recent date, and the last we shall mention, is a lawyer, Detmold by name, who is favourably distinguished for genuine good humour, acuteness of mind, and admirable 'esprit.' A work, lately published by this clever man, bearing the title of 'Randzeichnungen, is remarkable for its point and beauty of language. It contains two political satires, in which the author, in a masterly manner, combines great powers of observation, much shrewdness, and an easy flow of spirit. The presence of Detmold, as a ready and uncompromising wit, is hailed by all ranks and classes of society. The following, though often told, will bear repetition, inasmuch as this one trait will point out his promptness and witty turn of mind. Seeing one day in one of the print shops of Hanover a full length portrait of the *ci-devant* Hanoverian minister of finance, who was represented with a roll of paper in his left hand, while his right one was resting against his heart, Detmold, in his usual dry manner, remarked to a friend who happened at the time to be near him, that the minister was very appropriately portrayed, holding the budget in one hand, and covering with the other the deficit.

We close this article with a mixed feeling of pleasure and

regret. It has afforded us no slight gratification in reviewing the character and writings of some of the greatest men of Germany, and in having introduced them to the notice of our readers. This is a pleasure, which, moreover, becomes enhanced by the fact, that there were, and indeed that there still are, many more of such talented men. Our space scarcely admits more than a bare mention of the names of these illustrious writers, the chief of whom are Logau, Günther, Tieck, Haller, Hagedorn, Bodmer, Kästner, Chronégk, Elias Schlegel, Pfeffel, Freiligrath, &c., many of whom are yet alive, whilst others have long since left this world of trouble and instability. But, although all the authors whom we have just mentioned have written some of the finest and most admired satires, yet are few of them satirical writers, *ex professo*. It is one of the peculiarities of German literati, to try their skill in almost every department of literature. Judging, therefore, from this point of view, the productions of the above authors ought, in fact, only to be considered as mere experiments, which, as such, are beyond the sphere of criticism.

On the other hand, we derive the utmost regret from the consideration, that men endowed with so superior minds, should have infinitely less mental freedom than the lowest individual in our own country, and that their mental creations should have been and still be dependent on the pen and good-will of the censor. In our country, where no such nuisance and restraint exist, we cannot form an idea of the feelings which pervade the whole being of the man, who has to give birth to the finest thoughts, under such degrading and disadvantageous circumstances. Yet, so it is. The government, and not the German public, is the judge of native talent, and the former, likewise, it is, which either rewards or depreciates the genius of those, over whom it exercises its sway. If depreciation be the result of perhaps the hardest mental exertions, well might the German author bewail his lot, and say, with Anaxandrides,—

ἡ πολις ἰβούλεθ' ἢ νόμων οὐδὲν μέλει.

Thus the government wills it, and minds no laws.

Would it were otherwise! But it is for us to take a lesson from these facts. Let us highly prize the freedom we enjoy, and preserve it in all its integrity, uncontaminated by the foul touch of arbitrariness and oppression.

Art. V.—*Travels in North America, with Geological Observations on the United States, Canada, and Nova Scotia.* By Charles Lyell, Esq., F.R.S., author of the 'Principles of Geology.' In two volumes, with coloured lithographs and woodcuts. London: J. Murray.

THIS work is not to be confounded with the ordinary run of travels. It is the record of a journey expressly made for the advancement of science, and gives, in a popular form, the principal results of investigations made in the course of that journey, which, as published, or in course of publication in various scientific journals, are now engaging the attention of the most distinguished geologists of our own, and other countries. Moving in highly cultivated society, and well known in literary and scientific circles, both at home and abroad, Mr. Lyell had sufficient opportunity of seeing what he pleased of American life and manners; and his volumes, though not devoted to that topic, which the plan and object of his journey alike precluded, are not destitute of the interest and relief which glimpses of society and social institutions afford. The chief value of this part of the work lies, however, not in the extent, but in the soundness and fairness of Mr. Lyell's observations. He did not make it his business either to investigate or describe the peculiar phenomena of American society; though what he has described or noticed, carries on the face of it, the evidence of moderation and candour.

Mr. Lyell landed at Halifax, in Nova Scotia, on the 31st of July, 1841, and sailed from the same port for Liverpool, on the 18th of August in the following year. One of the first objects which attracted his attention was that which, it is said, every European tourist sees as early as he can,—Niagara. The falls appeared to Mr. Lyell, when he first saw them, at three miles distance, with the sun shining full upon them, and nothing in view but the green wood, the falling water, and the white foam,—more beautiful, but less grand than he had expected. A nearer and more thorough study of them, prolonged through several days, during which, he had full leisure to gaze on them for hours, from above and below, and when he had heard the thundering roar of their waters far and near, in every direction, and amidst the unbroken forest solitudes of Goat Island, enabled him to comprehend the wonders of the scene, and to feel its full magnificence. Still, geologist-like, he could not, even amidst all this, resist being carried away in fancy to Mount Etna, or refrain from meditating on the analogy of geological instruction afforded by these two widely separated scenes.

'Etna,' says he, 'presents us not merely with an image of the power of subterranean heat, but a record also of the vast period of time dur-

ing which that power has been exerted. A majestic mountain has been produced by volcanic action, yet the time of which the volcano forms the register, however vast, is found by the geologist to be of inconsiderable amount, even in the modern annals of the earth's history. In like manner the falls of Niagara teach us not merely to appreciate the power of moving water, but furnish us at the same time with data for estimating the enormous lapse of ages during which that force has operated. A deep and long ravine has been excavated, and the river has required ages to accomplish the task; yet the same region affords evidence that the sum of these ages is as nothing, and as the work of yesterday, when compared to the antecedent periods of which there are monuments in the same district.'—vol. i. p. 28.

Having established, on the highest grounds of probability, the fact that the cataract has receded from Queenstown heights to its present position, Mr. Lyell inquires, at what rate has this retrogression been effected? This, he truly says, will always be a question of insuperable difficulty, 'because at every step, new strata have been successively exposed at the base of the precipice. According to their softer or harder nature, the undermining process must have been accelerated or retarded.' Some pages before, when noticing cursorily the calculations of Mr. Bakewell, jun., 'that in the forty years preceding 1880, the Niagara had been going back at the rate of about a yard annually,' he had stated his opinion, that 'one foot per year would be a much more probable conjecture, in which case, thirty-five thousand years would have been required for the retreat of the falls from the escarpment of Queenstown to their present site, *if we could assume that the retrograde movement had been uniform throughout,*' which, however, as he there also observes, 'could not have been the case,' as at every step in the process of excavation, the height of the precipice, the hardness of the materials at its base, and the quantity of fallen matter to be removed, must have varied. Mr. Lyell observes, with regard to the future retrocession of the Falls,—

'That when they have travelled back two miles, the massive limestone which now crops out at the top of the Falls, will then be at their base; and that its great hardness may perhaps effectually stop the excavating process, if it should not have been previously arrested by the descent of large masses of the same rock from the cliff above. It will also appear that the Falls, (which have already lost forty feet of perpendicular height for every mile they have receded) will continually diminish in height; and should they ever reach Lake Erie, they will intersect entirely different strata from those over which they are now thrown.'—vol. i. pp. 45, 46.

Here we must, for the present, leave Niagara, for interesting as are Mr. Lyell's subsequent discussions respecting the district

through which it flows, he finds it too long for his own pages : how much more so then for ours ! The subject we shall next advert to, shows that while those changes, whatever they may have been, which preceded the last elevation of the table land between lakes Erie and Ontario, were going on, the Divine Author of creation was elaborating for the use of man one of the most serviceable of all the productions of his hand.

In October 1841, Mr. Lyell, having previously seen the carboniferous strata at Blossberg, in Pennsylvania, visited some of the large mines of anthracite coal, amidst the inclined strata of the Alleghany mountains.

‘ The rocks of this chain consist of the silurian, devonian, and carboniferous groups, which are folded as if they had been subjected to a great lateral pressure when in a soft and yielding state ; large portions having been afterwards removed by denudation. No traveller can fail to remark the long and uniform ridges, with intervening valleys, like so many gigantic ridges and furrows, which mark the geographical outline of this region ; and these external features are found by the geologist to be intimately connected with the internal arrangement of the stratified rocks.’—vol. i. pp. 82, 83.

The mineral treasures of this district are immense. In the neighbourhood of Pottsville, there are no less than thirteen seams of anthracite coal, several of which are more than two, others more than three yards thick. Others, again, form a mass of fifty feet in thickness, ‘ without any greater interpolated matter than two thin layers of clay, with stigmariæ.’

‘ At Mauch Chunk, or the Bear Mountain, this remarkable bed of anthracite is quarried in the open air, and removed bodily together with the overlying sandstone, forty feet thick, the summit of the hill being ‘scalped,’ as one of the miners expressed it. The vegetable matter, which is represented by this enormous mass of anthracite, must, before it was condensed by pressure and the discharge of its hydrogen, oxygen, and other volatile ingredients, have been probably between 200 and 300 feet thick.’—vol. i. p. 85.

The superficial area of the entire Alleghany, or Appalachian coal field, to which the measures just noticed belong, amounts, according to Professor H. D. Rogers, on a moderate estimate, to sixty-three thousand square miles. This, however, is but one of several, which Mr. Lyell’s geological map displays.

It is supposed that the Appalachian coal field, and that of Illinois, though now distant from each other about one hundred and fifty miles at their nearest extremities, and separating at the other, or northern end, to treble that distance, were once once continuous field, the elevated middle portion of which has been, in some remote period, removed by denudation. In dis-

cussing with an American geologist the probability of this former continuity, and the possible extension of the strata over the flat dome, in the middle part of which, Cincinnati is built, Mr. Lyell states that they endeavoured to calculate the height which the central area would have attained, if the formation so removed, were again restored. Estimating the thickness of the strata of coal, subjacent conglomerate, Devonian and upper Silurian beds, which must have been carried away, from the mean of their aggregate dimensions on the east and west of Cincinnati, at not less than two thousand feet, and supposing these strata replaced on the tops of the blue limestone hills, near Cincinnati, which are about fourteen hundred feet above the level of the sea, they found the height of the dome would be nearly three thousand five hundred feet, which exceeds the average elevation of the Alleghany mountains.

But supposing these two great coal fields to have been thus united at one time, whence is it that the anthracite of the Appalachian chain and the bituminous coal of Illinois, 'originating as they did from precisely the same species of plants, and formed at the same period, should have become so very different in their chemical composition?' Indeed, to reach this question, we are not obliged to suppose the former union of the Illinois and Appalachian fields, for the coal at Blossberg, in Pennsylvania, and that at Brownville, and throughout the Pittsburgh seam, is bituminous. In the specimens which Mr. Lyell obtained from Pomeroy, Ohio, where the coal is bituminous, and the strata are undisturbed, the quantity of gaseous matter was found by Dr. John Percy of Birmingham—

'To be in the proportion of 19 per cent., the rest being carbon and ash; 2ndly. In the coal at Frostburg, in Maryland, in the midst of the Alleghany chain, where the strata have undergone but slight disturbance, the proportion of volatile matter was found to be $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; 3rdly. In the Pennsylvanian anthracite of the Lehigh and Mauch-Chunk mines, the volatile ingredients are about 5 per cent.'—vol. i. p. 248.

Ordinarily, on the Ohio, the proportion of hydrogen, oxygen, and other volatile matter, ranges from 40 to 50 per cent. From this point, where it is level and unbroken, it becomes progressively debituminized as the field stretches towards the bent and distorted rocks of the south-east, where, as at Pottsville, the strata having been actually turned over, it is found to contain only from 6 to 12 per cent. of bitumen, 'thus becoming, as Mr. Lyell says, a genuine anthracite.'

'It appears from the researches of Liebig, and other eminent chemists, that when wood and vegetable matter are buried in the earth,

exposed to moisture, and partially or entirely excluded from the air, they decompose slowly, and evolve carbonic acid gas, thus parting with a portion of their original oxygen. By this means they become gradually converted into lignite or wood-coal, which contains a larger proportion of hydrogen than wood does. A continuance of decomposition changes this lignite into common or bituminous coal, chiefly by the discharge of carburetted hydrogen, or the gas by which we illuminate our streets and houses. According to Bischoff, the inflammable gases which are always escaping from mineral coal, and are so often the cause of fatal accidents in mines, always contain carbonic acid, carburetted hydrogen, nitrogen, and olifant gas. The disengagement of all these gradually transforms ordinary or bituminous coal into anthracite, to which the various names of splint coal, glance coal, culm, and many others have been given.

'We have seen that in the Appalachian coal-field, there is an intimate connection between the extent to which the coal has parted with its gaseous contents, and the amount of disturbance which the strata have undergone. The coincidence of these phenomena may be attributed partly to the greater facility afforded for the escape of volatile matter, where the fracturing of the rocks had produced an infinite number of cracks and crevices, and also to the heat of the gases and water penetrating these cracks, when the great movements took place, which have rent and folded the Appalachian strata. It is well known, that at the present period, thermal waters and hot vapours burst out from the earth during earthquakes, and these would not fail to promote the disengagement of volatile matter from the carboniferous rocks.'—vol. i. pp. 90, 91.

While in the district where anthracite is burnt, Mr. Lyell had expressed a decided preference of it to the bituminous coal. It is curious, therefore, to read what old association afterwards induces him to say, on the other side,—

'At length we reached Laurel Hill, so called from its rhododendrons, the last of the great parallel ridges of the Alleghanies. From this height we looked down upon a splendid prospect; the low undulating country to the west appearing spread out far and wide before us, and glowing with the rays of the setting sun. At our feet lay the small town of Union, its site being marked by a thin cloud of smoke, which pleased us by recalling to our minds a familiar feature in the English landscape, not seen in our tour through the regions where they burn anthracite to the east of the Alleghanies.'—vol. ii. p. 24.

At Brownville, near Union, the Pittsburgh seam breaks out in the cliffs of the Monongahela, a large tributary of the Ohio, near the water's edge, and 'horizontal galleries may be driven every where at very slight expence, and so worked as to drain themselves, while the cars, laden with coal and attached to each other, glide down on a railway, so as to deliver their burthen

into barges moored to the river's bank. The same seam is seen at a distance on the right bank, breaking out horizontally in different places, in a sketch which Mr. Lyell has inserted (vol. ii. p. 27), and may be followed, he says, the whole way to Pittsburgh, fifty miles, retaining nearly the same horizontal direction.

We have hitherto said nothing of the mammal remains which Mr. Lyell met with in his travels. One of the most remarkable places whence these have been procured is the celebrated Big Bone Lick, in Kentucky, of which we have the following description :—

‘Two days after I reached Cincinnati, I set out in company with two naturalists of that city, Mr. Buchanan and Mr. J. G. Anthony, who kindly offered to be my guides, in an excursion to a place of great geological celebrity in the neighbouring state of Kentucky, called Big Bone Lick, where the bones of mastodons, and many other extinct quadrupeds, had been dug up in extraordinary abundance. Having crossed the river from Cincinnati, we passed through a forest far more magnificent for the size and variety of its trees than any we had before seen. The tulip tree, (*Liliodendron tulipiferum*,) the buck-eye, a kind of horse chesnut, the shagbark hickory, the beach, the oak, the elm, the chesnut, the locust-tree, the sugar-maple, and the willow, were in perfection; but no coniferous trees—none of the long leaved pines of the southern Atlantic border, nor the cypress, cedar, and hemlock of other states. These forests, where there is no undergrowth, are called ‘wood pastures.’ Originally the cane covered the ground, but when it was eaten up by the cattle, no new crop could get up, and it was replaced by grass alone.

‘Big Bone Lick is distant from Cincinnati about twenty-three miles in a south-west direction. The intervening country is composed of the blue argillaceous limestone and marl before mentioned, the beds of which are nearly horizontal, and form flat table-lands, intersected by valleys of moderate depth. In one of these, watered by the Big-Bone Creek, occur the boggy grounds and springs called Licks. The term Lick is applied throughout North America to those marshy swamps where saline springs break out, and which are frequented by deer, buffalo, and other wild animals, for the sake of the salt, whether dissolved in the water, or thrown down by evaporation in the summer season, so as to encrust the surface of the marsh. Cattle and wild beasts devour this incrustation greedily, and burrow into the clay impregnated with salt, in order to lick the mud. * * * * *

‘Within the memory of persons now living, the wild bisons or buffaloes crowded to these springs, but they have retreated for many years, and are now as unknown to the inhabitants as the mastodon itself. Mr. Phinney, the proprietor of the land, called our attention to two buffalo paths or trails, still extant in the woods here, both leading directly to the springs. One of these in particular, which first strikes off in a northerly direction from the Gum Lick, is afterwards traced eastward through the forest for several miles. It was three or

four yards wide, only partially overgrown with grass, and, sixty years ago, was as hard, bare, and well trodden, as a high road.

'The bog in the spots where the salt springs rise, is so soft, that a man may force a pole down into it many yards perpendicularly. It may readily be supposed, therefore, that horses, cows, and other quadrupeds, are now occasionally lost here; and that a much greater number of wild animals were mired formerly. It is well known, that during great droughts in the Pampas of South America, the horses, cattle, and deer throng to the rivers in such numbers, that the fore-most of the crowd are pushed into the stream by the pressure of others behind, and are sometimes carried away by thousands and drowned. In their eagerness to drink the saline water and lick the salt, the heavy mastodons and elephants seem in like manner to have pressed upon each other, and sunk in these soft quagmires of Kentucky.'—*ib.* pp. 61—65.

The greater proportion, both of the entire skeletons of extinct animals, and the separate bones, says Mr. Lyell, have been taken up from black mud, about twelve feet below the level of the creek. They consist of the remains of the mastodon (belonging, it is reckoned, to no fewer than one hundred distinct individuals) elephant, *e. primigenius*, (of which it is supposed that the remains of twenty have been found) stag, horse, *megalonix*, and bison. Mr. Lyell saw the remains of the common bison, in great numbers, in a superficial stratum recently cut open in the river's bank; but whether this species has ever been seen in such a situation as to prove it to have been contemporaneous with the mastodon, he was unable to ascertain. He considers that the horse, whose remains are found in the swamps of Kentucky, probably differed as much from our *Equus caballus*, as the zebra or wild-ass does, and 'as that found at Newborne, in North Carolina, appears to have done.' Mr. Lyell himself procured from these licks little more than a few teeth of buffaloes and immature mastodons. In his researches in South Carolina and Georgia, he was more successful; and the reader will find the account of his journey in those states replete with entertainment.

It is probable that not a few of our readers have observed the fragment of a fossilized human skeleton, imbedded in a slab of limestone from Guadaloupe, which is preserved in the British Museum. In the museum at Charleston, Mr. Lyell saw a fossilized human skull similarly imbedded, which he was told belonged to the same individual. The skull is wanting in the British specimen. What follows is also deserving of notice, since, in the whole range of geological research, there is no subject of higher interest than that of human fossils.

'When at Philadelphia, I was present at several meetings of the American Philosophical Society, and of the Academy of Natural Sciences. In the museum of the former body, I was shown a limestone from Santos, in Brazil, procured by Captain Elliot, of the United States Navy, which contains a human skull, teeth, and other bones, together with fragments of shells, some of them retaining a portion of their colour. The rock is less solid than that of Guadalupe, which it resembles. We are informed that the remains of several hundred other human skeletons, imbedded in a like calcareous tufa were dug out at the same place about the year 1827. The soil covering the solid stone supported a growth of large trees, which covered the face of a hill on the side of the river Santos. The height above the sea is not mentioned, and it is to be regretted that the notes obtained by Dr. Meigs from Captain Elliot were not fuller. I observed *serpula* in the rock, a shell which the natives would not have carried inland for food. On the whole, therefore, I should infer, though we need further evidence, that this stone has emerged from the sea, and that there had been previously a submergence of dry land, perhaps the site of an Indian burial ground'—vol. i. pp. 200, 201.

Among the subjects which attracted most of Mr. Lyell's attention, is the cause of the parallel ridges observable on the shores of lakes Erie (vol. ii. pp. 85—86), and Ontario (vol. i. p. 24, ii. pp. 103—106). We regret that we cannot extract the description of those on the lake Ontario, respecting which Mr. Lyell observes:—'With the exception of the parallel roads, or shelves, in Glen Roy, and some neighbouring glens in the western highlands in Scotland, I never saw so remarkable an example of banks, terraces, and accumulation of stratified gravel, sand, and clay, maintaining over wide areas so perfect a horizontality, as in this district north of Toronto.' The reader will find these descriptions highly interesting, and the disquisition on the cause of them, in vol. ii. pp. 106—12, is no less instructive than it is entertaining.

The only other geological topic to which we can refer, in connection with these volumes, is the ancient footmarks of birds and reptiles which have been traced in various places in the sandstone. This subject is beautifully illustrated by some observations of Mr. Lyell, in the course of his researches in Nova Scotia; but the extracts in which they are embodied are larger than our limits permit, greatly as we regret their omission.

The reader may find, in vol. i. p. 252, an account of some ancient specimens of the same kind seen by Mr. Lyell, in the red sandstone on the banks of the Connecticut river; and in the same volume, p. 166, Mr. Lyell describes some footsteps of racoons and opossums in the sand on the sea-shore, made but a

few hours previously, and some of which were already half filled with fine blown sand, 'shewing the process by which distinct casts may be formed of the footsteps of animals in a stratum of quartzose sandstone.' But we have exceeded our limits in reference to the geological matter of Mr. Lyell's volumes, and now therefore leave it, fully acquiescing in his remark, (vol. i. p. 19), though few of our extracts and references have exemplified it, 'that we must turn to the *New World*, if we wish to see in perfection the oldest monuments of the earth's history, so far at least as relates to its earliest inhabitants.' In the remainder of this paper, we shall notice the more miscellaneous topics which usually engage the traveller's attention—politics, institutions, society, antiquities, personal incident and adventure.

From Halifax, where, as we have seen, Mr. Lyell first touched the American shore, he proceeded to Boston, thence to New-haven, Springfield, New York, Albany, the Mohawk Valley, Niagara, Philadelphia, the Alleghany Mountains, and back again to Boston, in which city he remained several weeks, having engaged to deliver a course of lectures on Geology, at the Lowell Institute there. Early in December, he set out again on a tour to the southern states, traversing Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia. Having returned to Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, he again visits the Alleghanies, and different parts of Kentucky, passing by Pittsburg and Cincinnati, to Lake Erie, and Niagara again. Thence he proceeds by Lake Ontario, Toronto, Kingston, Montreal, Quebec, and through Vermont, once more to Boston; and finally leaves that city for Halifax, whence, after exploring some of the most interesting parts of Nova Scotia, he embarks for Liverpool. This is the general outline of his tour, which was further diversified by numerous excursions, usually with some American geological friend.

Our author's engagement at Boston, and frequent visits to the city, gave him good opportunities of inquiring into the state of education in Massachusetts. Of this he makes a remarkably favourable report. He also, in common with all well-informed travellers, speaks very highly of the tone of society in Boston. 'The mingling of the professors, both literary and scientific, with the eminent lawyers, clergymen, physicians, and principal merchants of the place, forms a society of a superior kind; and to these may be added several persons who, having inherited ample fortunes, have successfully devoted their lives to original researches in history and other departments.' There is in consequence of this, a widely-extended thirst for knowledge among the people, as is proved by the large attendance of all classes on

literary and scientific lectures. The number of tickets granted for Mr. Lyell's lectures, amounted to 4,500; and 'the class usually consisted,' he says, 'of more than 3,000 persons,' so that 'it was necessary to divide them into two sets, and repeat to one of them, the next afternoon, the lecture delivered on the preceding evening.' And such an audience appears to be no uncommon thing, even when the lecturer has not the adventurous advantage of novelty, or coming from a great distance. The hearers were of both sexes, of every station,—from the most affluent and the most learned, to the humblest mechanic,—'all well dressed, and observing the utmost decorum.' This mode of acquiring knowledge must indeed be a very favourite one at Boston; for it appears, on the authority of Mr. Everett, since minister of the United States, in this country, but formerly governor of the state of Massachusetts, that twenty-six courses of lectures delivered in the city, before the foundation of the Lowell Institute, were attended in the aggregate by 13,500 persons.

When at Boston, in April, 1842, our author had his attention very strongly drawn to the comparative character of educational institutions in England and the United States. On this occasion he speaks in terms of strong disapprobation respecting the Oxford and Cambridge system of education. We must not permit ourselves to enter now into a controversy so weighty and difficult, as that which Mr. Lyell here opens up; though we believe, with him, that the all but total suppression of university teaching by professional lectures, is a serious injury to these two universities.* But the subject is too complicated to be discussed in this paper, and as we hope soon to have an opportu-

* Mr. Lyell justly says: 'After the year 1839, we may consider three-fourths of the sciences still nominally taught at Oxford, to have been virtually exiled from the university. The class-rooms of the professors were some of them entirely, others nearly deserted. Chemistry and botany attracted, between the years 1840 and 1844, from three to seven students; geometry, astronomy, and experimental philosophy, scarcely more; mineralogy and geology, still taught by the same professor [Dr. Buckland], who, fifteen years before, had attracted crowded audiences, from ten to twelve; political economy, still fewer; even ancient history and poetry scarcely commanded an audience; and, strange to say, in a country with whose destinies those of India are so closely bound up, the first of Asiatic scholars [H. H. Wilson] gives lectures to one or two pupils; and these might have been absent, had not the cherished hope of a Boden scholarship for Sanscrit induced them to attend.' The same appears to be the state of things at Cambridge. Since we commenced the perusal of Mr. Lyell's volumes, the following passage caught our eye, in a recent Liverpool newspaper: 'The Cambridge professor of anatomy has five pupils; of chemistry, five; and of natural philosophy, two.' Of course, we do not vouch for the accuracy of this: but it accords too nearly with Mr. Lyell's testimony.

nity of doing it more ample justice, we shall carefully keep in view Mr. Lyell's well considered, and for the most part just reflections on it. The American system of college and professional training is, we believe, generally so well known to those interested in the subject, as not to require that we should communicate our author's information respecting it.

The following introduces a chapter, in which we have a fairer statement of a subject which has been in everyone's mouth—Repudiation—than we have elsewhere met with.

' Philadelphia, January to March, 1842.

'Wishing to borrow some books at a circulating library, I presented several dollar notes as a deposit. At home there might have been a ringing of coin upon the counter, to ascertain whether it was true or counterfeit: here the shopwoman referred to a small pamphlet, re-edited 'semi-monthly,' called a 'Detector,' and containing an interminable list of banks in all parts of the Union, with information as to their present condition, whether solvent or not, and whether paying in specie, and adding a description of 'spurious notes.' After a slight hesitation, the perplexed librarian shook her head, and, declaring her belief that my notes were as good as any others, said, if I would promise to take them back again on my return, and pay her in cash, I might have the volumes.

'It often happened, that when we offered to buy articles of small value in shops, or fruit in the market, the venders declined to have any dealings with us, unless we paid in specie. They remarked that their change might in a few days be worth more than our paper. Many farmers and gardeners are ceasing to bring their produce to market, although the crops are very abundant, and prices are rising higher and higher, as if the city was besieged. My American friends, anxious that I should not be a loser, examined all my dollar notes, and persuaded me, before I set out on my travels, to convert them into gold, at a discount of eight per cent. In less than four weeks after this transaction, there was a general return to cash payment, and the four banks, by which the greater part of my paper had been issued, all failed.'—vol. i. pp. 215, 216.

The great embarrassment in which several of the states have been, and some are still involved, results from an accumulation of causes; the proximate cause of that of Pennsylvania was, undoubtedly, the incautious remittance of the taxes which had been levied to pay the interest of the public debt, which amounted to £8,000,000 sterling, nearly two-thirds being held by British owners. These taxes had been imposed for seven years, at the expiration of which term it was expected that the public works would be sufficiently profitable to render it unnecessary to renew the tax. In 1836, the state received 2,600,000 dollars for granting a charter to the United States'

Bank of Pennsylvania, and 2,800,000 more for the share due to it of monies which had accumulated in the treasury of the federal government; when, calculating that these funds would last for the remaining three years, during which the taxes had to run, and after which the revenue of the public works was to supply their place, the government remitted the burden. This, however, turned out to be a great mistake. The controversy between President Jackson and the United States' Bank, and the lavish and imprudent pecuniary transactions of the latter soon afterwards followed. Besides this, says Mr. Lyell, 'some of the great London banks, at the same time, gave credit to a prodigious amount, often without sufficient caution; and when they were compelled to withdraw this credit suddenly, they had not time to distinguish which of their creditors [customers] were worthy of confidence. To this must be added, the great fire in New York, in 1834, which had destroyed property to the value of £6,000,000 sterling; and the extravagant over-issue of notes, occasioned by the numerous bank-charters granted by different states, after that the United States' Bank had ceased to be connected with the federal government.' Then came, in 1839, the miserable expedient of authorising banks to suspend cash payments; and, in 1841, the stoppage of the great United States' Bank of Pennsylvania, followed by a general panic and financial crisis.

Mr. Lyell, however, while he observes that it is necessary to reflect on these events, in order to understand how the insolvency of Pennsylvania was brought about, distinctly states that 'no American writer or statesman of any character pretends to excuse or palliate the conduct of her legislature in 1839, 1840, 1841.' He also shows that the reason why the deficiency remained unprovided for was because 'the party in power shrank from the unpopularity of laying on new taxes;' and adds, very justly, 'the slight share of discredit incurred by them at the time for this glaring act of bad faith, places in a strong light the mischief arising from the small power here confided to the executive.' Things are better since the new impost levied in 1844, but no measures can now fully rectify the mischief which has been so recklessly done.

Mr. Lyell informs us, vol. i., p. 233, that the new stock created when the American capitalists advanced the money which the central government failed, in 1842, to obtain in Europe, has since become saleable in Europe at a premium of 16 per cent.' He adds: 'the Americans have also made large purchases, in the years 1843 and 1844, of the bonds of Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, and even Pennsylvania; and had there been more capital seeking investment in the United States,

their securities generally would have changed hands to a greater extent.' The reason of this restored confidence is, that while twenty out of the twenty-nine states of the Union have either no debt, or have kept their engagements, only one (Mississippi) has formally repudiated, and that, though Michigan and Florida have used language bordering on repudiation, the other states in arrear have engaged to pay up; and several are doing what they can to fulfil their promises. Still, making every allowance, there must be a very widely-spread unsoundness of commercial principle pervading the states, and sapping the foundations of individual as well as public principle, where such a state of things could occur. The following circumstance, described in Mr. Lyell's second volume, completes the picture.

'I had hired a carriage at Frederick to carry me to Harper's Ferry, and thence to Hagar's-town, on the main road across the mountains. When I paid the driver, he told me that one of my dollar notes was bad, 'a mere personal note.' I asked him to explain, when he told me that he had issued such notes himself. 'A friend of mine at Baltimore,' he said, 'who kept an oyster store, once proposed to me to sign twenty-five such notes, promising that if I could eat out their value in oysters, he would circulate them. They all passed, and we never heard of them again.' I asked how he reconciled this transaction to his conscience? He replied that *their currency was in a very unsound state (!)*—all the banks having suspended cash payments, and their only hope was that matters would become so bad that they must begin to mend. In short, it appeared that he and his friend had done their best to hasten on so desirable a crisis.'—vol. ii. pp. 7, 8.

In the course of his extensive journeys through the States and Canada, Mr. Lyell had many opportunities of seeing the singular combination which these countries present of rudeness and civilization. The progress of the state of Ohio since the commencement of the present century, is truly wonderful. At that time, 'its population amounted to 45,365; in the next ten years it had increased five-fold; and in the ten which followed it again, more than doubled. In 1840, it had reached 1,600,000 souls, all free, and almost without any admixture of the coloured race.' Commensurate with this has been its progress in other respects. The shaggy wilderness has been broken up, and cleared into a land of steam-boats, canals, schools, churches, villages, and towns. And, vast as is its present increase, this is as nothing to what is certainly preparing for it.

The stream of emigration to the 'far-west,' which has caused even the astounding increase of the population of Ohio to be considerably under what it would otherwise have been, is, perhaps, all things considered, the greatest wonder of our time. 'I am informed,' says Mr. Lyell,—

'That in the beginning of the present year, 1842, the foremost band of emigrants have reached the Platte River, a tributary of the Missouri. This point is said to be only half-way between the Atlantic and the Rocky Mountains; and the country beyond the present frontier is as fertile as that already occupied. De Tocqueville calculated that along the borders of the United States from Lake Superior to the Gulf of Mexico, extending a distance of more than one thousand two hundred miles as the bird flies, the whites advanced every year at a mean rate of seventeen miles; and he truly observes, that there is a grandeur and solemnity in this gradual and continuous march of the European race towards the Rocky Mountains. He compares it to 'a deluge of men, rising unabatedly, and daily driven onwards by the hand of God.'—vol. ii. p. 77.

A few miles below Wheeling, on the left bank of the Ohio, Mr. Lyell visited the remains of some ancient Indian works. These remains consist of a large mound of earth thrown up on a terrace of stratified sand and gravel, which rises seventy-five feet above the Ohio. Skeletons have been found in the mound at various depths, with pipe-heads and other ornaments, the workmanship of which 'implies a more advanced state of the arts than that attained by the rude Indians who inhabited this fertile valley when it was first discovered by the white man.' The valley of the Ohio possesses several such mounds, but no tradition has survived respecting their origin. That this is very remote is unquestionable; for, in a tree which grew in one of them, whence human bones have been obtained, eight hundred rings of annual growth were counted. But these earth-works are not all mere mounds. Some of them are stated by General Harrison, the late president of the States, who investigated their form and age with great diligence, to be 'extensive lines of embankment, varying from a few feet to ninety feet in altitude, and enclosing areas of from one to two hundred acres.'

The General, who, as Mr. Lyell informs us, was 'practically versed in wood-craft, and all that relates to the clearing of new lands,' has derived from the present appearance of these mounds and of the surrounding country, an argument of considerable force in favour of their remote antiquity. We give it, as quoted by our author, with his own observations intermingled.

'These sites,' says General Harrison, 'present precisely the same appearances as the circumjacent forest. You find on them all that beautiful variety of trees which give such unrivalled richness to our forests. This is particularly the case in the fifteen acres included within the walls of the work at the mouth of the great Miami, and the relative proportions of the different kinds of timber are about the same.'

'He then goes on to observe, that if you cut down the wood on

any piece of wild land, and abandon it to nature, the trees do not grow up as before, but one or two, or at most three species, get possession of the whole ground, such, for example, as the yellow locust, or the black and white walnut. The process by which the forest recovers its original state, is extremely slow. 'On a farm of my own,' says he, 'at the end of fifty years, so little progress had been made, as to shew that ten times that period would be necessary to effect its complete assimilation. When those kinds of timber which first establish themselves have for a long time remained undisputed masters of the soil, they at length die of disease, or are thinned by the lightning and tempest. The soil has no longer a preference for them, and by a natural rotation of crops, other species succeed, till at length the more homogeneous growth ceases, and the denuded tract is again clothed with a variety of wood.' As the sites of the earthworks command extensive views, it is reasonable to infer that no trees were suffered by the Indians to spring up upon them, or in the immediate neighbourhood; and as no difference could be detected in the mixture of trees upon and near the mounds from the state of the surrounding forest, General Harrison concludes that several generations of trees had succeeded each other before the present trees began to grow, and that the mounds are probably as ancient at least as the Christian era'—*ib.* pp. 34, 5.

Our author raises the question, how these more civilized Indians could have been dispossessed of the rich valleys of the Ohio by the thinly-scattered, rude tribes who were found there by the European settlers; and mentions General Harrison's suggestion, 'that a great flood, like those which occurred in 1793 and 1832 after heavy rains, when the Ohio was unusually blocked up with ice, may have swept off Indian towns and villages, and caused the terrified occupants to remove.' Their territory might then, from long desertion, have added to its luxuriant fertility, have become a great resort for game, and so have come to be in process of time 'a common hunting-ground for the hostile tribes of the north and south, and consequently a great arena for battle.' In this state it continued when first visited by the whites.

'Dr. Merton,' continues Mr. Lyell, 'in his luminous and philosophical essay on the aboriginal race of America, seems to have proved that all the different tribes, except the Esquimaux, are of one race, and that this race is peculiar and distinct from all others. The physical characteristics of the Fuegians, the Indians of the tropical plains, those of the Rocky Mountains, and of the great valley of the Mississippi, are the same, not only in regard to feature and external lineament, but also in osteological structure. After comparing nearly four hundred crania, derived from tribes inhabiting almost every region of both Americas, Dr. Merton has found the same peculiar shape pervading all, 'the squared or rounded head, the

flattened or vertical occiput, the high cheek bones, the ponderous maxillæ, the large quadrangular orbits, and the low receding forehead.' The oldest skulls from the cemeteries of Peru, the tombs of Mexico, or the mounds of the Mississippi and Ohio, agree with each other, and are of the same type as the heads of the most savage existing tribes. If we next turn to their arts and inventions, we find that a canoe, excavated from a single log, was the principal vessel in use throughout the new world at the period of its discovery, the same primitive model existing among the Fuegians, the predatory Caribs, and the more advanced Mexican tribes—*ib.* 36, 37.

The negro slaves, whom Mr. Lyell saw in the southern states, were mostly well treated, and appeared very comfortable and contented; but he saw, he observes, only house servants, and none engaged in the plantations, whose condition is much less tolerable. He by no means, however, shut his eyes to the great evils of slavery, either as regards the state or the individual; and the reader will find in his ninth chapter (vol. i., pp. 184—195), a careful consideration of the slavery of the southern states, its disastrous influence on the wealth and morals of the states, and the means by which it might be extirpated. These observations are worthy of Mr. Lyell's high reputation as a man familiarized by liberal studies to deep and comprehensive views of society and civilization.

We find in Mr. Lyell's volumes but few traits of the oddities and impertinences which are usually supposed to abound in the character of the republicans of North America. The society in which he usually lived was remarkably free from anything of the kind; besides which his own taste did not lie in the line of such researches. He says, somewhere in his work, that, doubtless, if travellers mix with all classes, descending to society which they would avoid at home, expressly, as they declare, to study human nature, they may easily find peculiarities they are unaccustomed to in England, but the same course would lead to the same end in their own country. This no one can doubt who has read the works of Dickens; or but a leaf or two, which is all we can boast of having seen, of the once popular book called 'Life in London.' He also says, when describing his tour in Nova Scotia, 'The longer, indeed, that I remained here, the larger were the deductions I found it necessary to make from those peculiarities that I had imagined, during my sojourn in the United States, to be the genuine fruits of a republican, as contrasted with a monarchical constitution—of an American as distinguished from a British supremacy.'

The opportunities which Mr. Lyell had of investigating the true character and effects of the establishment of the voluntary principle in the Union, induce him, though an episcopalian, to

express a highly favourable opinion of it. In regard to the preaching in the churches, of all denominations, which he entered, he 'thought it good,' and 'there seemed to me,' he says, (vol. i., p. 204), 'to be two great advantages at least in the voluntary principle; first, that the ministers are in no danger of going to sleep; and, secondly, that *they concern themselves much less with politics* [the italics are ours] *than is the case with us*. To be without a body of dissenters, dissatisfied with their exclusion from ecclesiastical endowments, is a national blessing, which not only every statesman, but every churchman, will admit.' This is much for a churchman to say, too much, perhaps, pressed to its consequences, for any really consistent churchman to say. But Mr. Lyell should hardly, with his knowledge, have written what implies that the dissenters of this country are dissatisfied *with their exclusion from ecclesiastical establishments*. Speaking of Nova Scotia, he has expressly said, 'the baptists, who predominate greatly in number and position in society, are opposed, *on principle*, to all ecclesiastical endowments by the state;' and he must be aware that the great majority of English dissenters hold the same conviction. The only body in Great Britain to whom Mr. Lyell's language fairly applies, is the Free Church of Scotland, with whom here and there some of the other Scotch presbyterian dissenters will be found to agree. It is a great truth, however, and, in an episcopalian churchman's book, a startling one, that the removal of the political dissent which endowments occasion, would be a national blessing; and though Mr. Lyell, overrating the bad effects of competition as feeding undue excitement, (which we think he would not do, if he made allowance for the influence of the 'go-a-head' character of American enterprise on the habits of society), is 'by no means prepared to say whether there may not be a balance of evil in the voluntary system sufficient to outweigh the gain alluded to,' we shall raise no quarrel with one whose whole work shows him to be perfectly ingenuous both in examining what he is unacquainted with, and appreciating and acknowledging whatever he finds good in it. We do not say, that he will ever be a full convert to voluntarism, though we think it not improbable; but we will say, that with a preponderance of such men in parliament, it would be impossible for an establishment such as ours, long to continue in existence.

In speaking of the custom which obtains in America of founding separate theological seminaries for the different denominations, Mr. Lyell quotes the remark of 'a living satirist,' that 'the force of sectarian animosity, like that of gravity, increases inversely as the squares of the distance.' Whom he

intended by the 'living satirist,' we do not certainly know, as the same remark has, in substance, been frequently made; (though, we presume, the saying, as quoted, may be due to the late distinguished wit, who might have been the prince of Merry Andrews, had he not been a prebendary;) but with all the *prestige* there is in favour of any current or proverbial saying, we must suggest a modification of this. The interests of different denominations unquestionably come into collision in particular neighbourhoods, in proportion as the denominations themselves approximate in principle or profession. The difficulty of distinguishing between them then becomes proportionally greater, though the necessity of such distinction proportionally diminishes, and thus it may, and often does occur, in particular instances, that the pains taken to maintain the distance, increase inversely as the squares of it. But it is well known that on the broad scale this is not the case, that the nearer denominations are in their essential spirit, the more unitedly they act together, and this is shown in all great evangelical movements by all the larger evangelical denominations.

When parting with Niagara, we intended to reserve a place for the description of the 'burning spring,' (vol. ii., pp. 90, 91,) at its edge, above the rapids; but this, with some other natural phenomena we had marked for insertion, we must leave to the reader's curiosity; and shall therefore close our extracts with the following specimen of 'acquired manners,' which we presume to think worthy of a place in the next series of Mr. Jesse's 'gleanings in natural history.'

'From the Lehigh summit mine (in the Alleghanies) we descended for nine miles on a railway impelled by our own weight, in a small car, at the rate of twenty miles an hour. A man sat in front checking our speed by a drag on the steeper declivities, and oiling the wheels without stopping. The coal is let down by the same railroad, sixty mules being employed to draw up the empty cars every day. In the evening the mules themselves are sent down, standing four abreast, and feeding out of mangers the whole way. We saw them start in a long train of waggons, and were told, that so completely do they acquire the notion that it is their business through life to pull weights up hill, and ride down at their ease, that if any of them are afterwards taken away from the mine and set to other occupations, they willingly drag heavy loads up steep ascents, but obstinately refuse to pull any vehicle down hill, coming to a dead halt at the commencement of the slightest slope.'—vol. i pp. 102, 103.

The thanks of the scientific and those who, without being scientific, love science, and almost equally with theirs, the thanks of Britons and Americans of all ranks are due to the author of

these interesting volumes. They are not, indeed, the whole result of his transatlantic tour, but—for his more elaborate geological papers on the Blossberg coal district, and stigmaria; the recession of the Falls of Niagara; the tertiary formations in Virginia, and other parts of the United States; the fossil foot-prints of birds, and impressions of rain-drops in Connecticut valley; the tertiary strata of Martha's Vineyard, in Massachusetts; the geological position of the *mastodon giganteus*, and other remains at Big Bone Lick, Kentucky, and other localities in the United States; and on upright fossil trees, found in the coal strata of Cumberland, Nova Scotia—for these papers, and others on related subjects published, or preparing for publication, the members of the Geological Society, and the readers of Silliman's journals and of the Quarterly journal of the Geological Society must, as they assuredly will, thank him. We tender Mr. Lyell our sincere acknowledgments, in which we believe that all his readers will heartily join, for one of the most interesting as well as the most candid and fairest works on North America that has appeared in England. It deserves a place in every collection of scientific works, or works illustrative of national character; and, with its varied embellishments, must meet alike the wishes of the man of science and the man of taste, the geological or the general reader.

Art. VI. *The Nonconformist*, Sept. 40th and 17th, 1845.—*The Patriot*, Sept. 11th.—*The Times*, Sept. 12th.

THE election in Southwark, together with the previous one in Sunderland which undeniably exercised a certain influence upon the other, have brought into increasing prominence the principles on which the tactics of particular interests ought in reason to be conducted. If there be one use in a representative system more visible than another, it is that it shall give room for the gradual developement and peaceful growth of interests, and not place the public machine at the unmitigated mercy of the party which for the time being shall be in possession of the turn of the scale. The agreement, it is true, is that legislative acts shall be determined by the numerical majority of the representatives by the existing laws appointed. But it is also part of the agreement, that the minority shall be heard, and that to be heard it shall be there. If it were not for this, 330 of the actual mem-

bers of the House of Commons might decree the exclusion or the silence of the other 328. And it is likely that attempts in this direction might occasionally take place, if it were not for the dread of the interference from without, which would inevitably be the consequence.

The reasons for every part of this are tolerably plain and satisfactory; and the plainest one of all, is the necessity for not encountering the perpetual shock of changing the public guidance from the hands of one set of lords and masters to another, with the acerbity which would ensue from making the change total and absolute, and with none of the mitigation which arises from allowing the minority in all stages to be heard. In fact it would be a branch of that policy of barbarian governments, which, by way of silencing a minority, chops off its head.

The question next arises, as to what are to be the tactics of particular interests, aiming not so much at the decision of whether this or that set of administrators shall take the helm of the state, as at the illustration and defence of certain opinions they view as of prime importance to themselves, and which they are anxious to see carried forward under 'whatever king may reign.' And this they can only do by their action on elections; an action, too, in which the parties concerned along with them, are probably not such as may be openly demanding the adoption of a totally hostile course in politics, but parties with whom on many points—and it may be, on the greatest absolute number of points as counted upon the fingers—they agree; but who differ from them by something which may be anywhere from an inferior zeal to a positive hostility, upon the one or more points on which they distinctively set an overwhelming value.

And here the first thing that occurs will be, that there is a total absence of anything like the compact to abide by a numerical majority, which existed in the other case. The 'river in Macedon' and 'river in Monmouth,' with the 'salmons in both,' are but a type of the feebleness of the argument which should infer a likeness. To admit it, would be to concede, that if in the constituencies which send the 658 members of which the House of Commons is composed, the earnest reformers were 49 per cent. of what claim the general name of Liberals, there should not appear in parliament a single representative or mouth-piece of such a minority throughout the land. The thing is too absurd for maintenance. It is only by a blunder that it can ever have been put forward; and to demonstrate the absurdity, is, with sensible men, to end it.

The overpowering argument then, which may dispense with producing the other ninety-and-nine if they are there, is, that to agree to what is commonly expressed by *going to a ballot*, is

in principle to give up all the chances of all the minorities in the country, for ever making themselves heard by a single mouth-piece in parliament, till they can get the majority, and then, by the application of the same rule, come in like a thunder-clap in turn. Sane men will never agree to this, and sane men never did. But there are other reasons worth being added. In the process described by 'going to the ballot,' no man has the slightest belief or trust in the honesty of his adversary. On the contrary, every man comes to the process with the firmest conviction, that he is to be cheated if the thing is within the limits of the possible; and this feeling is confirmed by the knowledge of the atrocious and elsewhere incredible things which have been done on such occasions. The consequence of which is to impress upon all parties, to the extent to which the capability of yielding to temptation may exist in their physical or mental organization, that their only chance of keeping their heads above water, is to do like others. The case resembles that of gambling. An honest and conscientious man does not say, that because he does not mean to cheat, he will go and be cheated. He does a better thing; he keeps away. Another reason why he does so, is because he knows that if he wins, nothing is more certain than that his disappointed adversary will fasten on him with a charge of cheating. Upon the whole, he uses his wits, and declines the meeting.

What then is to be the law by which a minority of the kind supposed, is to conduct itself? Simply the law by which its members have conducted themselves in the other affairs of life; doing the best they can for themselves, without breaking any rule they would claim to be applied to themselves if the parties were reversed. And here it is plain, they would never think of anything so unreasonable, as demanding of other individuals to vote against their own wishes and interests, because they, the demanders, liked it. They would first ask themselves what just cause they could advance why the others should accede to their demand; and if no such cause could be produced, they would leave the others to take their own way quietly.

What then will be a just cause? For example, it may be pleaded, that some great general detriment will arise, from the demanders not having their way. But the persons of whom the demand is made, must be judges of the detriment that is to arise out of their refusal. If they think the alleged detriment would be no detriment, or that their own share of it is to be overbalanced by the good that is to arise to them from a contrary course, their vote was given to them, within the limits of honesty, for their own use and service, and not for their neighbours'. This might not hold in an extreme case fabricated for the

purpose ; as, for instance, if men were to propose to vote for bringing a lion into the street for the pleasure of seeing him wag his tail ; but it may hold very well, when the question is of voting for some political or religious object of importance to themselves, at the hazard of seeing one set of ministers changed for another, between whom they see little or no difference to choose. Whatever the difference may actually be, it is plain that the voter must be the judge of it, and of its magnitude compared with the importance of his other object. If it was not so, then everybody must have somebody set over him to tell him how to vote. Voting, or at least the liberty of it, would be at an end.

The truth is, the whole difficulty is an emanation from that intolerance of majorities, which it is the very object of representative government to repress and to keep at bay. Men submit to majorities in parliament, not from the idea of any wisdom in parliament or in the majorities, but because they present a rough indication of what would be the result if the same question were tried by the rule of physical force. A country obeys laws far from good, because the badness of the law is an inconsiderable evil compared with the damage of a civil war. But there is no such ground for acquiescence in the fancies of a knot of borough politicians. They may fume, and to their ability may vilify and abuse ; but there is nothing in the results which should induce men of ordinary nerve to quail before their anger. It may be painful to be 'crossed in despotism,' whether in a kingdom or a constituency ; but the sufferers must exert patience under the trial. Men are not found in considerable numbers collecting about a cause which is entirely unreasonable. If the complainants have tried moderation and argument, and the grosser intellects of their neighbours refuse to be charmed, they must submit, as in all ages has been done, to allow their neighbours to have an opinion of their own. It may be an evil in their eyes ; but it is not an evil to make a rout about, any more than that their neighbours do not all come to their shops, or set up their horses at the same hostelry.

To descend from generals to particulars, will lead to the inquiry of who are the exclaimed against on the present occasion, and what is the danger they insisted on incurring by their 'impracticability.' The complaint is neither against new men nor a new cause. The opponents of establishments in religion, are the conductors of the outbreak. They say they will vote for their own man, and not for 'the best bad man' that shall be offered them by somebody else. And among other reasons for this, they state, that the danger of what may come by the system, is, in their eyes at least, of inconsiderable magnitude compared with the possible good. They believe that for a poor and oppressed minority, to get one mouth-piece of their own in par-

liament, is of more consequence than sending fifty men to say Aye or No upon a question, which amounts only to settling whether one set of men or another between whom they see small difference, shall sit on the right hand of the Speaker. They do not go the length of saying, in parody of what the Whig organs have boastfully put forth, that they had rather see a House of Commons of the rawest and most obsolete Tories, than of men who shall go one step beyond or below themselves. But they say they see so little difference, that they will not give up their own immediate jewel for it. They see a state of things in which the old and recognized party divisions are playing at cross purposes; Tories anxious to show that they can be liberal, at the hazard even of disunion among their ranks, and Whigs refusing to do good when nothing hinders, and bent upon keeping up their credit for all the obsolete illiberalities. On the intensely important question, for instance, of war or peace, the Tory point of honour at this moment is visibly to prove, that Tory ministers can maintain the peace of Europe. While to keep the continent in a fidget, with wars that could, would, should, or ought to be;—to fret little boys in France and elsewhere with the idea of war steamers that are to be ready to throw shells into their Papas' conservatories;—is manifestly the bee in the bonnet of the noble lord who sits in incubation on the hopes of Whig pugnacity. China, India, and Acre, attest the unfitness of grown children to be trusted with gunpowder. Texas torn from the leaf of Mr. Canning's republics, by connivance approaching to co-operation, in spite of the protests of honest Tories; (*See debates on Mr. Barlow Hoy's Motions of 5th August, 1836, and 9th March, 1837*), and when nothing was wanted but six inches of state-paper to cry 'stop thief' on the palpably intended appropriation,—in its consequences possibly the greatest 'world-misfortune' recorded in history,—presents no inducement to martyrdom for the sake of recalling the miserable officers who had charge of the deck when this wretched consummation was permitted without remonstrance. If the sovereign of a neighbouring country were to de cease at any moment it may be chosen to suppose, the object of ambition of a Tory minister would be to post himself in history as the man who got over the little passions of place and party, and kept the world in quiet; the ambition of what is called a Whig government would, unless all modern precedents are false, be to show that they too could make field-m Marshals and post-captains like their rivals, and resuscitate the glories of the anti-revolutionary time. On the next important question, of Free Trade, the Whigs are good only as what the ladies of Steele's and Addison's time appear to have called a *shoeing-horn*,

an instrument to push somebody else to the desired point, and make him do what they will never do themselves. They had the chance of being the winners, if they liked ; and they refused. So now they are sunk into the humbler office.

These, and facts of the same bearings, are reasons which make it absurd to suppose, that men bold, eager, of the toughest stuff of which heaven frames humanity, as history proves the defenders of religious liberty in all ages to have been, will draw in their horns like a snail, before the approach of such a bugbear as the danger of keeping out a Whig ministry. There was an utter want of calculation about those who brought it forward, joined to much of that pride which goes before a fall. Nothing could match the bitterness of the Whig journals on the affair of Sunderland, founded, when examined, on the fact, that the candidate there, after having been on the ground for two and twenty months on the invitation and adoption of various public meetings, did not withdraw at the intimation of their pleasure, before a candidate invited by no public meeting or avowed supporters, and making his appearance by virtue of a bill desiring the constituents to withhold their votes. Or if the objection was any more, it was that the candidate would not go to what is called a ballot. Men have a right to propose such things, if they like ; but they have not a right to get into a passion about it. Still less have they a right to make all kinds of misrepresentations hostile to public character through their journals, and refuse the contradiction when asked. All this amounted to a declaration of interminable war. It was announcing that no care, no caution, no zeal not to offend, could prevent the unmeasured hostility, of gentlemen who saw an immorality and breach of public propriety in anybody's being a candidate without an invitation from themselves. As such, there is no doubt that it produced its effect in Southwark. It set many free, who before felt a leaning towards the ancient bondage.

The points on which the minority in Southwark stood out, were two ; the Maynooth question, which may be considered as the foundation of their movement, and the question of the justice of universal suffrage, which was in some sort incidentally brought on the carpet afterwards. The first is easily stated. There are but two ways of pretending to avoid palpable injustice to some or other of the different religious sects existing in a civilized community. One is, to make no public levy for the expenses of religious observances at all, and consequently leave all sects to pay their own. Another is, to make a levy, and divide it in proportion to the contributions of different sects to the fund. Either of these ways might secure the principle of political justice, if every body was contented with it ; which

they are not. But if the Dissenters, or part of them, say they see objections to one of these ways, *even if it were offered to them, which it is not*; they have a right to their objection, and to stand by it at elections as well as they are able. It is of no use pretending to offer a man justice in a way which he cannot or will not accept. His objection may appear unreasonable to the offerer,—that is to say, it may be one which the offerer would never think of putting forward himself; but objections must be measured by the objector's feelings, not those of the other party. If a man owed a dinner to a Jew, it would be of no use to offer to pay it him in pork. The refusal to take it out in pork may be reasonable or not in the eyes of the other party; but that the creditor had rather leave it untouched than be paid in that way, is a valid reason why the offer is naught.

At the same time, the reasons why the Dissenters, or the earnest ones, resist the proposal for an equality of payments, are neither visionary nor unsubstantial. They are simply that all transit through the hands of a government, in their ideas, makes pig's-meat of the thing offered, and they cannot eat it;—that each particular payment is of the nature of a bait with a hook in it, and they cannot swallow the bait because it is offered to all alike. All dependence on a government for the support of religious worship, they view as an interference with what ought not to be interfered with; and therefore they have a right to insist on the other mode of doing justice, which is, that everybody shall be let alone. They have no particular hope or expectation of bringing everybody to the same pitch of refusing government assistance; but having brought themselves to that point, they mean to stand on it, and make the best they can of it. Besides these their general objections to the Maynooth grant, they had also their particular. They viewed it as an effort, not to move towards any principle of division which should be intrinsically equable, but merely to prop up the largest piece of tottering injustice, by doing something in aid of what they meant to constitute the next largest. And in this light they knew the grant was viewed by numbers of the Roman Catholics themselves.

In the other, or what has been called the incidental question, the dispute was on the abstract recognition of the truth, that 'universal suffrage is universal justice.' There was no question raised or raiseable, of what was to be practically done now or at any particular period it was possible to assign. It was the contest of principle against expediency, not for the purpose of doing what is not expedient, but with the object of waving the principle over men's heads, as a banner which shall end in uniting them in the discovery that justice is expediency. The opponent

hesitated and refined, and laid himself out to catch the feeble, who are the many. And his result called to mind the attempted composition of a timid orator, who, perplexed amid the roar of parties demanding different rates of qualification for the exercise of political privileges, sought a safe medium by exclaiming, 'I cannot but admit with the majority present, that a qualification of ten pounds is too much; and I cannot help feeling, with gentlemen on the other side, that a qualification of five pounds would be too little; I am therefore *for seven pounds ten.*'

Either or both of the grounds taken, were good and sufficient bases for independent action for those who thought so. Either men must use their right of suffrage for the purpose of approximating to such objects as they individually think worthiest, or there must be set up some new inquisition into men's actions, of which the foundations are in a submission more abject than it has yet entered into the heart of church or government to conceive.

What remains, is to show the course open to the energetic to pursue. Among the constituencies sending the six hundred and fifty eight members to parliament, there are, in round numbers, three hundred and fifty where the interference of the earnest supporters of religious equality would be sensibly felt. Of these, above seventy are places sending two or more members, where they might have a substantial prospect of effecting the introduction of one member of their own opinions, now or on another occasion. Upwards of one hundred and forty more, are places of the same kind where the experiment would be worth making. And the remainder are places sending one member, where something, more or less, might be expected from the same course of effort. Among all these, something of final importance may be compassed; and there is no fear of doing too much. The fallacy which checks the possible, for fear of stumbling on the impossible, is not for grown men. The Dissenters are in no danger of ousting every Whig and making a parliament of Hudsons. They only want fair play; and fair play, is getting as many members as they can.

The particulars of these places have long been in the hands of the respectable and numerous party who are engaged in promoting the improvement of the suffrage. And there is no general or abstract hostility between them and the party who act for religious freedom, which should lead to the conclusion that they would necessarily stand in each other's way. In three cases out of four, it is very likely their objects might be pursued in concert. A more powerful party still, the party of Free Trade, have also demonstrated that they are not alarmed

at the idea of popular alliance. The enemies of slavery and war may be expected to find out, that they have more chance of furthering their objects by joining with others to have mouth-pieces of their own, than by trusting to what shall be said or done for them by those who will say or do nothing but the other way. In politics, as in other things, strength attracts strength.

On the whole, therefore, there seems reason to hope, that the Southwark election, with such stimulus as it received from the Sunderland, will prove the commencement of a series of efforts in a great cause, which may end not only in the advancement of that cause, but in the resuscitation of the grand struggle for Further Reform in all kinds which, through the treachery of presumed friends has so long unworthily been in abeyance. As has often happened, the violence of opponents has led to breaking up the trammels of the ancient prejudice. Gessler's hat made Switzerland find out she could be free; and the overbearing claims of the party calling themselves Moderates at one or two elections, may have led to the discovery that Further Reform can be obtained, without waiting for their time.

The course pursued by Mr. Miall and his friends was not, therefore, an unadvised one. We assert this deliberately, and with a confidence as firm as that which we expressed last month. There was no other course open to them as consistent and honourable men, and *they* are consequently free from the disgrace of defeat. With proud satisfaction they may look in upon their own hearts, and appeal from the prejudice and passion of the hour to the calmer judgment of a not distant day. The defeat, so far as it has been sustained,—and this is only superficial and temporary—is attributable to other causes, which reflect little credit on the consistency or faithfulness of many dissenters. The borough of Southwark, it is well known, contains a larger proportion of dissenters than most others. Of the liberal constituency they constitute, unquestionably, the majority, and had recently, on many occasions, in public meetings assembled, strongly avowed their hostility to the ecclesiastical policy of these times, and their determination to maintain their distinctive principles in the future exercise of their electoral rights. Their numbers were known to be sufficient to insure success, and their resolutions were supposed to be pledges of the zeal with which they would seize the first opportunity of doing so. When, therefore, a vacancy occurred in the representation of the borough, it was concluded, by the earnest friends of religious liberty, that the best possible occasion presented itself, for passing judgment on the ecclesiastical policy of our rulers. Self-respect, as well as fidelity to truth, required that

advantage should be taken of the opportunity, and Mr. Miall 'rendered to religious liberty the most important service of his life' in permitting himself to be nominated on the occasion. This was the opinion we recorded last month, before the issue of the contest was known, and subsequent events have greatly strengthened our conviction.

No other candidate was in the field to whom the dissenting constituency could look. Mr. Pilcher was of course out of the question. A Conservative in politics, and a State-Churchman in religion, his anti-Maynooth views were too narrow in their basis, and too questionable in their source, to permit their votes to be recorded in his favour. Sir William Molesworth, so far as his general politics were concerned, was in a different position. These accorded with the views of a majority of the dissenting electors, and had they only been concerned, no opposition would have been attempted. But the Southwark dissenters were pledged to other principles than those of general politics, and on these there was a wide difference between them and Sir William Molesworth. This was indicated in the silence of his address, on the ecclesiastical question, which had so recently and so powerfully agitated the English people; and was still more distinctly disclosed at an early public meeting, when, in answer to the enquiries of an elector, he affirmed, that had he been in the House during the past Session he should have voted for the Maynooth Bill. This was enough, and ought to have decided the matter. Such an avowal, unaccompanied by any acknowledgement of change of view, or purpose of deferring to the known sentiments of the constituency, ought to have determined every elector who took part against the Maynooth grant, to refuse his vote to the honourable Baronet. But though enough, it was not all. As if his purpose had been to render more glaring and disgraceful the conduct of his dissenting supporters, he went on to affirm that 'he reserved to himself the right of following whatever course he considered right and necessary,' should it ever be proposed to endow the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland. Such were the declared sentiments of the candidate against whom Mr. Miall entered the field, with professions unambiguous, an ecclesiastical creed in strict accordance with the principles which the dissenters of Southwark had recently and loudly avowed, and with a character so transparently honest as to render his words the unsuspected expression of his mind. Between two such men it might have been thought that dissenting electors could not have hesitated for a moment. Their principles, their professions, and their recent zeal; the experience they had had of the worthlessness of general avowals of liberality; the contempt with which they had

been treated by the Whig-radical party when their services at the hustings were not needed; the incalculable importance of their judgment being recorded against the infidel policy of the day; the danger which threatened religious freedom, under the delusive guise of justice to Ireland, and which looked ultimately, with a threatening aspect, on the civil liberties of the empire; the desirableness, in these times especially, of an intelligent, faithful, and earnest advocacy, in the Commons House, of those great principles on which the Christian church is based; all these, and various other considerations, it might have been conjectured, would be present to the dissenters of Southwark, and determine, without a moment's hesitancy, their preference of Mr. Miall. But the result has proved otherwise, and the fact, we acknowledge, is one of the most humiliating with which we have ever met.

The decision of the electors has been in favour of Sir William Molesworth, by an overwhelming majority. He is not simply the representative of Southwark, but he polled upwards of five times the number of his opponent. This is a material fact, and it must be borne in mind, if a right use be made of the event. We have no wish to understate the matter. So far as the recent election is concerned, it has been a total and thorough defeat. This is notorious, and it would be sheer folly to deny it. No explanation can be given of this fact which does not trench on the respect in which we wish to hold the parties concerned. It is true that Sir William Molesworth's organization was complete, and had been for months in operation before Mr. Miall appeared; it is true that many were committed unwittingly and in ignorance, both of Sir William's sentiments, and of the probability of his being opposed by such a man as Mr. Miall; it is true that no expense was spared to compass the Baronet's return, and that many gave him their votes in order to defeat a Tory; yet, with all these mitigating circumstances, we are reluctantly brought to the conclusion that there is less of principle in men than we had supposed, and consequently less reliance to be placed on their professions than we had been willing to believe. We do not say this in anger. We write in sorrow, not in pique, and are desirous that the case should be seen as it really is, in order that we may realise our position, rightly estimate our strength, and gather from the present defeat those lessons which are needful to future triumph.

Mr. Miall's political sentiments, it must also be acknowledged, were unpopular with a large majority of the dissenters of Southwark. We regret the fact, but so it was. His views on the suffrage, were a bar to the adhesion of many whose votes would otherwise have been recorded for him. They were

esteemed visionary and impracticable, tending also to lower the respectability of dissent, and to array against it the more affluent and aristocratic sections of society. All this, it is true, was silly enough, but it told on the result, and contributed largely to the disproportionate numbers exhibited on the poll. The contest was essentially an ecclesiastical one. The point at issue was the voluntary as against the endowed principle. This was the immediate and pressing question on which the electors were required to decide, and to which all others were secondary and supplemental. As an honest man, Mr. Miall was constrained to avow his political faith; but the great truth on which he stood, and which gave to the contest all its interest and importance, was the wrong done to religion by the interference of the state with the regulation of its offices, and the pay of its ministers. Such being the case, it behoved the dissenters of Southwark to have rallied round him. The religious was the main element, and it constituted an intelligible and adequate basis for union, on which all classes of voluntaries might consistently have joined hands. Unhappily, however, political affinities were shewn to be more powerful than religious agreement. The former overshadowed the latter. So far as the recent contest goes, both Tories and Whigs have been taught that they have little to fear, from the combination and zeal of non-endowment men.

Another source of failure was found in the course pursued by some of our own friends, who, avowing their sympathy with Mr. Miall in all his views, took an early opportunity of announcing the hopelessness of his effort, and of pledging themselves to the cause of his opponent. The respect we entertain for individuals prevents our writing all we think on this point. It was, to say the least, ungenerous, and to the cause of truth it was woefully unjust. Where is our hope, how can we look for the carrying out of our principles, on what can our confidence repose, if, the moment their advocate presents himself to a constituency largely dissenting, men of our own class, committed thoroughly to our principles, stand forth in the rank of opponents, to denounce the movement, and diminish the prospects of success? Shades of Luther and Zuinglius, of Latimer and Hooper, of Cartwright, Barrow and Greenwood, where were ye, when a Christian minister who claims to inherit your spirit, and to have escaped from your errors, could suspend on the chances of success the obligations of principle, and the paramount claims of truth? But we forbear. One thing, however, is certain. The course pursued inflicted a blow from which the movement never recovered. From the first moment of Mr. Miall's appearance, it was the object of his opponents to represent his cause as hope-

less. Their policy dictated this, and like some other prophecies, the prediction contributed to its own fulfilment. It would have been difficult enough to prevent the injurious influence of their efforts, under any circumstances, but when the friends of Sir William Molesworth could appeal to the statement publicly made by one of our own number, a man standing high in the borough, and held in deserved esteem for his talents and virtues, it was impossible to sustain the hope so essential to the triumph of a popular movement. We do not mean to affirm that the result would have been essentially different had no such declaration been made, but we do assert, on a full knowledge of the facts of the case, that the relative position of Mr. Miall on the poll would have been vastly better than it was, had not the speech to which we refer been delivered.

In addition, however, to all these causes, there was another still wider and deeper, which must be laid bare, before the result can be fairly estimated. Sir William is a man of wealth and title, while his opponent was one of the people. The former belonged to the privileged class to which Englishmen have for centuries delegated the work of legislature,—the latter had only his talents and virtues to recommend him. This one fact materially affected the issue, and the spirit which gave it force must be exorcised, before the popular cause can triumph. It is strange, but nevertheless true, that there is so much of the leaven of aristocracy pervading all ranks of English society, that even the cause of the people is fought at a disadvantage, when its champion issues from their own ranks. We could dwell largely on this point, and shall take an early opportunity of doing so. At present, our space is pre-occupied, and we must hasten on to one or two other points, which claim a passing notice.

In the course of the contest, an important question was mooted, which brought much temporary obloquy and reproach on Mr. Miall. In the view he took of this matter, we thoroughly agree with him, and therefore hasten to bear our share of the odium it excited. It would be dishonest in us to do otherwise, and as the matter is greatly misunderstood by some of our friends, we may be permitted a word of explanation and defence. The question was raised incidentally, and in a manner attributable solely to Sir William Molesworth and his friends. The walls of the borough having been placarded with a bill, in which a pitiful effort was made to prejudice Mr. Miall by designating him as the *Rev.* Mr. Miall, and thence arguing his unfitness for the vocation of a senator, reference was made to this fact at a public meeting of Mr. Miall's friends, and confidence was expressed that Sir William was no party to so unworthy an elec-

tioneeing trick. This confidence, however, was misplaced, for on the following evening Sir William adopted the ungenerous artifice, and, in violation of good manners as well as of truth, condescended to employ it against his opponent. The rejoinder of Mr. Miall was calm and dignified, full of significance, and fatal, in its ultimate tendencies, to the pretensions of many politicians. He did not deny what Sir William referred to as a disqualification, but simply remarked, 'It was no worse preparation for law-making to have preached for some years the gospel of truth, than to have devoted attention to the editing of the works of the infidel Hobbes.' The retort was felt to be a keen one, and the tactics of an unscrupulous policy were immediately employed to neutralize it. Sir William denied the infidel character of Hobbes, affirming, in the strongest terms, that his writings did not contain a single sentence against Christianity. This was sufficiently startling, and must have arisen from one of three things; ignorance of the author referred to, of which none will suspect the speaker; a wilful attempt to mislead, from which we equally exonerate him; or an utter unacquaintance with Christianity itself, which we believe to have been the operating cause. Of the truth, as it pertains to Hobbes, we shall not, at present, speak, as other opportunities will occur of doing so. We content ourselves, therefore, with appealing to the universal conviction of the best informed men, of which the following passage from Sir James Mackintosh's Preliminary Dissertation may be received as a specimen. This authority is the more decisive, as Sir James was one of the two witnesses adduced on behalf of the philosopher of Malmesbury, by the 'Morning Chronicle.' Referring to Hobbes, he remarks,—

'Having thus rendered religion the slave of every human tyrant, it was an unavoidable consequence that he should be disposed to lower her character, and lessen her power over men; that he should regard atheism as the most effectual instrument of preventing rebellion, at least that species of rebellion which prevailed in his time, and had excited his alarm. The formidable alliance of religion with liberty haunted his mind, and urged him to the bold attempt of rooting out both these mighty principles.'

Out of this reference to Hobbes arose a general question, which gave occasion to the utterance of much irrelevant matter, and to the grossest misrepresentation on the part of Sir William Molesworth, and of the whole herd of Whig and Radical journalists. They joined heart and hand in denouncing what they knew to be fatal to their interests, but in doing so they misstated facts, and attributed to Mr. Miall both opinions and feelings which he never held, and against which his explicit statements

ought to have protected him. It was found, however, more easy to misrepresent than to answer. The temporary exigences of the election were better served by opprobrious epithets, borrowed, in many instances, from Billingsgate, than they could have been by a fair and thorough sifting of the obnoxious position taken up. 'Like an inquisitor of old,' said Sir William, on the day of Nomination, 'you presumed to question me on my religious belief, and to summon me before the tribunal of your private judgment!' Now, in submission to the honourable baronet, we affirm this charge to be false; and might, if disposed to imitate his own gentlemanly style, allege that it was preferred 'for base electioneering purposes,' and that it branded 'as a calumniator,' the man who uttered it. What was the truth of the case? Did Mr. Miall impugn the right of any human being to form and to avow his own religious opinions? Did he, in the case of the infidel, fail to apply his general doctrine of religious liberty, or shrink from claiming on his behalf the same freedom of thought and action which he demanded for himself? Nothing of the kind, and we challenge the whole herd of his detractors, from the 'Morning Chronicle' to the 'Weekly Dispatch,' to prove the contrary. All that he did affirm was, that in these times, when religious questions were daily engaging more and more of the attention of the legislature, an infidel could not do justice to the principles of protestant dissenters, and was consequently disqualified for being their representative. He did not challenge his right to think and act as he pleased; he distinctly repudiated any desire to interfere with the integrity of his conviction; he denounced, in the strongest terms, the interposition of any third party between him and his God; but he did say—and his remarks, it must be borne in mind, were cautiously applied to a class, and not to an individual—you cannot comprehend the motives on which dissenters act, you do not understand the principles which we deem paramount, our faith you regard as delusion, and the spirituality which we wish to preserve to the church intact, you deem a mere fiction of the brain; and therefore, without challenging your fitness to represent political interests, or denying the worth of the services which in other departments of public life you may render, *we* cannot send you to the legislature as the exponent and advocate of our distinctive views. This was the head and front of his offending, and we challenge any candid man to say, whether in such a contest as that of Southwark, less could have been advanced. We know the ruinous consequences of such an opinion to many political traders, and can readily, therefore, understand the abuse with which its avowal was met. 'Our craft is

in danger,' was the war-cry of the party, and no pains were spared to misrepresent and vilify the man who had moral courage enough to give the truth utterance :—

'What is this intolerance,' inquires the editor of the 'Nonconformist,' 'with which the anti-state-church candidate at Southwark is charged? Would he set limits to the free movement of thought? No! Would he restrain the utterance of opinion? No! neither by law nor by social practice. The sin of which he has been guilty is simply that of exercising his common sense, and daring to speak out its conclusions. As journalists, who have exerted ourselves as indefatigably for religious liberty as any of our contemporaries, we identify ourselves with the scope of his remarks. That principle, for which we have laboured with cheerful zeal for some years, binds us to allow to infidels full right of judgment, speech, and publication—but it does not bind us to believe that infidels can, at the present moment, fitly represent protestant dissenters in parliament. The main questions of the times are ecclesiastical questions. Year after year the proceedings of the legislature encroach upon the rightful domains of conscience, and, as most Nonconformists believe, menace the vitality of all forms of faith. To resist those encroachments is their duty; to roll back the advancing tide of state endowments ought to be their solemn determination; and we say that men whose opinions on the truth of Christianity are such as to admit of their ready sanction, upon the occurrence of any alleged necessity of the state, to making all religious teachers the tools of civil government, by giving them state-pay without distinction of creed, whatever else they may be qualified to be or to do, are *not* qualified to represent the views of protestant dissenters on those questions which they regard as weightier in moment than all others. It would not be charity, of which some people prate so loudly, but an egregious want of common sense, to pretend, under such circumstances, to see no disqualification of a candidate in his infidelity. We would not persecute a Mahommedan—but does that involve the necessity of admitting that a Mahommedan could efficiently represent the wants and wishes of dissenters in their present position?—*Nonconformist, Sept. 17th.*

Before closing, we must say a word on the influence of this contest, and the lessons which it reads us. The anti-state church candidate was defeated by a large majority, and hence it is concluded by many, that his appearance was unadvised. We have already, in substance, replied to this. Dissenters were sufficiently numerous to have secured his return, and their recent professions had pledged them to do so. The disgrace of defeat, therefore, lies on them. As is remarked by a provincial journal, distinguished by its ability and gentlemanly bearing :—

'The position of Mr. Miall, the defeated candidate, may almost be described as magnificent. He stands on an elevation which he has
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manfully gained by a moral heroism of no common order, and looks down with a calmness that is quite triumphant, both on the timid friends who deserted, and on the virulent Whig antagonists who so furiously malign him. He had calculated upon the fears of the one party, and the intense hostility of the other, and was therefore prepared for both. With a noble scorn, more compassionate than bitter, he replies in this week's 'Nonconformist' to the motley tribe of objectors, who have been barking at his heels, and vainly striving to annoy him by vociferating every note in the gamut of abuse, from the faintest yap to the bellowing bow wow!*

The defeat, however, will be employed by some as a plea for continued inaction. What their own supineness and inconsistency have induced, will be referred to as justifying future sloth. It will be deemed enough to refer to Southwark, whenever the earnest and the consistent endeavour to arouse the activities of their brethren. Others, more honestly disposed, will be disheartened. Their hopes have been disappointed. They did not look for success, but they did expect a much larger number of votes to have been recorded for Mr. Miall. To this class we would say, 'In estimating the defeat, take into account all the circumstances of the case, and include in your calculation the future as well as the past.' It is only by defeat, in many cases repeated defeats, that a great movement can be expected to triumph. When was success attendant on a first effort, or what righteous combination has ever been qualified to improve the fruits of victory without having first learned the lesson of defeat? Whilst, therefore, the first impression of the Southwark contest is that of discouragement, we have the fullest confidence in its ultimate tendencies. It has already, to a great extent, effected the end contemplated. The voluntary principle has been drawn forth from its privacy and placed in the eye of the nation. New ground has been broken, a new cry has been raised. The standard around which our fathers rallied has been raised again, and dissenters themselves have been taught that their religion must be applied to the discharge of every duty; that they must be Christian men on the hustings as well as in the closet; that they are under obligations to work out the redemption of the Church from secular controul at home, as well as to attempt its extension abroad. A practical lesson has been given them which they much needed. They have been told their duty and been shown how to discharge it. Organizations are, in consequence, already commencing in various parts of the kingdom, with a view of securing an effective representation of our principles in the next Parliament, and we

* The Norfolk News. Septeml

doubt not, that whenever a general election comes, many constituencies will be found prepared to discharge their duty.

Another important benefit resulting from recent events, is the lesson taught to other parties. They have been reluctant to believe that we were in earnest. Judging from the past they have given us credit for much talking, but have calculated on our ready compliance with their policy whenever a crisis should arise. They will do this no longer. The minority of Southwark has destroyed their confidence. Three hundred and fifty-two men have been found, to record their votes, under many disadvantages, for an anti-State Church candidate. An illustrious example has thus been set, and it will not be long before we shall esteem it no slight honour to have formed part of this 'forlorn hope.' They have stormed the citadel, and, though beaten back for the moment, they have learned the way to victory. Their example will be infectious, and the next election will shew, in various boroughs, that he who will have our votes must respect our principles. The moral influence of the Southwark contest would have been greatly diminished if Mr. Miall had not gone to the poll. Had he abstained from doing so his procedure would have been confounded with the past policy of dissenters, it would have been regarded only as part and parcel of the timid and vacillating course they have been accustomed to pursue. He himself would have been branded as a mere talker, whose object was notoriety, and whose earnestness of purpose was more than doubtful.*

We had intended to say something in the way of counsel, but our limits are exceeded, and we must refrain. We shall, however, recur to the subject next month, and in the meantime leave it for the earnest consideration and devoutest thoughts of our readers.

* It is due to Mr. Miall, and the friends by whom he was supported, to give the most explicit contradiction to a statement made in the *Patriot* of the 15th September, that he had determined, on the Saturday prior to the election, not to go to the poll, and that 'this discreet decision was subsequently overruled by parties who have shown more zeal than good management.' Mr. Miall, from the first, distinctly avowed, and repeated the avowal again and again, that he would go to the poll. And his committee had issued a placard, calling on the electors not to credit any report to the contrary, and pledging themselves to keep the poll open to the last moment. Had he, therefore, done, as our contemporary counsels, he would have broken faith with his supporters, nor would it have been possible, on any future occasion, to convince either a constituency, or an opponent, that the Anti-State Church candidate would persist to the last. In such a contest there is no calculating the mischief which would thus have been done.

Literary Intelligence.

In the Press.

A Memoir of the Life and Character of the late Thomas Wilson, Esq., of Highbury. By his Son; in one handsome volume, 8vo., with Portrait, &c.

The Scriptural Argument against Apostolic Succession; including its Affiliated Errors, the Supremacy of Peter, the Graduated Scale of Ministerial Orders, and the Conveyance of Grace by the Laying on of Hands. By the Rev. Thomas Stratten. In one volume, foolscap 8vo.

Recollections of a Tour. First Impressions and subsequent Inquiries in the Netherlands, the countries of the Rhine, the Moselle, Switzerland, Saxony, Prussia, and the Elbe; including Sketches of the Minor States of Germany, the Fatherland of the Reformation, Modern Reform in Continental Churches, and the Condition of the Dispersed Jews. The result of a personal Visit in the Summer of last year. By J. W. Massie, D.D.

Emmaus; or, Communion with the Saviour at eventide. By Rev. John Waddington.

Dissenting Weddings under the 'New Marriage Act.' 8vo., pp. 24. By the Rev. W. Thorn, Winchester.

Just Published.

The Domestic Bible, Part I. The Book of the Twelve Minor Prophets, translated from the Original Hebrew, with a Commentary, Critical, Philological, and Exegetical. By E. Henderson, D.D.

Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature. By John Kitto, D.D., F.S.A. Parts 21 and 22.

Manual of Astronomy; a Popular Treatise on Theoretical, Descriptive, and Practical Astronomy; with a familiar explanation of Astronomical Instruments, and the best methods of using them. By John Drew.

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An Exposition of the Confession of Faith of the Westminster Assembly of Divines. By the Rev. Robert Shaw, Whitburn; with an Introductory Essay. By Rev. William M. Hetherington, L.L.D., St. Andrews.

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The Pilgrim's Progress from Earth to Heaven; in two parts.

An Epic Poem; the first part by the Rev. George Burder, and the second by the Author of 'Scriptural Truths in Verse.'

Sovereign Goodness the Source of Beneficial Distinctions. By W. Palmer.

THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR NOVEMBER, 1845.

- Art. I.—1. *Die Reformation in Trier, (the Reformation in Trèves).* Bonn, Koenig, 1845. 8vo.
2. *Notes on the Rise, Progress, and Prospects of the Schism from the Church of Rome, called the German Catholic Church, instituted by Johannes Ronge and I. Czerzki, in October 1844, on occasion of the Pilgrimage to the Holy Coat at Trèves.* By Samuel Laing, Esq. London: Longman and Co.

‘THE exhibition of the holy tunic of our blessed Saviour, at Trèves,’ says a correspondent of that honest and truthful Puseyite organ, *The English Churchman*, ‘has been made the occasion of an excitement as unprecedented as it was unexpected, and which has now lasted many months, and been attended with very momentous and lamentable consequences. It has called forth a new reformer, a ‘second Luther,’ the founder of a new sect. RONGE and the German catholic church is the theme that fills every mouth. From the Baltic to the Alps, in the royal palaces of Dresden and Berlin (we may safely add Vienna and Rome), and in the humble cottages of Swiss valleys, in the lecture rooms of Koenigsberg or Bonn (and also in those of Berlin, Posen, Breslau, Freiberg, Tübingen, Dresden, Leipsic, Cracovia, etc., the greater part of which are Roman catholic universities), it is RONGE, who during the last six months has occupied the universal attention. Booksellers’ shops are filled with pamphlets, on the title page of which stands RONGE’s name: printshops are decorated with RONGE’s picture; honest burghers, who pride

themselves on being good protestants, and haters of priestcraft, smoke pipes on which are displayed RONGE's features ; writers of dull comedies insert a few allusions, or a song, in praise of RONGE, and the theatres are shaken with the plaudits of admiring multitudes.' Thus far the beginning of the truthful report of the correspondent of *The English Churchman*. And now for a few remarks of our own, on this excitement (as that paper has it), or on the deeply interesting and highly important religious movement in Germany.

At the first glance of the foregoing passage, we might be led to suppose that the religious commotion now prevailing throughout the whole of Germany, is of recent date ; and that the 'wonderful zeal for religious and doctrinal truth,' of which the Puseyite organ speaks, is the offspring of a mere whim, or sudden impulse. To suppose so, however, would be to commit a very great mistake. This religious expression of the public mind, is neither a thing of yesterday, nor is it in any degree affected, or artificial. Those who have been watching the under currents of opinion in Germany, are well aware that an earnest reaction against infidelity has been going on there for the last forty years, but more especially since the overthrow of Napoleon, and the restoration of peace to the nations of Europe. During the reign of Frederic the Great, and up to the beginning of the present century, the publications of Voltaire, Diderot, and their associates, poured like a deluge upon Germany. This laid the foundation of that lamentable aberration of the German mind, which is commonly known under the name of *rationalism*. Religious lethargy, — a dreamy state of repose, usurped the place of the pure and inspiring religion of Christ. The melancholy state, in which the Christian religion existed at that time in Germany, and its subsequent revival, furnishes another proof : that although an entire generation may appear lost to every right impression of religious truth, yet, when the crisis is once over, the Spirit of divine grace may rekindle the same with redoubled force and energy.

The regenerating process having commenced, other changes began to manifest themselves. With the religion of their forefathers also returned true learning, united, in very many instances, with a heartfelt and sincere piety. The miserable and superficial knowledge of the word of God, which previously had existed in Germany, thenceforth gave way to a sincere zeal and thirst for a proper understanding of the same. Religious societies were formed, learned institutions for the training of pious young men were founded, and able christian-minded men were appointed to instruct the nation in all things having a moral and religious tendency. Even in literature, the change was obvious,

in the tales and novels which were then introduced, for the first time, in every family circle, in order to promote the growth and well-being of religion. The excellent divine and preacher, Christian Sinthetis, was the founder of this useful species of novels.

But as it is in every other movement of the human mind, so was it in the one under notice; many of those who took an active part in it, as well as those who renounced their former errors, acted from mixed motives. Among such immense numbers, it is not surprising, that there should have been men, who were little inspired by real regard for religion, and whose motives were, in too many instances, of a somewhat questionable character. But widely as the various classes may have differed in their views and motives, and in the course by which they sought the re-establishment of the church of their fathers, on one thing they had unanimously agreed, viz., to renounce all those doctrines and principles which were at war with morality and the Christian religion. More especially was this the case with the protestant clergy, who became exemplary for their learning, strict morality, and sincere piety. But the reformation did not end here; for these clergymen having become a model for the members of every other religious sect, the Romish clergy, ever on the alert to perceive what affects the popular mind, were not slow in imitating them, and even associated with them, being too well aware, 'that these 'heretics' were on the whole, men of undoubted piety, and infinitely more learned than themselves. Some of these priests now became, in their turn, models for the members of their own communities, who, as a matter of course, not only zealously imitated their pastors, but even went a step or two further. They likewise formed societies for the purpose of studying the Scriptures, and the effect of such studies upon the minds of Romanists, as we may easily conceive, was strong and overwhelming. To most of them, the contents of the divine volume were entirely new—a complete revelation. Men who, from their earliest youth, had only known the Breviary, or some little tract in which the truths of Christianity were perverted and disfigured, and who, at a more advanced age, perhaps, were allowed to study only the Fathers, became gradually more familiar with that book which makes men 'wise unto salvation.' Hence their strong indelible impressions, hence also their earnest inquiries into the soundness of the foundation of their church. Here, then, we see already one grand cause of the present movement.

Although the power of the Vatican, with its briefs and bulls, anathemas and excommunications, had become greatly weakened since the time of Leo the Tenth, it proved, nevertheless, as yet too strong for the young and unfledged spirit of that Roman

catholic generation, and thus prevented any open and public display of its movements. But what the spirit of reform dared not to do openly, it did with more vigour and energy under the cloak of secrecy; and the head of the Gorgon, which it had neither the power nor the courage to attack openly, became secretly subject to a slow, yet sure decay, presaging speedy destruction; for as it is a principle in human nature to meet opposition by means of opposition, the neophytes adopted once for all, with eagerness and sincerity, the Bible, as their sole and surest guide in all matters connected with religion and the salvation of the human soul. Many of the injunctions of the Romish church, now appeared too evidently as mere works having their origin in the selfish motives of worldly-minded men, and therefore not to be endured. Auricular confession, for example, although considered in the church of Rome as an indispensable act of discipline, appeared to every enlightened Roman catholic as an intrusion on his most sacred rights, on the sanctuary of his conscience, which, therefore, ought no longer to be practised. Not less strong was the feeling regarding the withdrawal of the cup at the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, a practice which the new students of the Bible speedily found was directly opposed to the express injunctions of the Founder of that institution. Again, the dispute about mixed marriages, which of late has greatly distracted the public mind in various parts of Europe, but more especially in Germany, had caused in the hearts of innumerable members of the Romish church, and above all, among those who were more or less affected by it, an insurmountable hatred towards the papal chair. Add to this the arrogance displayed of late by the Roman see, and the revival and progress of its odious old confederacy, the followers of Loyola, and we shall have named some of the most potent influences which have been at work in the production of the present religious movement in Germany, and thus in some degree explained, why so large a section of the Roman catholic church has fallen out with its aged and decrepid mother, and become her inveterate enemy. From the facts we have stated, it will be seen that the minds of the Roman catholic inhabitants of Germany were gradually excited, and prepared for the struggle in which they are now engaged. Inflammable materials of every description had been rapidly accumulating for a number of years, and only awaited the application of the destructive spark. Nor was the German national spirit, which had performed so mighty and important a part during the first reformation, behind-hand, or without its influence at the present moment. Once more that fervent spirit which had done so much for the cause of truth and humanity three centuries before, was again

ready to lend its aid, and to denounce, in the strongest terms, the ignominious Romish yoke by which the German mind was bowed down, and by doing so, it speedily brought the conspiracy against the papal chair to a crisis, during which, thousands and tens of thousands, have left and assailed the church, to which until now, they had been externally attached.

It very frequently happens in the economy of nature, that out of small and unimportant, or unsightly things, great and weighty results spring into life. Thus, for example, an insignificant seed becomes the parent of the lofty cedar; the noble oak, which braves the storms of many centuries, springs from the puny acorn. As it is with the tree, so is it also in a hundred other instances, more or less complicated, more or less awakening our sense of admiration and surprise, and especially so was it in the case under consideration. In religion, still more than in politics, the merest trifle has often become the secondary cause of most important consequences. A basin of soup is said to have brought Louis XVI. to the guillotine; and the barefaced sale of *unauthorized indulgences and remissions of sins*, by Tetzels, the agent of Leo X., in the markets and fairs of Germany, caused a revolution in the Romish church, which has emancipated rather more than one half of Europe from degrading superstition. How very strange, that after a lapse of more than three centuries, the same wretched imposture should have been repeated; and, as if to render the resemblance as striking as possible, how singular that the indulgence of 1844 should be precisely the same as, by virtue of a bull of Leo X., was granted in 1514. In what manner the new papal rescript was received, we shall presently perceive; but before we proceed any further, we must say a word or two respecting the hue and cry raised by the enemies of truth against the present movement. Sundry writers in this country as well as abroad, endeavour to persuade the public that this movement is merely the opposition of a few disobedient priests towards their ecclesiastical superiors, seconded by individuals of a similar disposition and mind. Now this is neither true, nor is it in the remotest degree probable. For what was it that procured for these priests a ready access to the hearts of hundreds, nay, of thousands and tens of thousands of the most impartial and enlightened Roman-catholics throughout the length and breadth of the land? Assuredly it was not owing to their having become unlawfully opposed to their superiors, and thereby made themselves liable to punishment; and still less could it have been because they had endeavoured to overthrow usages and institutions sanctified by age, and resting on a moral and religious foundation. It is rather because they

have uttered words and expressed ideas which touched a chord in the heart of their fellow-countrymen, and because they have said what others had already thought, without possessing the power, or wish, to give utterance to it. Had not a deeply-rooted perplexity, uneasiness, and dissatisfaction spread its roots and branches far and near, the few paragraphs of a newspaper, or the letter of an obscure priest to his diocesan, would never have produced so great a movement. And let it be remarked, that once fairly at variance with a church, between the system of which and their own conviction, there exists the most unequivocal dissension, and unable any longer to give it their earnest adherence, they take the only course open to honest-minded men. How very different the path they have adopted, from that pursued by the disciples of Pusey, and the other heads of Tractarianism, or quasi-popery, in this country! May we not also add, how typical of the two opposing phases of religious belief! In Germany we see a large body of men, who, on finding that their inward conviction is in opposition to the church of which they were members, at once act the part of honest believers in the doctrines they profess, and leave it; an act which deserves the praise and esteem of every right-minded man. In England, we see a number of clergymen, who, although conscious in their heart of their opposition and dislike to the church of England, and of the insufficiency of her doctrines for their spiritual wants, are nevertheless so very deficient in right principle, as to simulate adherence to the same outwardly, and continue to draw their emoluments from an institution that has lost their confidence, and towards which they act the part of traitors.

We have already said, that inflammable matter of every description was heaped together, and only awaited the spark and a favourable moment to cause a destructive explosion. This came from a part of the country from whence it was least expected. It came from Silesia, formerly belonging to Poland, but forming at present part of the country called Rhenish-Prussia,—and from the very centre of the Roman-catholic church; indeed, the whole movement had its origin chiefly in those very places in which an ignorant and intolerant priesthood had excited the mind of the nation; and that, too, not only in those countries and towns where the catholic population is mixed with the members of other Christian communities, but even in those where the inhabitants of every rank and class of society are purely Roman-catholic. The causes of this explosion or commotion were two. The one was, as we have already seen, another public sale of *plenary indulgences for ever*, and which was to be the reward of those ‘faithful’ believers who

would go on a pilgrimage to Trier, that is, Trèves, to confess their sins, and 'contribute something towards the repairs and embellishments of the ancient cathedral,'—just as Leo x. wanted German gold for the 'repairs and embellishments' of St. Peter's, at Rome. The other cause was the exhibition of a coat or robe without a seam, which is said to have been the identical coat worn by Jesus Christ, mentioned in the Gospel of St. John (chap. xix. ver. 23), 'Now the coat was without seam, woven from the top throughout.' With respect to the '*holy coat*' itself, this, tradition says, was given to the church of Trèves by Helena, the pious mother of the emperor, Constantine the Great, who, it appears, had obtained it whilst on a pilgrimage to Palestine. The sale of indulgences, as well as the exhibition of the holy coat, took place at the command of Dr. Wilhelm Arnoldi, bishop of Trèves, on the 18th of August, 1844. Previous to this a circular notice, dated Trèves, 6th July, 1844, and signed by the above-named bishop, as also by Von Müller, the episcopal vicar-general, had been issued. The purport of this circular was, 'that pressing requests having been made by the clergy and the body of the faithful, of the bishopric of Trier, the holy relic—that is, the coat without a seam of our Saviour, preserved in the cathedral of that ancient city,—would be exhibited for the space of six weeks, in order 'that the wish'—we here quote the most important portion of that remarkable brief, or circular—'of all those, who have the pious intention to make a pilgrimage to Trier, to behold and venerate the holy raiment of our blessed Saviour may be accomplished, and each may gain the entire remission of his sins, granted by Pope Leo x., dated January 26th, 1514. This pope, namely, with the wish that the cathedral of Trèves, which has the honour of preserving the coat without a seam of our Lord Jesus Christ, as also many other holy relics, may be distinguished by appropriate grandeur of establishment and magnificence of ornament—gives, according to the words of the above-mentioned bull, a full remission of sins, in all future time, to all the faithful going in pilgrimage to the exhibition of the holy coat at Trèves, who earnestly confess and repent of their sins, or at least have firmly resolved to do so, and, besides, contribute liberally to the proper decoration of the cathedral of Trèves, as recommended by the holy father, but which still remains imperfect from the end of the last century.' The above is a corrected quotation from Mr. Laing's '*Notes of the Schism from the church of Rome.*'

A promise like this, coupled with so rare a treat as the exhibition of the '*holy coat*' of our Saviour, was sufficient to attract great multitudes of the credulous and superstitious of the sur-

rounding country and neighbouring towns, who flocked in immense numbers to the holy city of Trèves. We need not dwell on the preparations for this great festival and its celebration, or on the incidents of the pilgrimage. For our purpose it may suffice to know, that the results were melancholy and awful in the extreme; that the most sinful and revolting idolatry was practised by more than a million and a half ignorant and superstitious Germans, who, at a given signal, prostrated themselves before the holy garment, worshipping it, by chanting and the singing of a hymn, beginning with the words, '*Holy coat, pray for us!*' and that these immense masses returned to their homes more corrupted, immoral, and depraved, than when they left them. Without entering into details as to whether the coat exhibited at Trèves was the genuine one,—for report says that twenty-one or twenty-two seamless garments, all having equal claims, are in existence—or how it has escaped the corroding tooth of time, the consequence of this exhibition, which formed the grossest outrage on Christianity, and was an insult to the human understanding, and the education of this nineteenth century, was fatal in the extreme to the Roman see and her falsehoods and mummeries. A letter from an obscure priest, named Johann Ronge, dated, October 1, 1844, was addressed to Dr. Arnoldi, the Bishop of Trèves. In itself, this letter, although written in a style of remarkable and passionate eloquence, contained nothing new—no peculiar, original, or extraordinary and important ideas. That it was not the coat, but the spirit of Christ, which ought to be searched after, had been said over and over again by pious and enlightened minds of all ages and countries. What was it, therefore, that caused this universal commotion? In answer to this question, we must ask in return: What was it that preserved untouched the celebrated ninety-five theses of Master Martin (of glorious memory) on the gates of the castle chapel of Wittenberg? What was there in these controversial points that wrested millions of human souls from a degrading superstition? For truly, in tenor and tone, these theses of Master Martin, of 1517, do not much differ from the letter of Master Johann, dated October 1, 1844, addressed to Dr. Arnoldi. Besides, what Ronge is to Luther, the latter was to Wicklif, Huss, Savonarola, and innumerable others who preceded him. We do not remember, or to tell the plain truth, we do not know, how long that document which was so dangerous to the public peace remained fastened to the gates of the castle chapel; but even now, after more than three centuries, we are surprised at the indifference and calm toleration of the magisterial authorities of those days, which suffered a paper to remain in its place which was evidently calculated to disturb

the public peace and unsettle men's minds. The enlightened portion of the members of the university of Wittenberg, as also those of the Roman catholic community at large, had already settled this point, and even expressed themselves openly and fairly, and felt as much disgusted with the abominations and enormities of Leo x. and the Vatican, and the tricks of Tetzels, as Luther himself, and were far from suffering themselves to be misled by the trumperies and foul artifices of Rome. Hence it happened, that Luther was only the mouth-piece or organ of the public opinions which prevailed in those days. He had the courage to express them publicly, and defend them before an emperor and a whole host of princes and lords. And thus, what has been said of Luther, may with equal truth and justice be applied to Ronge, his letter, and his fellow labourers. In his letter, which was addressed, not only to the bishop, but to all Roman catholics of Germany, both priests and laymen, Ronge says, addressing the latter:—'You have heard of what has sounded to our ears like a fabulous tale, that Bishop Arnoldi of Trier, has exhibited a garment called the coat of Christ. You have heard it, Christians of the nineteenth century; Germans, you know it; instructors of the German people and teachers of religion, you know that this is no invention, no fable, it is reality and truth. For, according to the last accounts, 500,000 persons have already made a pilgrimage to the relic, and every day brings thousands more, hearing and believing that this sacred coat has healed the sick, and worked miracles. The news of this has spread to every land, and is carried to every people, and some of the clergy in France, have asserted that they are in possession of the identical coat of our Saviour, and deny the authenticity of the coat preserved at Trèves. Indeed, here we may well use the saying, 'that he who loses not his understanding at certain things has none to lose.' He then denounces the festival as one of idolatry, and as an act unworthy of the Roman hierarchy. The latter he upbraids for impoverishing a people, who, by this journey, are prevented from attending to their domestic duties, who neglect the cultivation of their fields, the education of their children, and abandon their profession and daily labour. He proceeds to say, that the youth has been demoralized, and that by answering the summons to appear at Trèves, the path leading to superstition, hypocrisy, and fanaticism, had been opened to them. 'Many women and girls,' he goes on to say, 'lose their good reputation, their chastity, the purity of their heart, and destroy thereby the peace, happiness, and welfare of their family.' 'These were the blessings,' he continues, addressing the bishop, 'which the exhibition of your coat has showered upon our land. And the man who has publicly exhibited this raiment

(a thing made by the hands of men) for show and worship; who misleads the pious feelings of the credulous, ignorant, or suffering multitude, and thereby favours superstition and vice; who takes from the poor starving people the little money they possess; who exposes the German nation to the ridicule of the world, and who draws the dark and gloomy thunder clouds that are gathering over our heads from several other quarters, still closer together—this man is a bishop, a German bishop; it is Arnoldi, the Bishop of Trier.’ And now addressing himself entirely to Dr. Arnoldi, he points out in the most eloquent language the mischief he had done to the country, the wrong he had practised on his credulous fellow countrymen, and the sin he had committed towards his God and Saviour. Justice would overtake him sooner than he expected. The historian had already taken up his pen,—to record these facts, to consign the name of Dr. Arnoldi to the opprobrium of all future ages, and to hold him up to universal execration as the Tetzl of the nineteenth century. Ronge then concludes this address with a few words to his fellow citizens, and to the priests his brethren, bidding them no longer be silent, but come forth and prove themselves true and faithful followers of Christ.

It is a singular fact, and one well worthy of notice, that there is no fraud so gross but will secure not only believers, but even resolute defenders. This has ever been the case, especially with the church of Rome, and its many money-making wonders. Abroad and at home we find men who zealously defend the grossest impostures ever practised on the credulity of Romish worshippers by the instruments of the papal chair. And hence there are also men in England who zealously defend the knavery practised at Trèves. Among the latter are many who style themselves reformed Christians—they abjure the term Protestant—and yet, who, in conjunction with a number of ‘good Roman catholics,’ would prove by analogy the probability, and even necessity, of worshipping every thing put forth by the church of Rome, as long as it has the sanction of the pope and his doctors. This party (*i.e.* the reformed Christian party) tells us that,—it is a practice, as common as it is natural, to preserve such objects as have been used by those whom we have loved and lost, and to contemplate them, from time to time, with pious veneration. Indeed, say they, we could hardly believe a man to have a faithful and affectionate disposition who does not treasure up some such memorials, however worthless in themselves, and make them the means of bringing more sensibly before him every circumstance connected with the departed, and of keeping up in his own breast that love, which, we well know, requires, while we are in the body, to be fed through the medium of the senses.

Such was the custom which Christians, in very early times, adopted with respect to relics of saints and martyrs, and now the church of Rome continues to employ the same instrumentally as one of the principal means for promoting a lively faith. Why, the Oscott oracle, Dr. Wiseman, could not speak in stronger or more 'catholic,' terms, than these reformed Christians! The other party, following in the same track, says, — 'We treasure up daily, with uncommon care, the relics of our departed friends, the miniature, picture, lock of hair, the smallest trifle, which belonged to them; and such treasures almost every family contains. At Greenwich Hospital the coat in which Nelson expired is religiously preserved; and at Abbotsford is the entire dress worn by Sir W. Scott just before his death. All these things are shown to the public, which is invited to see them, and many, in order to enjoy the pleasure of seeing them, will not grudge to travel a little out of their path to see them, and even pay a gratuity. Now, this the world calls not grotesque or absurd, because the very sight of such things excites in the human breast the noblest and most pleasing emotions. And so it is with the holy coat. It is not *adored*, but only *venerated*, and this on account of him who wore it.'

This is jesuitical reasoning, and is uttered with much apparent candour. The parallel drawn between the coat of Lord Nelson, the dress of Sir W. Scott, and the holy garment of Trèves, is rather ingenious. But these 'good catholics' forgot to tell us whether the parties going to Greenwich to see the admiral's coat, cry: 'Holy coat, pray for us,' or whether the pilgrims to Abbotsford fall on their knees, exclaiming: 'Oh, sacred shirt, envelop us.' For our part, we are utterly unable to perceive any analogy between the cases, and are only confirmed in our belief that the absurd and sinful mummary exhibited at Trier, deserves the indignant denunciations which it has elicited from the modern German reformers, and which it continues to elicit from every honest and truth-loving mind. Again, 'History informs us,' these men continue, 'that the Empress Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great, brought from the east the *identical* coat or garment worn by Jesus Christ during his passion, which she deposited at Trèves, where it was carefully preserved by the clergy during a number of centuries for the edification of the people,' etc. But these 'good catholics' have forgotten to tell us the remainder of this veritable history, viz. that this coat was woven by the Virgin Mary when the Redeemer was an infant, and that as he grew the coat grew also, never requiring any alterations or additions. This is also related, and no doubt as true as the rest. But there is another very curious circumstance connected with the sacred garment,

viz. that, during the middle ages twenty-two places or cities, among which were Constantinople, Bremen, and Cologne, claimed to be in possession of one and the same *identical* coat, and even England, if we are correctly informed, puts in her claim, for Edward the Confessor is said to have presented to the church at Westminster, in the year 1038, either the whole or part of the same garment. But we think that the strongest objection to the authenticity of the coat is the fact that two German professors, distinguished for learning and research, the Drs. Gildemeister and Von Sybel, both of Bonn, have examined this relic with the aid of the microscope, and found on it traces of the figures of birds and flowers, ornaments which were forbidden by the law of Moses, and which ought to convince the most credulous that it is not a Palestine production at all. How a garment of this description should be preserved for the space of eighteen hundred years, presents little difficulty apparently to these 'good catholics,' who deem it their duty to believe whatever their church affirms; to us, however, the whole affair is utterly incredible. But to return to the narrative of events.

The letter of Ronge to Dr. Arnoldi was soon followed by appeals, which he addressed to his fellow believers and fellow citizens, to catholic teachers, and to the inferior class of catholic clergy. All of these addresses breathe a spirit of resistance to the usurped authority of the hierarchy and the church of Rome, and all of them exhort the people to throw off a yoke which had become as degrading as it was unjust, and free themselves from the authority of the '*Italian bishop*,' as Ronge styles the pope. He then tells the clergy that they are the slaves of this man, and reminds them, that, in the first centuries of Christianity, bishops sought for no greater power than that which they now enjoy themselves, and that they were then content to sit in council with the chosen ministers of the people. In the darkest ages the inferior clergy had their synods, and, when acting in concert, the ability to make good their will. 'What have they now?' he asks, and then adverts to the unjust interference with the rights of man on the part of their spiritual opponents; to the unmarried state or celibacy of the clergy; to their recreant fear of their spiritual superiors, before whom their lips are locked, their souls cowed. From Ronge's address to the lower clergy it would appear that he did not at this time meditate an absolute secession from the church of Rome, although he urged in earnest and fiery language the necessity of an immediate breaking off from her overweening authority. Herein he strongly resembles his great predecessor, Luther, who wanted rather to free mankind from the evils and abuses which had stolen into the

church, than to abandon its doctrines. But Roman catholicism suffers no schism to exist within itself. Whoever denies the infallibility even of her rites and ceremonies, or discipline, belongs no longer to the holy mother church. 'It is to the lasting disgrace and shame of Rome,' says a powerful organ of public opinion, 'that she eagerly opens her portals to the gloomy night, but bars and bolts them against the smallest visitation of cheerful blessed light. Is it that a church doomed, mysteriously engaged to work out her own overthrow and ruin, can accomplish her mission only by becoming helplessly blind?'

Ronge's letter, as we have seen above, was dated October 1; but it was only on the 16th of that month that it made its appearance at Leipzig. And although it could not stop the proceedings at Trier, it was nevertheless read with eagerness by all classes of Roman catholics. Every newspaper in Germany, whatever its political and religious creed, contained large extracts from the spirit-stirring missive, and many individuals bought thousands of copies of it, and distributed them gratuitously among the lower and poorer classes. This letter had only made its appearance three days, when another mighty blow was struck at Romanism at Schneidemühl, a little town situated on the far distant frontiers of Posen, a district purely catholic. Here, on the 19th of October, the whole congregation, together with the priest, Czerski, raised the banner of freedom of conscience, and prepared themselves for spiritual warfare. This movement was quite unexpected, and is very remarkable, because it took place almost at the same time when Ronge's letter made its appearance. That it was not owing to this letter is evident from the fact, that this rising occurred about three days after the appearance of the former, during which time it could scarcely have reached Schneidemühl, situated as it is in so very remote a part of the country. Then was made public the 'Confession of faith of the Christian Apostolic-Catholic community of Schneidemühl,' which we here subjoin; as, also, certain articles of dissent from the church of Rome. It is well worthy of special notice, on account of its being the earliest in date, and because it has been referred to by subsequent congregations, who have either adopted it altogether or have formed their own confession in imitation of it. This interesting document runs thus:—

'Schneidemühl, 19th October, 1844.'

'I. WE believe in one God, the Almighty Father, Creator of heaven and earth.

'II. We believe in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only Son of God, who from all eternity was begotten of the Father, and is God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten, not created, of

equal nature and being with the Father, and through whom all was created, who for our sakes, and the salvation of man, descended from heaven, and by the Holy Ghost from the Virgin Mary assumed flesh, and became man; who also was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate, suffered, and was buried, but on the third day, according to Scripture, rose again, and ascended into heaven, where he sits at the right hand of God, and from whence he shall again come down in glory to judge the living and the dead. This his kingdom will have no end.

‘III. We believe in the Holy Ghost the Lord, who giveth life, who proceeds from the Father and the Son, who is to be praised and adored with the Father and the Son: who spoke through the prophets. We believe in the holy general (catholic) apostolic church. We acknowledge a baptism to the forgiveness of sins, and await a resurrection and a life in the future world. Amen.

‘IV. We receive the Holy Scriptures as the only sure source of Christian faith; and that in the sense in which they are intelligible to every enlightened pious Christian.

‘V. We acknowledge that by Jesus Christ our Lord seven true and proper means of grace (sacraments) are established under the new covenant, namely—1st. Baptism. 2nd. Confirmation (the laying on of hands with prayer). 3rd. The Holy Supper of the Lord. 4th. The penitence. 5th. The priestly ordination (the laying on of hands with prayer). 6th. Marriage. 7th. The preparation for death (extreme unction);—and that these impart pardon; and of these, baptism, confirmation, and the ordination to the priesthood, cannot be repeated without sacrilege.

‘VI. We acknowledge that the commemoration of the bloody offering on the cross of Jesus Christ, which is celebrated in the holy mass, may be of service to the dead, and the living; that in the all holy altar-sacraments, the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, with his soul and godhead, truly, actually, and in substance, are present, and that the whole substance of the bread is changed into the body, and the whole substance of the wine into the blood, through faith.

‘VII. We acknowledge that priests not only may receive the sacrament of marriage; but, to be worthy examples to the people, they ought, according to the Holy Scriptures, to receive it.

‘VIII. We acknowledge that the holding divine service, and in general the administration of sacraments in a foreign tongue, is contrary to Scripture; and that therefore the language known to the congregation ought to be used in divine service, and in administration of sacraments.

‘IX. We acknowledge that the holy sacrament of the Lord’s Supper ought absolutely to be received in both elements, and that the receiving the sacrament under one element only, is not sufficient for salvation.

‘X. A purgatory, such as taught by the Roman hierarchy, there is

not ; but there are ' in the house of our heavenly Father many mansions,' like steps towards beholding God. We acknowledge that these steps must be gone through by those who have not made themselves fully worthy here on earth to behold God ; and that on this ground our prayers may be serviceable to the dead ; but,

' XI. We acknowledge and firmly believe that Christ alone is the Head of the church, and his vice-gerent here on earth is the Holy Ghost.'

' XII. In this true general belief, expressed through Jesus Christ, we, here present, acknowledge ourselves freely, and sincerely promise, vow and swear to preserve it, with the help of God, uninjured and unadulterated, to the end of our lives, with unbroken steadfastness ; and also to apply all possible care that this belief shall be taught, made known to, and held by those under us, or intrusted to our charge. So help us God and his holy Scriptures.

' Accepted at Schneidemühl, the 19th October, 1844.

' (Signed, etc.)'

From the preceding it will be seen that the ' Confession of Faith of the congregation at Schneidemühl' differs but slightly from what is called the Apostles' Creed, and that even the points in which they dissented from Rome, are argued with calmness and Christian love, every charge, moreover, being based on texts from the holy scriptures.

Ronge, who had been excommunicated soon after the appearance of his first letter, proceeded, in the meanwhile, to Breslau, where, after a mature and careful reflection, he established his first congregation on the thirteenth of February, in the present year. Here too, appeared very soon (16th of February, about three days after the formation of the congregation) a declaration or confession of faith, and articles, which had been drawn up by Ruprecht, Vogtherr, and Hoffrichter, all of them clergymen, who had dissented from the Romish church. Both documents are very important, inasmuch as they proceeded from the centre or capital of Silesia, the very place, where the whole movement had its origin. They, moreover, show the character and order of the church service as adopted first by this church in the city of Breslau, which has been distinguished as the stronghold of the Roman catholic hierarchy, and afterwards at the third sitting of the General Assembly of Leipzig, for the whole German catholic church. As it is our intention to present to our readers the most interesting and important of those confessions and articles of dissent which have appeared since the beginning of this movement, we shall subjoin them wherever it will appear necessary. The confession and declaration of the Breslau congregation, are as follows :—

' Breslau, 16th of February, 1845.

' I. WE declare ourselves free from the Roman bishop and his hangers-on.

' II. We assert full freedom of conscience, and detest all compulsion, lies, and hypocrisy.

' III. The foundation and the structure of Christian faith, is the holy Scriptures.

' IV. Its free examination, and exposition, no authority ought to restrain.

' V. As the substantial contents of our religious belief, we present the following form of it:—

' I believe in God the Father, who, by his almighty word, created the world, and rules it in wisdom, justice, and love.

' I believe in Jesus Christ, our Saviour, who by his teaching, his life, and his death, redeemed us from sin and bondage.

' I believe in the working of the Holy Ghost on earth, in a holy general Christian church, forgiveness of sins, and life everlasting. Amen.

' VI. We acknowledge only two sacraments as appointed by Christ:—1st. Baptism. 2nd. The Lord's Supper.

' VII. We retain the baptism of infants, receiving them, after sufficient education in religion, by a solemn admission, as self-acting members of our congregation.

' VIII. The Lord's Supper will be administered, after consecration to Christ, in both elements, to the congregation. The congregation receives it as a commemorative feast of the sufferings and death of their Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Auricular confession is rejected.

' IX. We acknowledge marriage to be an appointment of God, and therefore holy for man; and we retain the church ceremony of marriage. In relation to conditions and impediments to marriages, we acknowledge only the laws of the land as binding.

' X. We believe and acknowledge that Christ is the only Mediator between God and man. We reject, therefore, the invocation of saints, the veneration of pictures and relics, the remission, and pilgrimages.

' XI. We believe that the so-called good works have only a value in so far as they proceed from a Christian spirit. We reject, therefore, all fasts.

' XII. We believe, and acknowledge, that it is the first duty of a Christian to show his faith through works of a Christian spirit.

' XIII. The essential parts of divine service consist in teaching and edification. The mass will be celebrated in the language of the country, and according to the practice of the oldest churches, modified with a regard to the events of the age. The participation of the con-

gregation, and the mutual working between them and the minister, is considered an essential requisite in divine service.

'xiv. The divine service of the church, which is to be opened in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, the Agenda, or, how the proceedings shall go on before the assembled congregation, for their edification, consists in the following pieces, spoken and sung :—

- '1. The commencing hymn.
- '2. General confession of sin (Confiteor).
- '3. Lord have mercy upon us (Kyrie).
- '4. The song of praise, 'Glory be to God on high' (Gloria).
- '5 The prayers of the Collect.
- '6. The Epistle.
- '7. The Gospel.
- '8. The sermon, with the usual prayers ; and before and after the sermon, a verse of a hymn.
- '9. The confession of faith.
- '10. A passage selected from the Passion, at the consecration of the holy supper of our Lord, instead of the canon of the mass.
- '11. The hymn, 'Holy ! Holy ! Holy !' (Sanctus) During the communion the congregation sing the hymn, 'O Lamb of God,' &c. (Agnus Dei.)
- '12. The Lord's Prayer.
- '13. Concluding hymn of the congregation.
- '14. The blessing.

'xv. Besides this head service, in the afternoon will be catechising, or edifying discourses.

'xvi. We observe no festivals, or holidays, but those ordered by the law of the land.

'xvii. The foundation of a church constitution is the congregational constitution, according to the example of the primitive church of Christ.

'xviii. At the head of the congregation is the minister, and elders, elected yearly at Whitsunday.

'xix. The minister is chosen by the congregation, and inducted by a solemn act into his office. The election can only be from divines, who produce testimonials of their theological knowledge and unblemished character. The order for the celibacy of the clergy is annulled.

'xx. For the present, what is wanted to support the minister, and carry on divine service, will be defrayed by the members of the congregation, each contributing according to his means.

'xxi. All services of religion will be performed equally by the minister for every member of the congregation ; and all fees, or payments for such services, are abolished.

'xxii. The reception of new members into the congregation takes

place by acknowledging the confession of faith before the elders and minister.

‘**XXIII.** Members joining the congregation from religious societies not of the Christian faith, must first be admitted to baptism, after due instruction in Christianity.’

These declarations, or avowals of secession from the church of Rome, and confessions of faith, were soon followed by numerous others as open and determined. The first in order was that of the congregation at Kreuznach, a small town on the Rhine, celebrated for its mineral waters, and witness to the first miraculous cure of the young countess Droste-Vischering, one of the invalids that had gone on a pilgrimage to Trèves. It appeared on the 10th of February, 1845. The language of this congregation is bolder and more determined than that of the two others.

‘*Kreuznach, 10th February, 1845.*

‘WE, the undersigned, have resolved, from free choice and inward conviction, to establish a catholic-Christian church, unfettered by all human additions and deformities, pure in the spirit of the founders of our holy religion. The rock upon which this church is built stands on the ground of the sublime passage in the Scripture,

‘Love God above all, and thy neighbour as thyself.’ •

‘We consider, therefore, as abuses, through the work of man, and reject, in all time coming,—1st The authority of the pope as head of our church. 2nd. Celibacy. 3rd. Auricular confession. 4th. The sacrament of the Lord’s Supper in one element, and Transubstantiation. 5th. The Exorcism at the baptism of infants. 6th. The prayers to the saints. 7th. The veneration of pictures and relics, and also pilgrimages. 8th. The Confirmation. 9th. The extreme unction. 10th. The Latin tongue in divine service. 11th. The nonsense of remissions. 12th. The doctrine of Purgatory.

‘**I.** We acknowledge only one Mediator between God and man, namely, our Saviour Jesus Christ.

‘**II.** We retain the mass, after it is altered to the spirit of the Christian-catholic church.

‘**III.** We acknowledge only two sacraments—Baptism and the Lord’s Supper.

‘**IV.** We consider the latter as a remembrance, or memorial feast, of our Lord Jesus Christ, and receive it under the words, ‘This represents, or shews forth, my body; This represents, or shews forth, my blood.’

‘**V.** We bind ourselves to provide for the wants of our church and school, until the state has settled our concerns. Each will contribute

to the good cause according to his power and good will. Other resolutions remain over for our common consideration, when the congregation has constituted itself, and obtained a suitable minister. And so may the spirit of love, truth, and light, penetrate and animate this Christian-catholic church, and guide, direct, and rule all her internal and external affairs.

'Kreuznach, 10th February, 1845.'
(The signatures.)

About two days after, appeared the declaration of dissent and articles of faith, adopted by the congregation of Leipzig. It is dated the 12th of February, and is certainly of great interest, if not importance, inasmuch as it is the emanation of a congregation dwelling within one of the chief seats of the literature of Germany, and decidedly the centre of the material interests of literature. From its tone, it is evident that it has been drawn up in concurrence with that of Breslau. It runs thus:—

'Leipzig, 12th February, 1845.'

'In the name of God the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,—We, the undersigned, declare hereby openly and solemnly, before God and men, that we acknowledge no longer the authority of the Pope at Rome in matters of belief.

'We declare ourselves solemnly free, from this day, from Rome and the Pope, and establish an Independent German-Catholic Congregation; and adopt as our own the annexed Confession of Faith of the German-Catholic Congregation at Breslau, until a general council, elected by all the members of the German-catholic churches, shall have settled a Confession.

'We assume the approbation of the higher state authorities will be given to this step, taken according to our convictions and consciences, and to obtain which, the necessary measures will be used by our elders.

'CONFESSON OF FAITH.

'I. We renounce the pope, and declare ourselves free from the hierarchy.

'II. We abolish auricular confession also.

'III. We abolish the use of the Latin tongue in divine service.

'IV. We abolish celibacy, as not founded on the Holy Scriptures, but appointed by the pope, solely for upholding the hierarchy.

'V. Marriage is declared a holy ordinance, and the benediction of the church is held to be necessary thereto. For the rest, no other limitations on marriage but those fixed by the law of the land are acknowledged.

'VI. We abolish all hitherto existing church practices by which remissions, fasts, pilgrimages, lead to a nonsensical sanctification of works.

‘VII. The Lord’s Supper, as it is established by Christ, will be taken by the congregation in both elements.

‘VIII. The congregation acknowledges but two sacraments, Baptism, and the Lord’s Supper, because in those only is Christ undoubtedly present, according to the testimony of Scripture.

‘IX. Baptism is the sign of being received into the Christian bond; and is performed on infants with the understanding that at years of discretion they will confirm, by confession of faith, their baptism.

‘X. The Lord’s Supper serves for a remembrance of Christ, and a token of the brotherly bond between all.

‘XI. The grounds of the Christian belief shall be only and solely the Holy Scriptures, and reason penetrated and moved by the idea of Christianity. The congregation adopts the Apostolic Confession of Faith as theirs, and places it as the object of the church and of individuals to come to a living acknowledgment of the same, suitable to their temporal convictions. In the different explanations and understandings of its meaning the congregation finds no ground for separation and condemnation.

‘SPECIAL PROVISIONS.

‘XII. The congregation makes use again of its old rights to elect freely its minister and elders.

‘XIII. Every minister will be introduced to his congregation and office by a solemn act; but in this everything will be avoided that can recall the sacramental meaning of the Roman consecration to priesthood, or could serve as a foundation for hierarchy.

‘XIV. The congregation understands it to be the chief problem of Christianity, not only to bring to a lively conviction by instruction, teaching, and divine service, its members, but also, by active Christian love, to promote with all their power the spiritual, moral, and material interests of their fellow-men, without distinction.

‘XV. The external forms of divine service shall always be regulated by the wants of the time and place.

‘XVI. The reception into the congregation, after it is fully constituted, will take place upon a declaration of willingness to join it, and acceptance of the Confession of Faith, by the elders making it known to the congregation

‘XVII. The Liturgy, and the part of the divine service belonging to edification, shall, according to the practice of the Apostles and first Christians, be adapted to the wants of the times.

‘XVIII. The external usages in worship in the church are left to each member; only what leads to superstition is forbidden. The holy festival days appointed by the state, are alone observed.

‘XIX. The congregational constitution follows the model of the Apostles and early Christians, but necessarily altered to suit the cir-

cumstances of the times. The congregation is represented by its minister, and chosen elders elected yearly at Whitsunday.

'xx. All church duties, as baptisms, marriages, burials, will be performed by the minister equally for every member, without fees.

'xxi. For the sake of unanimity, all those provisions, and also the Confession of Faith, shall be subject to the determination of a general German council, and are therefore only to be considered as pro tempore.

'CONCLUSION.

'All these provisions are not settled for all time coming, but may be altered by the congregation according to the conviction of the times.'

(Signatures.)

Nor was Elberfeld, the sphere of action of the late Krummacher, the celebrated author of 'Elijah the Tishbite,' behind-hand. This place is a manufacturing town of great importance, and is situated near the famous Düsseldorf. Its declaration, &c., is dated the 15th of February, 1845, and begins thus:—

'In the name of God the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen.

'We, the undersigned burgesses of Elberfeld, belonged hitherto to the Roman-catholic church, and as members of it have long seen, with increasing distinctness, the greatness of the errors and abuses which adhere to her in most principles, and have taken the upper hand altogether in her latest movements. The more we endeavoured to know and understand the pure teaching of Jesus, and to ground our faith on the Gospel, the only spring of Revelation, the more deeply were we penetrated by the conviction, that Christ is the only mediator between God and man; that the doctrine of the Pope, of an infallible church, of the religious use of saints and relics, is not founded on the Word of God, and weakens the merits of our Saviour; that the ideas of the Roman church on the Lord's Supper, on the priesthood, and on its position with respect to the laity, are false, and rob the believers of their most precious privileges. The clearer these convictions by degrees became, the heavier we felt the chains in which we were bound to a church of which the most important doctrines could not be reconciled by us to the Gospel; and the heavier we felt it to have a belief which we could not openly acknowledge, and to have no divine service answerable to our religious wants. A light suddenly arose out of this darkness, which was growing deeper and deeper, and a day dawn of hope announced the goodness of God to us. Circumstances which we need not mention have brought the joyful certainty, that the day is near, and brings light and liberty to the captive. What was struggling in us is come to clear conviction, and we thank God that we know what we want, and that he has given us the courage freely to declare the belief we acknowledge.

'In the sight of God we abjure the Pope, and the hierarchy, and

all the non-evangelical matters thereunto belonging. Whatever struggles or slanders may assail us, we make ourselves loose from them. We make ourselves loose, not to go to war with men of another belief, not even of that belief which we renounce, but to find peace to our souls, and to thank, and serve in joy, God our Lord. We make ourselves loose, not in pride, or from a craving for a false liberty. We embrace with our brethren in Schneidemühl, the crucified Jesus, whose pure precepts alone, whose honour and worship alone we seek and wish. Amen.

‘While we thus constitute ourselves into a Christian Catholic-Apostolic Congregation, we solemnly declare that we adopt the Confession of Faith of our sister church (Schneidemühl) in all essential points.’

The declaration of this congregation is followed by the Schneidemühl Confession, *verbatim et literatim*, ‘and is signed,’ as Mr. Laing says, ‘with a strong expression of the firm resolution of the subscribing members to abide by and support their principles.’

The next declaration of faith is that of Offenbach, which is similar to that of Breslau. It was adopted on the 20th February, 1845, and requires :—

‘I. Free reading of the Scriptures, and in the translations not sanctioned by Rome.

‘II. Abolition of fasts by church appointment.

‘III. Abolition of the invocation and veneration of saints and relics.

‘IV. Abolition of all that is unintelligible and unprofitable in the service ; and above all, of the Latin tongue.

‘V. The Lord’s Supper in both elements, which by historical right acknowledged by the Popes themselves, the so-called laity are entitled to, and which would place the priest in his proper position.

‘VI. Abolition of auricular confession, and its effects—without, however, restraining the free communication and confidence of individuals of a congregation in their minister.

‘VII. Abolition of remissions, as an unworthy trading with the highest spiritual blessing.

‘VIII. Abolition of the impious and inhuman church laws against the members of other confessions of faith, particularly respecting mixed marriages, and godfathers and godmothers.

‘IX. Abolition of the forced celibacy of the clergy, on the grounds of humanity, of the history of the church, and of the efficiency of the clergy themselves in the clerical office.

‘X. Complete abolition of dependence on the Roman Pope, as the chief cause of every evil.’

The declaration and articles of dissent from the Roman church, by the congregation of Worms, is dated 8th March, 1845.

‘WE, the subscribers, declare—

‘I. We remain as before—Catholics.

‘II. As such, we remain members of the congregation of our respective parishes; and we adopt, consequently, the doctrine or dogma of the Catholic church, as articles of faith. But, in course of time, abuses have crept in, which we do not consider as belonging to the Catholic church. We protest, therefore—

‘I. Against all restraint in reading the Holy Scriptures in translations not approved of by the church.

‘II. Against church fasts.

‘III. Against the veneration of saints and relics, and against pilgrimages and processions.

‘IV. Against the use of a foreign tongue in performing divine service. We require, namely, the German language to be used in the holy mass.

‘V. Against administering the sacraments of the Holy Supper in one element only.

‘VI. Against auricular confession.

‘VII. Against all remissions of sins by the church.

‘VIII. Against the doctrine that the Roman-Catholic church is alone the church of salvation, which is contrary to the doctrine of love towards our fellow-men, and out of which arises the proceedings in cases of mixed marriages.

‘IX. Against the continuance of celibacy.

‘X. Against the supremacy of the Pope in the Catholic church.

‘XI. Against the introduction of the new catechism of Mayence.’

The congregation moreover refers to the declaration of that of Offenbach, as expressing the opinions it adopts.

The last of declarations which we shall give, is that of the congregation of Berlin, which is dated the 3rd of March, 1845. It is of importance, as expressing the opinions of a congregation dwelling in the intellectual metropolis of Germany. It is as follows:—

‘I. WE take the Holy Scriptures as the truest source of Christian faith, and accept the oral delivery of it only in so far as it agrees with the Scriptures.

‘II. We hold the belief in Christ to be the foundation of our justification, and honour works only in so far as they flow from faith.

‘III. We acknowledge only two sacraments as being ordained by

Christ—Baptism, and the Lord's Supper. The other sacraments of the Roman-Catholic church, therefore, we acknowledge as only pious usages, consecrated by tradition.

'IV. We reject, however, the doctrine of transubstantiation ; that is, the change of the substances of bread and wine into the substances of the body and blood of Christ. We acknowledge, however, that we partake of the substances in the real spiritual presence of the Saviour.

'V. We partake in the Holy Supper of the Lord in the two elements ; but admit the partaking of it in the bread alone.

'VI. We retain the holy mass, as a memorial of the bloody offering on the cross of Jesus Christ ; but only in the language of the country.

'VII. We reject the ordinance of auricular confession ; but respect the voluntary acknowledgment of guilt to the minister of the congregation.

'VIII. We deny the belief that the priest has the power to remit sins, and reject the imposition of express penances ; but respect the pious mediation between the confessing and the minister.

'IX. We reject forced celibacy, and also the making of monastic vows against marriage ; but respect the voluntary abstaining from marriage in so far as a conscientious discharge of the duty of the party requires it. We require for the validity of marriage, the celebration in church by a priest.

'X. We admit the celebration of marriages between Christians of different confessions of faith.

'XI. We reject pilgrimages and remissions ; but we acknowledge the utility of the veneration of saints, and respect their human remains, but we do not address or invoke them, but expect from God alone our salvation, through Christ our only Mediator.

'XII. We reject the doctrine of the Roman Catholic church concerning purgatory ; but admit a purification of the soul after death.

'XIII. We acknowledge Christ alone as the head of his church, and the Holy Ghost as his substitute on earth.

'XIV. We declare ourselves free from the Pope and his priesthood, and do not acknowledge him as the head of the church, appointed by God.'

The above declarations of faith and articles of dissent from the Roman-catholic church, after a strict comparison with the originals, we have borrowed from the 'Notes' of Mr. Laing.

From a careful perusal of these articles of faith, it must appear evident to every lover of truth and religion, that there is now and then a great discrepancy in their tone and tenets, which, say some, may, perhaps, prove a hindrance to the attain-

ment of that union which is so necessary for the foundation of the new church. Now it certainly must be admitted, that these confessions are a little at variance on some points. As for example, where the sixth article of the confession of faith of Schneidemühl says: 'We acknowledge that in all the holy altar-sacraments the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, with his soul and Godhead, *truly, actually, and in substance, are present*; and that the whole substance of the bread is changed into the body, and the whole substance of the wine into the blood through faith.' This is clearly the doctrine of transubstantiation. Again: 'We consider the latter (that is, the Lord's Supper),' says the congregation of Kreuznach, 'as a *remembrance, or memorial feast*, of our Lord Jesus Christ, and receive it under the words, 'This represents, or shows forth, my body; this represents, or shows forth, my blood.' The congregation of Berlin 'rejects,' in every respect, the doctrine of transubstantiation; that is to say, the change of the substances of bread and wine into the substances of the body and blood of Christ; 'We acknowledge, however,' continues the same (iv.) article, that we partake of the substances *in the real spiritual presence of the Saviour*.' And what says the declaration of the congregation of Breslau? In the eighth article it declares, that 'The Lord's Supper, after consecration to Christ, will be administered, in both elements, to the congregation. The congregation receives it as a *commemorative feast* of the sufferings and death of their Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.' But, however the reformers of the new church may vary in one or two points, it must be borne in mind, that the whole is, as yet, in what the Germans would call 'Entstehen,' that is, primary beginning. It is as yet undefined, and the moral and spiritual truths upon which the whole is based, not as yet ascertained. It is reserved for a more enlightened and inspired generation to discover, by Divine aid, the clear region of everlasting truth; and at once to embrace it without passion, confusion, or any other of those imperfections to which human nature is liable. But although there doubtless exists a discrepancy in many points of these various confessions and declarations, there is nevertheless a striking agreement in them.

'Every one of them,' says a powerful morning paper, 'makes known the simple and fervent desire of enlightened and honest men to renounce all doctrines and beliefs unauthorized by Holy Writ. All breathe a hatred and horror of the impious inventions of man, and a full implicit reliance upon the wisdom and goodness of God, as made known in his own revealed word. 'We renounce the Pope, and declare ourselves free from the hierarchy.' 'We believe and acknowledge that Christ is the only Mediator

between God and man.' 'We detest all compulsion, lies, and hypocrisy.' 'We abolish all practices by which missions, fasts, pilgrimages, lead to an absurd sanctification of works.' Such are a few of the announcements which characterize all the confessions of a people suddenly awakened to a consciousness of error, to a sense of danger, and to the conviction that there is no salvation for the soul except through Jesus Christ the Lord and giver of life. Harmony and unanimity could hardly be expected from the first moral and spiritual impulses, of minds kept for so long a period in a state of abject slavery. The great number of declarations which were so suddenly and forcibly sent into the world, each and all expressing a most melancholy sense of the thralldom and degradation, felt by those who have shaken off the Romish yoke, and who now subscribed them, could not reasonably be expected to present that concord which might perhaps have been the result, had the whole proceeded from minds accustomed to moral and religious freedom, and well versed in the doctrines of pure Christianity. This was left for a future period, and for the so-called General Assemblies, all of which, we are happy to say, have already been held. The latter resulted chiefly from the discovery made by the members of the new church themselves, as to the perilous nature of their position, who therefore endeavoured to avoid every thing having a tendency to undermine its health and welfare.

It would lead us too far were we to give a minute account of the general assemblies held at Leipsic, Breslau, Stuttgart, &c., by the representatives of the German Catholic church in the name of the members constituting it, or even were we to enter upon a detailed account of the enactments that were made. It may be sufficient to say, that these assemblies were constituted of pious and enlightened men, who formerly belonged to the church of Rome, and who have obtained a universal celebrity for their learning, their high station, and their strict moral conduct, while connected with that church. We may mention, among others, the famous Dr. Theiner, Professor Dr. Wigand, Dr. Regenbrecht, *besides the reformers Ronge, Czerski and Pastor Kerbler*. The simple fact that the transactions have been managed in a spirit of Christian love and unanimity, augurs well for the successful accomplishment of the object they have in view, which is *the establishing of the future faith of all the congregations constituting the German Apostolic Catholic Church*. In order to arrange this important matter systematically, several resolutions were passed; among which occurs one which is well worth transcribing, and which will show at a glance upon what principle the whole is based. It says:—
 'The community conceive the duty of Christian men to be not

merely to produce a lively knowledge of Christianity amongst the members of the congregation by public worship, exhortation, and instruction, but also, by active Christian love, to advance with all their powers the spiritual, moral, and material welfare of all their fellow-creatures, without exception or reserve.' A church built upon so broad and truly Christian a principle, may well inspire a belief that success and great achievements are yet in store for her, that these must ultimately contribute to the everlasting honour and glory of the church of Christ.

The Confession of Faith adopted by the general assembly for the German Apostolic Catholic church, is, as nearly as possible, as follows :—

' First,—That the Holy Scriptures alone and entirely constitute the foundation of the Christian faith; the comprehension and interpretation of such scriptures being freely delivered over to reason, penetrated and moved by Christian principle.

' Secondly,—As a symbol of our faith, we adopt the following declaration :—' I believe in God the Father, who, by his almighty word, created the world, and governs it in wisdom, justice, and love. I believe in Jesus Christ, the Son of God, our Saviour; I believe in the Holy Ghost, a holy universal church of Christ, the forgiveness of sins, and the life everlasting. Amen.'

' We renounce the supremacy of the Pope, declare ourselves free from the hierarchy, and refuse beforehand all concessions which the hierarchy may hereafter make to bring the liberated church once more under its yoke.

' Auricular confession is also rejected; celibacy, the intercession of saints, the adoration of relics and images. Whilst, however, auricular confession is abolished, any individual member of a congregation may, if he be so inclined, communicate with the priest before partaking of the sacrament; none shall be constrained to do so. Indulgencies are renounced, and with them prescribed fasts, pilgrimages, and all such institutions of the church as conduce to an unmeaning sanctification of works. But perfect liberty of conscience is allowed, free searching into and interpretation of holy writ, with no shackles of external tyranny or bias. Two sacraments only are acknowledged—those of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, whilst every individual community or insulated flock is not so restricted that it may not retain Christian usages. Baptism is to be administered to children, and the remaining sacrament to the congregation in both elements. *The latter is to be received in remembrance of our Lord and Saviour*, and the doctrine of transubstantiation is wholly given up. Marriage is regarded as a holy institution, and the blessing of the church as necessary to it. No prohibitory conditions or restrictions are acknowledged on this head, save those established by law. The first duty of the Christian is believed and confessed to be that of *proving faith by words of Christian love.*'

We have dwelt very little on the transactions of the general assembly held at Leipsic, where so many resolutions passed and were adopted in furtherance of the external and internal welfare of the new church, as also on the progress which this movement has made since its origin, as we need only say, that any one reading the account given of the former, must be struck with the honest zeal and earnestness of its members, and the spirit of Christian unity and love, which influenced their conduct. Both exact our sincere admiration, convinced as we are that, next to God, to both the success is owing. With respect to the latter, so much has already been said, and is daily said, of the hundreds of places in which congregations are established, and are establishing, and of the hundreds of thousands, headed by hundreds of priests, who have left, and are daily leaving, the church of Rome, that we have only to refer our readers to any of the numerous daily newspapers, where they will be sure to meet with statements of its progress. For us it remains to say a word or two as to the probable success and future prospects of this movement.

It is, on the whole, no easy matter to say what the end and effect of this religious movement in Germany will be, or how this state of religious fermentation will be settled. There is, however, every probability, if not a high degree of certainty, that it will prove destructive in the extreme to the church of Rome.

‘*Doceamus vera, ne, dum falsa defendimus, vera simul amittamus.*’

These words, so exhortingly uttered by the great Erasmus, have, as it were, become the watchword throughout Germany; and the

‘*Plus valent boni mores, quam bonæ leges,*’

has become so palpable, that the present generation of Roman catholics are bent on a course in moral and religious matters, which must ultimately bring them to the goal of moral freedom. And as for the ‘*Salus Ecclesiæ Romanæ suprema lex,*’ neither this nor the ‘*Stat pro ratione voluntas,*’ will do any longer. Rome is visibly losing ground in Germany; and, once lost, she will find it rather difficult to regain it. ‘Believe me,’ writes a most distinguished and liberal protestant divine from Germany, to an English friend of his, ‘Romanist supremacy is at an end in this country. There may possibly be a few trifling struggles, more through the obstinacy and fondness to rule of our petty sovereigns; but the more powerful and enlightened governments will soon convince those rulers that it is foolish and idle to oppose the mighty current of civilisation and light. The Pope will, no doubt, if he

perseveres in his present course of proceedings, largely contribute to shorten those struggles. What effect can bulls and briefs, commanding his clergy in this country to be more zealous in preaching the doctrines of the Romish church have at this time? Preaching, if it does not emanate from the heart, but is only produced by fear of the loss of a good living, assuredly will never go to the heart of the hearers. The Roman-catholic clergy in this country are peculiarly situated, ever since a regeneration took place in our own church, and among our own clergy. The majority of the Romanist priests are fond of associating with their protestant brethren, because they see and acknowledge their superior piety and learning, but they dare not. Apprehensions that the Vatican is but too ready to swallow their rich sees and prebends, keeps them from acting as most of them assuredly would. This, I believe, is shortsighted on their part. We have certainly in our church no Archbishop of Cologne, of Münster, or of Posen, with an income of from fifty thousand to sixty thousand thalers a year; but, on the whole, I believe that it is not too much to say, that our clergy are as well provided for as that of Rome, in this country, which proves that the different governments immediately after the Westphalian peace, understood so well how to take care of the property of the church, that it has remained unimpaired during the terrible struggles of the seven years' war, as well as during the wars consequent upon the French revolution.'

Mr. Laing, speaking of the future prospects of the German-Apostolic Catholic church, expresses a fear as to her success, and as a reason for it, he says, that the only class of Germans who have taken an interest in the present movement, is the middle class, and that neither the upper nor the lower ranks of society have embraced any of the new doctrines. Herein, Mr. Laing is mistaken, inasmuch as this commotion or agitation has been created within the very heart, if we may so say, of the lower classes. In Silesia, for example, it is the miners, and poor artisans, and such like people, who have embraced the new doctrines, and who consequently have renounced the Pope for ever. These poor simple-minded, yet honest men, have changed their religious creed; and, once changed, they are not likely to return again to the church of Rome. This, together with the effervescence among the middle and civic classes of almost the whole of Germany, we feel satisfied, will lead to something permanent, especially as matters stand at this moment, when religious passions are at their height. It is asserted, with a high degree of certainty, that the remains of catholicism are menaced with complete obliteration throughout the north of the country. Thus much, as far as the ecclesiastical power of

Rome is concerned. And as for the temporal powers of Germany, of them we may speak in the terms of a clever and enlightened French periodical, only varying its phrases and adapting it to our own purposes. Although we differ in opinion with regard to the doctrines of this new church, yet we acknowledge their desire of emancipation to be legitimate. And if they persist in their course, they will succeed. Princes will understand in time, that it can be of little service to them to be heads of the church, if the church is no longer the nation. The actual movement will terminate, sooner or later, in this result. Some governments, perhaps, will hasten to acknowledge this new church, in order to dictate the law to her, instead of receiving it from her; they will then extend over this new church the domination they now exercise over other churches. But this will be only a halt on the road; after which she will, at length, arrive at this separation from the church of Rome, which is the problem of the age. It is quite natural, that the movement should begin with Germany, since that is the country in which the inconveniences of the union with Rome, make themselves most sensibly felt; but it will not stop there. It ultimately must end with the downfall of the papal chair.

Art. II.—1. *Caii Sallustii Crispi Opera quæ supersunt*: (edited by) Fridericus Kritzius. 2 vols. Lipsiæ, 1828, 1834.

2. *The History of the Conspiracy of Catiline and of the Jugurthine War*. By Caius Crispus Sallustius. Translated by Edward Peacock, M.A. London, Longman, 1845.

It is impossible to read the struggles of the Roman republic, first for existence, then for dominion, without admiring the indomitable perseverance of her aristocracy; the zeal for their order, the vigilance, the forethought, the self-sacrifice, the prudence, the enterprise, which animated them in factions and in wars, however unjustifiable. But in the history of this aristocracy, at the time, in fact, when the absolute supremacy of Rome is first displaying itself as unquestionable, a crisis comes, in which we have to marvel yet more at their short-sightedness and infatuation, than at any success of the public arms. A petty state of Italy had made itself mistress of all the fairest countries which touch on the Mediterranean: it might seem impossible to forget by what agency this wonderful eminence had been earned; by what soldiers so many hundred battles had been fought and won. Strange to say, the Roman nobles were practically blind

to the fact, that Italy was the basis of their power ;—that Italian freemen must be maintained, if the state was to continue on its own foundation. If in the times of the elder Cato and the younger Africanus, the leading men of Rome had been Catilines or Cæsars, they might well have been satisfied with any venal armies, whose attachment they could win, without caring whether they were of Italian, or of Spanish, Gaulish, Illyrian blood. Foreign troops, indeed, if they had good muscle and bone, would probably better suit an aspiring usurper ; but every prudent senator might have known well, that when Roman armies came to depend on such aid, the Roman senate would lose the empire of the world, and be personally at the mercy of some general. Manifest as this may seem, the freemen of Italy were allowed to waste away under the very eyes of the senate, and for a century together, the fact was not publicly noticed. At last, Tiberius Gracchus came forward with measures to remedy so dangerous a decay. His remedies were distasteful to the aristocracy ; he was crushed, and he was murdered. The miserable disease which he came to cure, remained as a notorious reality ; yet his opponents attempted no remedy. His brother bound himself to a similar martyr career ; which the enraged aristocracy avenged by slaughtering, not Caius Gracchus only, with his friend Fulvius, and Fulvius's innocent youthful son, but some three thousand of the Roman commonalty. From this moment an evil genius seemed to have possessed the fate of Rome : no wisdom, no patriotism, no vigilance on the part of her first statesmen could any longer arrest the precipitous career along which the republic was hurried to ruin. A second time, indeed, the nobility triumphed, under Sulla ; but when the third crisis came, and it prepared for vengeance equally cruel, its own vainglorious folly ruined it, and prostrated the veteran Pompey before the selfish demagogue Cæsar. But whatever had been the result of that war, the republic could not have stood, nor could the proudest senator of Rome secure for himself any place between that of despot or slave. The decline and fall of the Roman empire has employed the pen of an English writer, of high artistical genius ; but the decline and fall of the *republic* still needs, for us, a historian : and it may well be called a tragedy of the first order.

No continuous history of these times has come down to us in the Latin language ; for nearly all this portion of Livy's great work is lost. We have, however, two very striking *monographs* in the form of biography, by the excellent Latin writer Sallust, called the war of Jugurtha, and the conspiracy of Catiline. Each has the same moral,—the hopeless corruption of the Roman aristocracy ; and that which is later, represents

the depravity as of still deeper dye, and as affecting worst all those of oldest family. This singular result may at first sight appear to have a deep moral, and to be capable of feeding a just hatred towards aristocratic institutions. But it is rather to be judged an accident attending the success of the senatorial party under Sulla; who, as the Robespierre of the day, from a miserable fanaticism in the cause of his idol, inflicted on political opponents atrocious massacres and confiscation, such as to throw into the shade the murders committed by the Marian party. The tools and the gainers in these scenes of iniquity, were the youthful nobility and their hangers-on; and such were the deeds of domestic carnage in which the youth of Catiline was spent. To have named the fact, explains at once the truculent profligacy of the Catilinarian party, who desired to perpetuate the licence of bloodshed, plunder, and unlimited debauchery into which they had been initiated during the rule of Sulla.

The earlier depravity of the nobles, which first came out into public notoriety during the war with Jugurtha, is more instructive, perhaps, exactly because their guilt was less fully ripened. It still represented the wickedness of statesmen, not of leagued highwaymen and assassins. For this reason, no one in modern times has questioned the truth of Sallust's narrative concerning the Jugurthine war, while various respectable writers (though, by no means, of high authority) have avowed themselves unable to believe the utter atrocity imputed to the Catilinarians. Some, indeed, have urged numerous grounds for regarding the charges brought against them as mere party slanders; and one argument has so much plausibility, that we are induced here to notice it, especially as we have never seen it answered as we think it ought to be. It is objected, we mean, that many of the ancients were disposed to regard the wealthy Crassus as more or less implicated in Catiline's schemes; and that this indicates credulity so greedy, as to shake the authority of the whole story. But this surely admits of a widely different interpretation. The connexion of Crassus with the conspirators was so very unlikely, that the belief could never have gained currency from any intrinsic plausibility: hence it is probable that there was positive testimony to the fact. But is it incredible? On the contrary, it admits of a natural explanation. Crassus, like Catiline, had been in the party of Sulla, and from his eminent position there, must have had many adherents or connexions by whom the plans of Catiline would become at least dimly discernible to him. In case of a revolution, his riches would have marked him out as a first victim; and if he knew enough of the wide extent of the conspiracy to be alarmed, he may have negotiated with them obscurely, in order to secure his own safety, though with

anything but an intention of assisting them. Still, enough may have transpired to make it *appear* that he was privy to the plot; and his own demeanour, in consenting to hush up the evidence, and allow the senate to cast mere disdain upon the informant, countenances this view. Nor is the atrocious spirit of the conspirators out of keeping with the history which precedes and follows. We can trace with extreme distinctness, in undoubted and indubitable fact, the steps of degeneracy along which the oligarchy of Rome rushed, with pace ever accelerating, immediately after the defeat of Hannibal at Zama. Upon this event they quickly discerned that the spoils of the world were theirs, if they could but get pretences for war plausible enough to ensure the support of the Roman people. The elder Africanus lived to see a majority of his fellow-senators care more to amass for themselves princely fortunes, by means fair or foul, than to secure the stability of their order and of their native institutions. His younger contemporary, the great Cato, proclaimed that those institutions could not stand, when the nobility were rich enough and base enough to spend on a single dish what might have maintained a yeoman's family for a month; and beyond a doubt, hundreds besides saw that this greedy oligarchy could not for ever go on to plunder the world without falling into mutual conflict over the spoil. But all knew that it would last their time and the time of their children; for a more distant posterity they took no account. Considering, also, the extreme care which the Romans employed on the *census* of their citizens, it is incredible that Tiberius Gracchus was the first to discern the wasting of the free Italian population. Nearly every consul and prætor who had had to enroll troops for fifty years preceding, must have been made conscious of the fact: but to notice it was inconvenient, and all were angry when Gracchus would allow them to wink at it no longer. The majority of the nobility were engaged in self-aggrandizement, and were wilfully blind to the social dangers of the state. Still, they managed for some years yet to cloak their selfishness under one or other public pretence; and did not hesitate to crush opposition by indiscriminate murder, until the pertinacious determination of Jugurtha to bribe every great man in Rome who could by any sum be bought, revealed beyond dispute the utter rottenness of that great aristocracy. The horrible contest of Marius and Sulla, the facts of which no one has yet doubted, left nothing worse for a Catiline to perpetrate.

The deeds of Sulla had been written by Sisenna. At a later period, Sallust took for his subject the reaction which followed the death of the tyrannical aristocrat; namely, in the histories which unfortunately have been lost. But his earlier works were

equally directed to expose the malversations and iniquity of the party, by which (as a favourer of Caius Cæsar) he himself was ejected from the senate. It can hardly be doubted that this was the real cause which induced him to dedicate his talents to narrate the war of Jugurtha. Neither to the military nor to the common reader can its campaigns have any very great interest since the want of exact geographical knowledge on the part of the writer and reader gives it a most undesirable vagueness. No does Jugurtha's own character—consisting of energy, treachery and cruelty, equally mixed—contain anything to relieve the oppression of mind felt from the narrative of unvaried crime. One proud and upright noble, of respectable talent,—Metellus surnamed Numidicus,—two spirited tribunes of the people, and one rude plebeian upstart, the heartless Marius, alone break the monotony of venal Romans in the Jugurthine war. In it, indeed, as in the Catilinarian conspiracy, the characters are drawn strongly, and with discrimination: the speeches, although in Sallust's own peculiar style, are in substance varied and appropriate. The understanding which he shows of the Roman constitution is profound, familiar, and matured, without scholastic pedantry. The whole tone of writing is thoughtful, dignified, concise and manly; and (it has been with no small probability surmised) furnished the model which Tacitus set before him in composing his immortal works. Their very ruggedness is deliberately intended, nor is there any negligence in their other scurities; every part has received as much smoothness as the artist thought fit, and is finished even where a half-taught person desires to add more finish. This, perhaps, is peculiarly characteristic of such compositions as are rightly pronounced *classical*; but their sterling merits cannot be appreciated by tiros in the language, and it may seem strange that the work of Sallust, as the *Agricola* and *Germania* of Tacitus, should be favourites only at schools, but scarcely read by college youths, or by any grown men beyond professional precincts. Many of Cicero's treatises and orations have suffered like degradation, in part because their Latin is *so easy*;—their appropriate excellence and beauty being made a reason why they should be neglected by more matured intellects. It cannot be imputed to the monographs of Tacitus and Sallust, that their style is too easy for the study of collegians; but, we apprehend the convenient *compactness* of such monographic works has won for them the preference of schoolmasters. They are short enough for school books, and they contain within themselves nearly all the information which a school-boy or his teacher absolutely needs. That this is not an adequate reason for using these works in schools, we do not mean to decide; but we do

protest against regarding their use in schools as a reason why older minds should contentedly remain ignorant of them.

A very elaborate edition of Sallust has in recent years been put forth by Kritz, with Latin notes of great length. We believe that it may be said, with much confidence, that the text of the author, as given us by Kritz, is far more trustworthy than in any other edition; although this editor may seem to err on the side of preferring difficult readings, and studying to elicit refinements. He is chargeable also with a tone of unpleasant arrogance towards other critics. His is the edition which a scholar will, in preference, choose; but we have not been able to overcome the conviction that his Latin notes might have been compressed advantageously into one-third of their length. We hardly know for what class of readers they can be intended. A scholar does not need so much ado, and a learner cannot be expected to wade through them. We regret to observe, not in Kritz only, but in Zumpt, who has edited the Verrine orations of Cicero in two octavo volumes, a tendency to set up anew a system of annotation, too similar to that of the Porsonian school in England, which thought far more of the words than of the substance of the author. If this were followed up, it would soon decide for ever that the study of the classics should be reckoned with that of Hebrew or Anglo-Saxon, which can find no field for themselves in practical England.

Meanwhile, judicious translators may be of great service. We should be untrue to our own conviction of the value of ancient history, did we despond as to the benefit to be hoped from the mass of our middle classes acquainting themselves with the best historical works of antiquity. Unfortunately, hitherto our aristocracy have turned to so little purpose the elaborate apparatus of classical teaching provided for them in the public schools and universities, that practical men are incredulous as to the worth of the lessons to be gained from such sources. But when our middle classes begin to learn, they learn for real use, not for mere elegant amusement; and the more sterling parts of classical literature, we fondly hope, will not be so thrown away upon *them*. Such considerations induce us to welcome every modern translator of valuable prose classics, who really advances this object: and as such we may surely reckon the translation of Sallust now before us, by Mr. E. Peacock. We should have been still better pleased, if illustrative notes had been added, or an appropriate introduction, addressed to English readers who have no previous acquaintance with the subject: yet the book is such, as to render this far less necessary than in most other classics. The translation is executed into the standard English of our own day: it is fluent, unexcept-

tionable, and, as far as we have examined, quite trustworthy for correctness, assuming the text followed by the translator to be the best; which, perhaps, is not strictly the case. He informs us, in his preface, that he has endeavoured 'to infuse into the translation some portion of that spirit and elegance, which so eminently distinguish the original.' *Elegance* is hardly the quality which we should have ascribed to Sallust; but we think we may state that Mr. Peacock is generally *spirited*, and especially when the subject most demands it. The style is, indeed, too Latinized, and often too smooth, to please our taste, in rendering an old-fashioned and condensed author like Sallust: whose peculiar manner, according to our notion, ought to be imitated by something analogous in English. This, however, is quite a secondary question, and one on which there will be a diversity of taste. It may be thought unwise to repel the reader by any thing approaching to oddity, when the main object is to attract attention to the substance of the work. We do not ourselves yield to this argument. In the later period of national literature, when information has greatly accumulated, and writers have learned by reading more than by solitary thinking, a glib uniformity of expression creeps in, so pellucid as instantly to show the meaning through it, while the medium itself is scarcely perceptible, or at least draws no attention whatever. For pure science or diplomacy such a style is perfection, but for history, as for poetry, we demand a more substantial and vividly coloured medium, which shall tinge the imagination and excite the memory. We need not here fight the old battle of the romantic against the falsely named classical school. The very history of English poetry and French prose shows that true genius invests its compositions with hues and features of its own, which are gendered naturally by the kindling and forming soul within: and as those native writers who have a style of their own, provided it be not deformed and conceited, strike their roots most deeply into the hearts of readers; so, in translating such writers, it appears to be an injustice wholly to ignore their peculiar manner. We would have the translator draw a wide distinction between authors who have no style at all, or who have spent no pains whatever on the *form* of their works, and those who have elaborated their composition with care similar to that of the poet. The former class may not only be transferred with perfect success into newspaper English, but may even, in many cases, with great propriety and advantage, be exceedingly abridged in the translation. Of this an instance ready to our hand occurs in Polybius; a most valuable writer, but one who is often so inexpressibly tedious in his long-winded reflections, that in pure mercy to the English reader (or rather, to secure

any readers at all) the translator ought often to cut down whole paragraphs into sentences, and turn comparisons into allusive metaphors. But when an author is terse, racy, shaping his sentences after a characteristic fashion of his own, and with that peculiar mode of materializing his conceptions which is often observed in ancient writers; we then desire that his translator should, at the risk of being thought strange or affected, study to mould his English into forms that possess characters similar to those of the original. The translation before us does not aim at this, and therefore of course seldom attains it; but, in truth, how few Englishmen ever have done so? Pope has smoothed away into modern beauty all the angularity of Homer: Dryden had conceived of a different abstract excellence in translating the *Iliad*; but when he essayed it on the first book, he produced a monstrous abortion which is below criticism. Just so, Gordon translated Tacitus with consummate conceit and absurdity; while Murphy cast him into the mould of the eighteenth century, and dissipated his condensed energy into redundant languor. The first principles of really good translation have to be learned by our countrymen. We profess in the present critique a higher standard of excellence than is generally conceived of; and while we wish to inculcate this, both on the present translator and on all our readers, we would not do it in such a way as to disparage the book before us, which has merits of its own, and deserves patronage. Indeed, the concise modesty and business-like tone of the preface in itself prepossesses us in favour of the translator.

To exhibit the style of his English, we take the following as a good specimen, which will show that in really striking passages, he does not suffer the spirit of the original to evaporate.—p. 19.

‘At last, Catiline was enslaved with a passion for Aurelia Orestilla, who, except her person, had nothing to command a good man’s praise. When she hesitated to marry him, dreading his son, who had arrived at manhood, it is confidently believed that the youth was assassinated to render the house free for these nefarious nuptials. And this circumstance strikes me as principally inducing him to hasten the conspiracy. For his impure soul, abhorred by gods and men, found no respite either in watchfulness or rest—so powerfully did conscience goad his infuriated mind. His face was colourless, his eyes ghastly; his step, now slow, now hurried—in fact, madness was impressed on every feature of his countenance.’

Criticism in detail would be here useless, and might only appear as pedantry in the critic. It remains merely to express our hope, now that we see Mr. Long engaged in translating some of

Plutarch's Lives in Knight's Weekly Volumes, that our best scholars will be disposed, and will be induced, to give their labours to this interesting object. Many, who are both willing and competent, are practically disabled, because the market is forestalled by the republishing of bad translations; and it is very difficult to draw public attention to the claims of those which are better executed. Such publishers, however, as Mr. Knight, have a peculiar power in this direction; and we trust that a portion of it will be used to introduce English readers to fields of thought and knowledge, which were familiar to all well-educated men and women two centuries ago, and which have lost none of their value.

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- Art. III.—1. *Travels in Luristan and Arabistan*. By the Baron C. A. De Bode. 2 vols 8vo. J. Madden and Co., London. 1845.
 2. *Bokhara; its Amir and its People*. Translated from the Russian of Khanikoff. By the Baron Clement A. De Bode. 1 vol. 8vo. J. Madden and Co., London. 1845.

BOTH these works are from the pen of the Baron Clement A. De Bode; that on Luristan and Arabistan being an original work, that on Bokhara, a translation from the Russian of Khanikoff. Before we proceed to offer any observations on the contents of these publications, we may be allowed to express our surprise that a foreigner should have been able to write our language with so much accuracy and elegance, and cannot but compliment him on his unusual proficiency. There is little in either work, to remind us of a foreign idiom; so little, that we must assure the author that there was small occasion for the modest apology with which, in his preface to his own work, he deprecates the charge of presumption, 'for writing in a language not his own.' He says, that 'if the interest created by historical recollections' will excuse him in introducing 'ancient Elymais, with its adjacent countries, to the notice of the public, he fears he has not the same chance in presuming to address his readers in a language not his own. His short stay in this country has had the effect of making him sensible of his deficiencies in this respect, without giving him time to supply them.' We can assure him that he has no great reason to ask our indulgence in this matter; there being to our certain knowledge, many authors amongst our countrymen who could not write their language with so much correctness and purity. It is true, that in the prefaces to both works, he ex-

presses his obligations to Mr. J. A. St. John, as well as to other friends, for kind attentions and 'judicious hints;' but unless those obligations are far greater than are usually implied in the friendly perusal of an author's manuscript for the purpose of offering general suggestions of improvement—unless, in fact, they amount to a complete editorial revision of the whole—the Baron's knowledge of our language must still be very considerable—indeed, far beyond that usually attained by the majority of the foreigners who study it. With the exception of a very occasional slip, as 'wrote' in one place for 'written,' and in another, 'self-abnegation,' for 'self-denial,' we have met with almost nothing that could indicate a foreign origin.

The countries to which these travels refer, are still comparatively unknown to Europeans. Extensive as has been the intercourse of late years with the East, there are still vast tracts of it which are as little known to the English reader, as those of the most western settlements of America, or even less so. Numberless are the books which treat of the territories which lie within the limits of our vast Indian empire, yet the regions immediately contiguous to it have, many of them, been but imperfectly explored. Bokhara is one of these, and though its name has recently become more familiar to the English ear in connection with events which have lately transpired in the east, we apprehend that the work of Khanikoff contains by far the fullest and most accurate description of it which has yet been presented to the European public. It contains, indeed, a very minute and detailed account of its geography, whether physical or political; of the tribes and races that inhabit it; of its climate, and natural productions; of its commerce and civilization.

The countries to which Baron de Bode's own work relates, are yet less known to the public; nor is it without reason that the author deems it not impertinent to commence by telling his readers in what direction those regions lie. He says, with a good deal of naiveté:—

'If a traveller who had visited Switzerland or the banks of the Rhine, or any other part of Europe, were to think it necessary first to acquaint the reader where these countries lie, before he entered on the description of his travels, he would be considered impertinent, and would indeed deserve censure. But a similar condemnation would by no means rest on him, who, having penetrated into some obscure regions of the east, should conceive it necessary to indicate their position on the map to his countrymen of the west, before he could expect them to follow him patiently through the details of his journey.'

Certainly, in the present case, we cannot deem such infor-

mation superfluous. In spite of Pinnock's Catechisms and Goldsmith's Classbooks, we doubt, with our author, whether there are many who know precisely where Luristan is situated, and even think there are not a few who would confound Arabistan 'with some parts of Arabia.' They are to understand, then, that these countries are both parts of Persia; Luristan embracing the greater portion of the mountainous country between the extreme eastern boundary of Turkey, on the one hand, and Ispahan and Fars, on the other; while Arabistan, or, as it is otherwise denominated, Khuzistan, occupies the Low Country, which lies to the south of the same chain of mountains.

These countries have been hitherto but little investigated; and admirable as are many of the English works which within the last five and twenty years have appeared on Persia in general, sometimes in the shape of travels, and sometimes in the shape of scarcely less instructive fiction, these particular countries have not received anything like an adequate portion of attention.

The regions which Baron de Bode's volumes are more particularly designed to illustrate, now lie in decay and desolation, occupied by a rude and barbarous people, or in many parts not inhabited at all. It was not always thus. Those changes, which, in the physical world, are continually operating on the earth's surface, altering the relations of land and water, crumbling down old continents and disclosing new, are scarcely more momentous, and are far less obvious than those which are perpetually transferring the seats of civilization; rendering countries once populous, a desert; filling what were once the abodes of luxury and refinement with hordes of ignorant barbarians;—in a word, removing all 'the ancient landmarks' of art, science, and civilization, and fixing them again in countries which were a few centuries ago covered with trackless forests, and inhabited by tribes of naked or painted savages. One hardly knows which is the more wonderful; the revolution by which we find the tent of a wandering Arab side by side with the ruins of Persepolis, and the descendant of an ancient Greek stripped of all that made his forefathers so glorious, or that which has transformed the rude Britain of Cæsar's time into the England of the nineteenth century, and given to the descendants of the savage worshippers of Odin the honour of producing to the world a Bacon and a Newton, a Shakspeare and a Milton.

Though it is not easy to say which of these revolutions is the more wonderful, it is easy to say which is the most affecting to the imagination. What a melancholy commentary on the instability of all human things, and of the truth of the inspired declaration 'that all is vanity,' is afforded in the spectacle of

countries now in desolation and decay, which once flourished in arts and arms; of that profound solitude which now reigns in regions once teeming with a busy population, resounding with the hum of cities, and covered with the trophies of civilization.

Many of the tracts visited by the Baron de Bode are of this character. His course often lies through parts historically connected with some of the chief glories of the ancient Persian empire, and with the marches and victories of its great Macedonian conqueror. They are now thinly peopled with rude and barbarous tribes, ignorant alike of their own origin, and of the history and achievements of the races that preceded them. These volumes contain very frequent descriptions and details connected with some of the memorials of the past with which these regions abound,—almost unheeded, it may well be supposed, by the present inhabitants, and comparatively little investigated, as yet, by European travellers and antiquaries. Several plates of inscriptions are given in the work copied by the author, but of which the interpretation remains a mystery. At the close of the second volume, the author has appended a dissertation of some seventy pages (or as he more modestly styles it, 'observations'), on the two principal historic events connected with the countries he has described; namely, 'on the march of Timur, from Toster (Shushter) to Koleh Sefid; and on the probable course pursued by Alexander the Great on his expedition from Susa to Persepolis.'

To those who expect in travels minute description of scenery or manners, these volumes will be likely to be not so acceptable as many others which really have less of novelty to recommend them. This is partly to be attributed to want of sympathy and previous knowledge on the part of the reader. The scenes described are so distant and unfamiliar, the names of places and persons are all so strange, that it is extremely difficult to form a vivid conception of the one, or to retain the other in memory, without more copious information than can be found in our author's rapid narrative. But we must candidly admit, that it is also in part to be attributed to the extreme rapidity of the author's career. His haste, considering the desolate wildernesses which he was called to traverse, and the barbarous and unsafe tribes amongst whom he was compelled to sojourn, we can account for, and excuse; but we cannot cease to lament it, as it has deprived him of those opportunities of thorough investigation and repeated observation, which alone could give him an accurate knowledge of details, or enable him to impart a vivid impression of them to others. As a certain work of a modern traveller has been styled 'A scamper across the

Pampas,' so some parts of the present volumes would almost entitle them to be called, 'A scamper through Luristan, and Arabistan.' Our author travelled from Teheran to Shiraz, *chapari*, that is, 'by post;' the arrangement for which, he effected by the intervention of Shefi Khan, the post-master general, and an old acquaintance of the Baron, who appointed one of his *chapars*, or postillions, to accompany him, and see that no delay took place in the providing of relays of horses on the road. From Shiraz to Shuster he could not travel *chapari*, as there are no post stations through those wild regions, but he seems to have made every practicable arrangement for as rapid locomotion as possible. For this, we again say, we cannot blame him, considering the countries through which he had to pass, and the sort of people on whose hospitality and good feeling he was dependent. We honestly confess that we ourselves should not have liked to tarry a moment longer than was necessary in some of the scenes he describes, and should wish to have as little to do as possible with some of the gentry amongst whom he was occasionally called to pass his nights. Much as it might gratify the curiosity of those who stay at home to have those minute and precise accounts of countries, hitherto almost unvisited by Europeans, which would result from prolonged residence in the hut of a barbarian, or a pedestrian tour as deliberate as one might take through France or Switzerland, there can certainly be no claim upon any man to become, for such purpose, a denizen amongst savages, or a martyr to fatigue, violence, or climate.

Still, though we have no quarrel with the author for the haste with which he pushed forward, the fact remains,—that it has too often given to his descriptions a vagueness and generality which nothing but a longer residence, and more deliberate observation could have corrected; a want of minute description and graphic detail. Sometimes, indeed, we are constrained to acknowledge that his narrative degenerates into little more than a bare record of uncouth names, which chase one another from the memory as fast as they are read, there being nothing circumstantial to retain them by; and here and there into a dry itinerary, which communicates little more than the rate of progress, and the stages stopped at; that so many 'far-sangs' (each more than an English league) had been got over in a day; often indeed such a number, that it leaves the reader no reason to wonder that the rider came jaded and exhausted to his journey's end, and as little room to be surprised that the names of certain villages, towns, tribes, rivers, and mountains, were nearly all that he had time to gather in his rapid flight. Sometimes we are told that there were some ruins to the right or to the left, which were reported to be interesting,

but which there was no time to visit, or that the horses were so fatigued, that he could not venture upon the deviation from the direct road. He seems to have been not only a hard rider, but impatient of slow motion; and not unfrequently left his less vigorous or worse-mounted attendants to find their way after him, and himself found his own way *before* them, as he and they best could. In two or three instances this propensity does not appear to have been attended with very pleasant consequences. Just before reaching Kazerun, he says, that having sent on his guide, he advanced with his two servants leisurely—'the horses of the latter being quite knocked up. But this slow pace could not suit me long, and setting my steed into an easy trot, I soon lost sight of them.' On that same evening he tells us he alighted at Kazerun, 'fatigued and bruised all over, having made that day upwards of nine farsangs, or forty-three miles.' If it had not been for those circumstances which we have already stated as a sufficient excuse for haste, we should have been greatly inclined to expostulate with our traveller much as Daniel O'Rourke expostulates with the eagle that 'fled him up to the moon.' When the latter tells his involuntary companion to sit down in the moon, for that he (the eagle) was tired with such a 'long fly;' 'And, pray,' says Daniel, 'who was it asked you to fly so far? was it I? Did not I beg and entreat and beseech your lordship's honour's glory to stop half an hour ago?' In the same manner we could have heartily wished, had it been practicable, that the number of farsangs made by the author in one day had not been quite so numerous, and that he had not so frequently to record his extreme physical exhaustion, which, indeed, must often have left him in an unfavourable condition for either making or recording observations. The extreme mobility of our traveller is strikingly manifested in the frequency of his night journeys, for which, we confess, we find it hard to account, seeing that a traveller's main object is 'to see what is to be seen.' That a traveller in such a climate as that of some parts of Persia, should choose the cool of the early dawn or the close of the dewy evening for pushing forward, is intelligible and reasonable. But not a few of our worthy traveller's 'farsangs' seem to have been 'made,' when the sun was absolutely below the horizon.

For the occasional insertion of comparatively dry and barren catalogues of the names of towns and villages, mountains and rivers, of which his hasty transit enabled him to obtain nothing further, we must confess that our author offers a sufficient defence and explanation. 'I thus minutely note down these different places,' he says, vol. ii. p. 251, 'however insignificant they may be, because the plain of Khorremabâd is not much

known, and European travellers seldom venture in this direction.' Any information (however meagre) which tends to throw light on the geography of unknown regions, or which enables us to complete the map of the earth's surface, must be acknowledged to be valuable.

On the whole, in spite of the want of more minute details and more circumstantial description, resulting from the rapidity with which our author prosecuted his researches, we are disposed to regard these volumes as a valuable contribution to the department of literature to which they belong. Some few common-places in the sentimental vein (occurring however rarely) might perhaps have been as well away; and some rather extensive extracts from Beckford's 'Vathek,' as well as some briefer citations from Moore and others, we could have gladly exchanged for a few more lines from the traveller's note book; not that we do not think them good, but because to English ears they sound trite. Indeed, had the extracts from Vathek been found in the work of an *English* author, we should have set them down to a determined and remorseless spirit of book-making; but nothing can be more natural than for a foreigner, charmed with some portion of an acquired literature, to forget how familiar it may be to those who speak the language.

Before proceeding to lay before our readers a few extracts from these pleasing volumes, we may be permitted to remark, that, whatever be the Baron de Bode's religious creed, we have been much pleased with the moral tone of his performance, and his habitually reverential mention of religious subjects. He has also, it is evident, been a diligent reader of those portions of scripture which tend to throw light on oriental history.

We now proceed to offer the reader a few extracts. They will, of course, not be from the portions which are connected with antiquarian and geographical details, which, apart from the connection, could scarcely be intelligible. We shall also omit all matters connected with the visit to Persepolis, the tombs of the kings, and the other wonders of the Vale of Merdasht, as these objects have frequently been described by travellers.

Our readers will not be displeased to hear that, even so remote a nation as Persia, is beginning to understand something of the great doctrine of religious toleration. The latter part of the following extract is not unamusing.

'The fact of Mussulman parents sending their children to learn at a Christian institution, and that too at Isfahan, the seat of Mussulman orthodoxy, is a great proof of the tolerance of the Persians in religious matters, to which even the chief priest set an example. The former Imam-Juma (lately deceased) to whose ancient family

the people of Isfahan bear a profound veneration, attaching an idea of sanctity to it, used to take a peculiar delight in the conversation of the catholic missionaries of Julfa on religious subjects. Sayyid Mohammed Baghir, the first Mustheid or propounder of the law, to whose decisions on points of Mussulman doctrine all Persia looks up, is also distinguished for the spirit of toleration, justice, and impartiality, with which he treats the Christian population of Julfa whenever they address themselves to his tribunal.

Independently of the personal character of the individuals mentioned, several other causes may have wrought this beneficial change in the policy of the Mussulman clergy.

Firstly, the progress Suffeism has made, of late years, in the kingdom. The followers of this sect, who formerly dared not avow their sentiments, now openly profess their doctrines, the main object of which is to keep more to the spirit than to the letter of the law; although many have gone beyond the prescribed limits, and have become freethinkers, or else indifferent on matters of religion. Even many members of the clergy profess, if not outwardly, at least in private, the tenets of the Suffi.

Secondly, it may be attributable to the start which the secular power has gained over the clerical in late years; for, even during the reign of the late king, the influence of the clergy over public opinion was still very great, and at times overbearing. As an instance of the change which has taken place in favour of royalty, we may here mention, that, although Fet'h-Ali-Shah was infinitely more proud than the reigning sovereign, and notwithstanding that in Persia all is based on etiquette, still he always paid the first visit to the Mushteid whenever he went to Isfahan. In 1841, when Muhammed-Shah was approaching that city, the same Mushteid came out of the gates to congratulate his majesty on his arrival. The old king, it is true, to keep up appearances, usually made believe that chance alone brought him into the vicinity of the Mushteid's dwelling, and that, being so near, it would be unkind not to see his old friend after a long absence; but, then, this chance had become a rule from which the king never deviated, and which the Mushteid reckoned as his due.—vol. i. pp. 46—48.

The following is the author's account of the Persian post-office establishment and arrangements. It will be seen that there is a considerable difference between those of Persia and England in this respect. Neither merchants nor lovers accustomed to the rapidity and punctuality of our incomparable 'penny post,' would much relish the arrangements of the Persian postmaster; yet we were not much better off, nay, scarcely so well off, only two or three centuries ago.

'The post in Persia is kept up by government, which pays for the maintenance of each chapar-khaneh, or post station, in money and in kind; the administration of it is in the hands of the postmaster.

general, who farms the chapar-khaneh separately or collectively, on a given line of communication with the capital.

There are chapar-khanehs on all the principal roads leading to Teheran, but the towns in the interior do not enjoy the same advantage. The post, however, here is not instituted as in Europe, for the regular conveyance of letters and parcels. It is only for the transmission of orders from the central authorities to the different governors of provinces, and for reports sent up by the latter to the supreme court. On such occasions, a *golan* (literally, a slave,) or confidential servant, is intrusted with the packets and despatched *chapari*, which means by post. Individuals who have letters to forward in the same direction, take advantage of these opportunities by paying a trifling remuneration to the bearer who takes charge of their correspondence. Seven is the usual number of horses at each station, although it varies according to the exigencies of the times or the importance of the line of communication. The three principal points with which Teheran keeps up a continued correspondence are, Tabriz to the west, Isfahan to the south, and Mesched to the east.

With the exception of one or two horses at each station, which are sometimes, but not always, tolerable, the rest are in a most miserable condition, and the poor rider who has the bad luck to bestride one of them is more knocked up by his jade than he is by the legitimate fatigues of his long journey. If, notwithstanding all his endeavours, his horse will not or cannot advance, he has the privilege of cutting off its tail and flourishing it before the face of the *zobet* or keeper of the next post station. This is the satisfaction granted him for having had to walk perhaps half way on foot, with his saddle on one shoulder and his bag of despatches on the other.—*ib.* pp. 26—28.

The inhabitants of Mahommedan countries are not always quite obedient to that command of the prophet which enjoins abstinence from wine, as the following citation will show. They are, however, in general, temperate enough to set Christians a wholesome example.

At 10, A.M. we entered the valley of Ser-Abi-Siyah (Black-water Head), lying between two parallel chains of hills. At first it is well cultivated, but further on it is covered with high grass, and becomes a mere swamp, which abounds in game. Many springs here burst forth from the ground and the rocks. There are roads along the base of the hills on either side of the valley. I chose that on the left, as being the shortest; but when the brother of Khan-Ali-Khan, chief of the Rustemi, met us (about 11 A.M.), he persuaded me to cross over to the other side, pretending that the road on the right was the better of the two. Probably he expected to meet his brother on that side. Khan-Ali-Khan soon made his appearance, accompanied by a crowd of men on horseback, all well armed and mounted. This parade was intended, no doubt, to convince the Ferengi of the importance of the chief, and of the strength of his tribe. The Persians are great braggarts.

'After the usual salutations, we alighted. My travelling carpet was spread on the ground near a small *imam-sadeh*, and a cold fowl with pillaw set before me. This simple fare did not tempt the Mumaseni chief, as he sat opposite to me, surrounded by his numerous retinue; but there was one thing on which he fixed his longing eyes, and that was a bottle of red Shiráz wine. I own I felt very reluctant to part with it, for it was the last, and I had a long journey to perform before I could expect to obtain a fresh supply; at all events, not before reaching Isfahan; nor could I reckon on such good wine, as the bottle before me was of the best *hulari*. While these selfish ideas were revolving in my mind, probably no less egotistical feelings prompted my neighbour to stretch out his hand and lay hold of the bottle, adding, that he wished to drink my good health. '*Bo Salumeti shuma, Sahib.*'—(To your good health, sir.) Thus he went on quaffing one glass after another with the same good wishes until the whole had disappeared.

'I hinted once while the work of devastation was going on, that the wine was very strong, and might perhaps affect his head. That, he said, was its best recommendation. When we rose to mount our horses, I found my prediction correct, for Khan-Ali-Khan soon began to roll in his saddle. He had previously insisted that I should stop a few days with him, and seemed rather piqued when I declined the offer.'—*ib.* p. 245.

The following stratagem of a freebooting chieftain amongst that plundering tribe, the Bakhtiyari, would be worthy of Rob Roy or any other ancient Highland catteran.

'In his younger days, Muhammed Taghi-Khan was accustomed to lead his countrymen on plundering expeditions, where he reaped great renown for personal bravery and address. I was told an anecdote of him, which, if it does not redound to his honour, at least does credit to his inventive genius. Being one day on a foray with his followers, at some distance from their mountain fastnesses, they fell in with a rich caravan of merchants, who were proceeding from Isfahan to Teherán. The Bakhtiyari soon succeeded in capturing them and taking possession of their goods; but, apprehending lest a pursuit should be set on foot against them before they could gain their mountains, if they allowed their captives to depart, and fearing also that putting them to death would equally lead to detection, Muhammed Taghi-Khan had recourse to the following stratagem:—Among the plundered articles there happened to be a great many *chaddars*, a thick stuff for veils, with which the women of Persia cover themselves from head to foot when they go out. Muhammed Taghi-Khan had the merchants dressed in this novel apparel, and replaced, handcuffed, on their own horses. They were then given in charge to his men, with strict injunctions that, should any of them dare to speak a word when any stranger was in hearing, he should be shot through the head. Thus the party journeyed on for several days, keeping, as much as the nature of the country would allow, off the high road, and

avoiding villages. The country people who passed them never suspected that there was any foul play going on, but imagined it was a caravan of pilgrims going with their wives and families to Kerbelah or Mecca, and even kept aloof from a feeling of decorum when they saw so many women in the party. When the Bakhtiyari had gained their mountains, and saw themselves out of reach of pursuit, they released their prisoners and left them to shift for themselves, as well as they could, whilst they made off with their booty to their families, elated with their success, and exulting in their chieftain's sagacity.—vol. ii. pp. 79, 80.

Not unfrequently the traveller was called to pass the night in the fashion following. The picture gives us the interior of an Iliyat tent. On taking a peep, we think the rapidity of our traveller's movements may be well excused.

‘ At half-past two I arrived at the encampment of Kûren, as it is called here, of the Boërekevend tribe, situated in a narrow valley between high mountains. I was received very hospitably; at which I was not astonished, as I had been previously apprized that the Lur Iliyats on this part of the road are a more hearty people than their neighbours who inhabit the valleys between Kîloband Khor-remabad.

‘ The women immediately set about cooking some rice pillaw, while the master of the tent killed a lambkin and dressed it on an iron spit. I found the supper delicious and the beverage very refreshing. The usual drink of the Iliyats consists of butter-milk weakened with water; a little salt is added to it, and it is then called *ob-i-dhug*. It is generally sour. There is nothing so efficacious for the purpose of slaking thirst on a hot summer's day as this *ob-i-dhug*. Before supper was over the rain recommenced, and in order to preserve my riding horse from getting wet, I was obliged to take him inside my tent and close to my couch, there being no other place for his accommodation, as the remaining part of the tent separated only from my bed room by a low partition of plaited reed, was filled with numerous members of my family and my servants, and a whole lot of young lambkins and kids in separate cages or pens of plaited reed. The latter kept sneezing and bleating the greater part of the night.

‘ It may be more easily conceived than expressed what a poisonous atmosphere there must have been in a tent of this description, the inclemency of the weather making it necessary to keep it closed, and yet this is one of the least inconveniences to which a traveller is exposed in travelling among this primitive people. If we were to establish a comparison between the comforts, nay, the luxuries, to which Europeans are accustomed when travelling in their own land, and the inconveniences and privations of eastern locomotion, it would be a constant figure of antithesis. But the appreciation of these relative wants of mankind ought at the same time to teach us two great

truths, which we are ever too prone to pass unheeded, namely, that our real wants in life might be brought within a very small compass, and that we ought to feel therefore doubly grateful to our God when we enjoy ease and comfort, at a time when thousands of our fellow creatures are deprived of both. Independently of the rain, I had another reason for securing my horse inside the tent, as these wild sons of nature, however tenacious they may be of their own property, are not very scrupulous in appropriating to themselves that of their neighbours.—*ib.* pp. 219, 220.

The reader may perhaps desire to see another variety of the same species of existence.

‘As Khorremabad lies on the right banks of the river, I had to cross a low stone bridge, close to which is a cypress grove. No lodgings having been secured before my arrival, I was first taken into the fort, situated on the top of an isolated rock, by a very steep path. Here no spare room was to be found, and I had to retrace my steps down again. At last a room was procured in the house of one of the *kedkhudas* of the town, who had been charged with the administration of it during the absence of Hajji-Mullah Ahmed; but scarcely had I taken possession of my apartment, before it was filled by the Lurs, who had followed the master of the house, and established themselves comfortably round the walls. For several hours I was doomed to answer the inquisitive *Kedkhuda* and his company. After that, a regular *Dwan Kanèh*, or court of justice, was established in the same room. Crowds pressed in and out; complaints were lodged, differences were settled, appeals were heard. At length my patience was exhausted, and I thought it my turn, also, to appeal to my host, who sat in judgment there. I told him I felt much edified by the distribution of justice at his tribunal, but, nevertheless, as it was waxing late, and I had to rise early the next day, I hoped he would not take it amiss if I were to retire to my bed room. The audience hall being destined for this, my host took the hint, and one by one the company made their exit, to my no small relief.’—Vol. ii. pp. 252, 253.

History and theology do not seem to be the forte of the Persians, as the following extract may show. Theological controversy, they have, of course, a laudable hankering after, as have all other varieties of pugnacious humanity. That on the present occasion seems to have ended as hopefully as controversies in more civilized countries usually do; that is, in every body’s holding his first opinion. The account of the Ramadan feast which follows, may serve to show us how oppressive to the universal soul of man is a religion of ceremonial, with what ingenuity he plays the casuist against it, and how he struggles to cheat the very superstition which is cheating him. We might almost imagine ourselves reading a chapter out of Roman catholic history.

' I alighted at the house of the ruler of Búrújird, placed over the town and province by Behmén-Mirza, second brother of the Shah, and who usually resides at Hamadán.

' The room was soon crowded by the inquisitive, as was usually the case wherever I arrived, and I had to attend for some time to the theological disputations of the learned company, who were of different opinions as to whether Moses had preceded or followed the patriarch Abraham, and whether David was not prior to both of them. They at length appealed to me, to tell them how it stood in the enjil, or gospel. I answered, that although the three named personages are often mentioned by the evangelists, still that the account of their lives was to be sought not in the New, but in the Old Testament, and took some pains to set them right in respect of the times when Abraham, Moses, and David, appeared on the stage of biblical history : but with the exception of one individual, who from the beginning of the contest, differed from the others, and who now acquiesced in the justness of my statements, the rest remained unconvinced ; and so we parted for the night.

' The modern Persians are as fond as were the Greeks of the Lower Empire, in spending their time in theological controversy, and it is astonishing what a number of absurd fables have been mixed up with the simple truths of the Holy Bible, and from being sanctioned by the Kúran, are universally accredited in the East.

' February, 23.—Although the morning was far advanced when I got up, I found no one moving in the house. I waited some time longer, in expectation of breakfast, but in vain ; and at last learned from my attendants, that it being the first day of Ramazán, all were still asleep, and that there was no fire in the kitchen. The Ramazán, or Mussulman Lent, lasts a whole month, and as the Persians are forbidden to eat until the appearance of the first star after sunset, they contrive to shorten the day by prolonging their sleep in the morning. Very little public business is performed during the time the Ramazán lasts ; and the Persians, who are in general inclined to saunter away their time in idleness, are glad to have this excuse for doing nothing. Towards the close of the day, they often become even disagreeable. For such as are accustomed to the chúbúk and the kaliyán (the ordinary and the water-pipe) the privation is doubly felt, as smoking is likewise forbidden ; and I have often heard the Persians acknowledge that they can support with greater ease the want of food and drink, than the deprivation of the luxury of smoking in the course of the day—a proof that habit, when long indulged in, becomes, for a time, more imperious than the cravings of nature.

' Some of the most notorious smokers, and, such as are reckoned free-thinkers among them, contend that the pipe was never forbidden by their prophet, for the best of all reasons, because the use of tobacco was not yet known in that time ; but for fear of scandalizing the more rigid observers of the law, and of letting loose against them the Mulahs, they cunningly resort to the house of some European friend, where they taste the forbidden fruit, rendered so much

the sweeter from the circumstance of its being enjoyed by stealth. It is amusing to see the Persians at the close of the evening with their Kaliyáns in hand, waiting with the tube directed towards the mouth, in panting expectation for the signal gun, which allows them to break their fast, and then inhaling with glee the fumes of the narcotic plant. The women, in this respect, are not more backward than the men.

'The night is often spent in carousing until the first dawn, when another signal gun informs the followers of the Arab prophet that the fast is to recommence, at the sound of which, after some prayers, they repair to sleep.'—Vol. ii. pp. 299, 300.

We must here close our remarks and extracts. The latter we should have been glad to multiply, had space permitted. The Baron's volumes are adorned with numerous engravings on wood, as well as an excellent map. The plates of inscriptions have been already mentioned.

We had intended to offer a few observations on the work on Bokhara; but our space is exhausted, and we must therefore content ourselves with the general account of its contents already given, and recommend it to the attention of the public.

Art. IV.—*History of England, from the Peace of Utrecht (1713) to the Peace of Paris (1763)*. 2nd Edition. 4 vols. 8vo. 1839—1844.

THE author of these volumes, to which a long list of other works of great merit might be added, is now the really responsible minister of Indian affairs; and by far the most important portion of his lordship's historical labours, the last, contains general views respecting our Indian dependencies, in strict harmony with the feelings and judgments of the sincerest philanthropists, upon this branch of his subject. When, therefore, it is considered how wide a section of the British empire is included under the terms BRITISH INDIA, and how numerous a portion even of the whole human race is designated by those two short words, there will appear nothing fanciful in our examining the writings of Lord Mahon, in reference to the political principles which they assert, more especially upon the past experience of that great country, and upon its future prospects. A careful perusal, also, of several of those voluminous writings, leads us to be sanguine in the opinion, that his official Indian career will justify the strong expectations raised by his lordship's excellent theoretical views on numerous points. Assuredly, looking to the magnitude and delicacy of the questions more

than preparing for solution in India and on its borders—various questions of internal regulation, and of trade abroad and at home; and pressing questions of external policy, more especially at this moment, on its northern frontiers, *towards the Punjab*, where the wisdom and integrity of our measures, and our folly and cupidity, must influence for good or for evil, and central Asia; and through that wide region, perhaps, greatly affect the well-being of eastern Europe;—looking, too, at the undeniable fact, which no one has marked with stronger disapproval than Lord Mahon, that Indian affairs are treated in England with equal indifference and ignorance; those sanguine hopes cannot be unaccompanied by anxious fears, lest the new secretary of the Board of Control may have come from his new post, armed with fewer resources to meet the difficulties of his new post, than the number and magnitude of those difficulties require.

It is a close examination of the works of the historian, that has raised this feeling of sincere anxiety for the statesman. It does not spring from doubts of his ability, which is well attested; but from what seems to us to be the most serious of his very few faults,—namely, from the fact of *his works being produced, for the most part, with secondary materials*.

This remark may require explanation. Public affairs in all countries have record in authentic documents of various kind more or less complete, which constitute the best genuine materials of history. Biographies, histories, either contemporary, or otherwise, whether written by actors in the events, or not, and miscellaneous works, may contain most important additions to such official records. But it is not even the happy sagacity shewn by Lord Mahon in the use of secondary materials, that will compensate for the habitual neglect of the best aids; and although in the most important branches of diplomatic and family papers, he is exceedingly well read, and shews great facility and discrimination in the use of them, the best aids can never be safely dispensed with, even though their places be occupied, as in this case, on Indian topics, by respectable names such as those of Orme and Malcolm, Mill and Elphinstone.

We are led to insist upon this observation the more seriously, as Lord Mahon has adopted rather extraordinary sentiments on a point closely connected with it; and inasmuch as what has certainly been of no small damage to him as an historian, will, if carried into his official closet, exceedingly prejudice his career as a statesman. The eloquent and judicious opening to the two chapters* on India which we now have chiefly in view, state

* History of England, vol. iv. ch. 39, 40.

that summary of Indian history to have originated in an impression, that the existing general ignorance on the subject is to be traced to an *error* on the part of 'all other historians of British India, in requiring from their readers a preliminary stock of eastern lore.' His Lordship, therefore, determined to write 'a less learned work,' or as it is modestly enough called, 'a slight, but clear and faithful outline,' (History of England, vol iv. p. 420).

With great deference, we submit that in this there lies a considerable amount of error. Other strong causes may be adduced, to account for the indifference of the public to Indian affairs; and the time has even been, when these affairs were reflected upon in England with anything but apathy; but as far as the writing of history goes, it may be doubted, whether that of British India has not had a fair share of British intelligence devoted to it. However that may be (and we readily admit that much still remains to be done, before the history of India can be said to be written either so profoundly, or *so popularly* as its boundless importance demands), the defect, in regard to its popularity, will never be supplied, unless those who intend to be popular writers, acquire the habit of being profound readers. *Cui lecta potenter erit res, nec facundia deseret hunc, nec lucidus ordo*, was the golden rule of one whose authority will, we are sure, have the greatest weight with Lord Mahon; and this review will not have been written in vain, if catching the eye of the secretary of the India Board, our remarks should make the impression we desire upon his judgment. Many lines of the Art of Poetry of Horace, from which we quote this passage, might indeed be read with greater advantage by the statesman, than by the poet.

We infer from the references in the margin (always given with commendable care by Lord Mahon), *but more strongly from the contents of these two chapters*, that he has still to consult stores of information of the first authority upon India; and after collecting those references in the plodding way of a plain, honest reviewer, we are quite surprised to see how slight the materials are which have contributed to the construction of these two charming chapters. It cannot be doubted that they would have been written with complete success, if prepared for as Tacitus, or as either of the Plinys must have prepared themselves by a rigorous observance of the precepts of Horace, to write their Germanys, or the life of Agricola, or the Panegyric of Trajan.

The same neglect of the best sources of intelligence gives Lord Mahon's view of Anson's great expedition to the South

Seas,* the sketchy character of a mere abridgment of Walters's narrative of the voyage which, next to Robinson Crusoe, and Le Boö, has ever been the delight of the young. Written at the time of the expedition, the worthy chaplain's sterling book was not likely to contain much about its secret objects; but the historian, in a succeeding century, could have known, and might have safely revealed them; and he ought to have seized eagerly upon this opportunity of shewing his readers what extraordinary circumstances led to *this hostile opening of the great southern ocean*; as well as what was soon to follow in the voyages of Captain Cook, even now INCOMPLETELY PUBLISHED; and how, at a later period, the same vast region has become the scene of one of the most hopeful religious missions of which the Christian world has had experience, and also that of the most horrid inflictions upon feeble humanity, in the two forms of convict colonization and European invasion. Again, it would not have been unworthy of the occasions presented by Anson's voyage, and by the South Sea bubble, discussed by Lord Mahon in another volume, to have pointed out the contrast of commercial enterprize with that of the southern marauding squadron: and of both with the new colonization of the great islands of the South Sea, in our day.

Official materials exist for much more than all this. *The instructions* † alone to Commodore Anson, are most remarkable, and we believe have never been published. They betray the fact, little to our credit, of orders having been given by the British court to raise the ill-used Indians of South America against the Spaniards; and they prove, that the discontents of the Spanish colonists against the mother country, were familiar to us so long ago as in 1740; although the fatal causes, and dangerous character of those discontents, however well known, did not warn the British government in its dealings with British American colonists twenty years later. These are documents which Lord Mahon has far too much neglected.

The insufficient examination of another class of original and authentic historical memorials, is curiously illustrated in the same volume.

When Vernon's confident account of his good progress in the Spanish West Indies in 1740, was received in London, it led the administration to expose itself to no small ridicule by striking a medal—*as is asserted*, says Lord Mahon, 'to celebrate the taking of Carthage, bearing on one side the head of Vernon, with an inscription as 'the avenger of his country.' The

* History of England, &c., vol. iii., p. 48.

† A copy of them may be seen in the library of the late worthy Mr. Upcot.

authority cited for the fact thus intimated as doubtful, is Voltaire's Louis XV., ch. viii., and the curious parallel case of Napoleon's medal of '*the taking of the Tower of London*' in 1804, is appended in a note.

But before mentioning thus slightly the authority upon which the Carthage mistake is imputed to us, it would have been prudent to have looked into the travels of De la Condamine, who was in South America at the time, and who brought back one of the very medals to France with a different inscription,—'*Took Carthage 1741.*'

Nothing, indeed, but Lord Mahon's great sagacity and excellent principles could have conducted him through his task so well, with materials, which for an historian, are too often exceedingly trivial; and some observation of the habitual neglect of the best sources of intelligence respecting public affairs beyond sea, on the part of members of the legislature and of the administration, increases the anxiety with which we look for good proofs that as secretary of the Board of Control, he will deal in a better manner, with the official stores at his command.

Not to insist at present upon the value of original Hindoo, and Mussulman, Chinese, Japan, and even Malay books,* for the purpose of illustrating the relations of Asiatics and Europeans, it appears to us, that a profound inquiry into the documents (*accompanied by proper secondary materials*), which constitute the Indian history of the period embraced by Lord Mahon's two chapters, with a masterly appreciation of the influence of a higher order of principles in the conduct of human affairs, would lead to conclusions very different to those of his Lordship upon the results of the most important events of that period, and upon the character of the most successful actor in it. We allude to Clive, and his conquests.

'Whatever gratitude Spain owes to her Cortes, or Portugal to her Albuquerque, this—and in its results, more than this—' Lord Mahon asserts, 'is due from England to Clive. Had he never been born, I do not believe that we should—at least in this generation—have conquered Hindostan. *Had he lived longer, I doubt*' it is strangely added, '*if we should—at least in that generation—have lost America.*' (Vol iv. p. 500.)

Without saying one word upon the conjecture as to the supposed success of General Clive, if ever opposed to General Washington; and without carrying further the rapid inquiry on India before 1776, thus glowingly closed, we venture to suggest again, that a deeper insight into the transactions of the time will

* The Oriental Translation Society has already published a large collection of such works; and we propose, at an early day, to lay an analysis of them before our readers.

justify very different conclusions, both as to the 'bold, bad man,' whose undoubted energy is here rashly set in the place of the better principles which ought to have guided him, and also as to the probable result, had these better principles been more regarded by him.

In surveying the very numerous topics introduced into the two chapters, it is satisfactory to find much that confirms us in this view of Clive and his times; and the spirit in which these chapters conclude is so admirable, that we make no apology for closing our remarks on this part of Lord Mahon's work, with the noble lesson which he addresses to British Statesmen upon our duty and prospects in India:—

'By the downfall of the Portuguese, the Dutch, and, above all, the French power in India, a wide, and still-extending scope was left to that of England. The best chance of supremacy lay in resisting Europeans by Europeans; in setting the skill and energy of one northern race against another. Single handed, the native states fell one by one; some dropping, from their own rottenness, like fruit from a tree; others striving fiercely, but without avail, against us. From the precarious tenure of some two or three petty forts—from the mere Mahratta-ditch of Calcutta, or the 'bound-hedge' of Madras—our empire has spread far and wide; from Ceylon to Gujerât,—from the snows of the Himalaya, to the sea-line of the Sunderbund, along the loftiest mountains and the widest plains in the known world. In India at this moment, the number of our subjects and dependants is in all probability greater than Alexander, than Augustus, than Charlemagne, than Napoleon, ever knew. And if that vast people be as yet low in the scale of nations,—long enslaved, and still debased by a succession of tyrannies, and led astray by foul superstition and revolting rites, their depression gives them only the stronger claims on our sympathy and our care. Never did a government stand more nearly in the parental relation to its subjects than the English government of India. The English are as much superior to the Hindoos—not in natural gifts, but in training, in knowledge, and in principles—as a parent is superior to a child. God grant, that as we hold a parent's place, we may fulfil a parent's duty,—not merely to command and direct, but to enlighten and reform! Formerly, however, we did not act fully on these maxims, and our course in India, though correct for any Asiatic, was yet far below the European rule of right. *Surely it behoves our chief statesmen, of whatever party, to take to heart the awful responsibility which this state of things devolves upon them—to weigh well, and with scrupulous attention, every new appointment made, not only in India itself, but in the Indian department at home. Let them be assured that even the humblest of these appointments, if unwarily made, may become directly or indirectly the cause of suffering to unprotected millions, often too timid for complaint, or too distant for redress. To these millions let us prove that we have*

higher objects than addition of territory, or accumulation of wealth. Let us aim at the overthrow of the idol-temples, not rashly, nor through violence and persecution, but by affording means to know the truth—their overthrow by the hands of their own worshippers, converted and reclaimed. Let us cast aside for ever the miserable and base fear, lest the Hindoos, as they approach our level of civilisation, may become less patient of our sway. It is, I trust, reserved for British councils in the COMING age, to extend even much further the work auspiciously begun, of good government in India, and to give even to the meanest peasant of that land fresh reason to bless God, in the fulness of his heart, that his lot is cast beneath the Great Company, instead of the rajahs and sultauns of former days.'—Vol. iv. pp. 525.

We live in days of change; and in no department, perhaps, can so complete an official revolution be pointed out, as that which has occurred in regard to the office held by Lord Mahon, since, for example, the time when the appointment of Mr. Creevy, one of his predecessors, was the subject of witty rebukes for its peculiar unsuitableness; and we join cordially in this conclusion of the chapter, which, it is to be hoped, tended directly to his own nomination.

One great characteristic in Lord Mahon's History does his lordship unqualified honour. It is his invariably humane view of all the great questions that interest philanthropists; his rigorous sense of justice, and his generosity even to political opponents. With respect to colonial slavery, that abomination for the extension of which the period of Lord Mahon's History of England did so much evil, and for the difficult extinction of which, that period only saw the dawn, he is uniformly and earnestly the advocate of a more benevolent and wise system.* Again, when anticipating the wonders of modern commercial enterprise, and manufacturing and engineering science, he as earnestly rebukes the tendency of both to press hard upon the living masses of men, women, and children, too often treated like the machines they help to guide, and too often made the victims of the competition, to the success of which, they so greatly contribute.†

In reference to the horrible oppressions in gaols exposed in 1731, there is a passage in the second volume of this history which we cannot help extracting, as indicative of the author's kindness of heart, and general benevolence of principle.

After selecting some dreadful instances of barbarity from the most authentic documents, he concludes :—

'Such atrocities, in a civilised country, must fill every mind with

* History of England, &c., vol. ii., p. 5.

† History of England, &c., vol. ii. pp. 36, 37.

horror: and it is still more painful to reflect, that for very many years, perhaps, they may have prevailed without redress. How often may not the cry of such unhappy men have gone forth, and remained unheeded! How still more frequently may not their sufferings have been borne in constrained, or despairing silence! The benevolent exertions of Howard (whom that family, fertile though it be in honours, might be proud to claim as their kinsman), and still more the gradual diffusion of compassionate and Christian principles, have, we may hope, utterly rooted out from amongst us any such flagrant abuses at the present time. *Yet let us not imagine that there is no longer any tyranny to punish, any thralldom to relieve. Let not the legislature be weary of well doing!* Let them turn a merciful eye, not merely to the suffering, and perhaps guilty man, but to the helpless and certainly unoffending child! **FOR MY PART, I FIRMLY RELY ON THE PROGRESSIVE MARCH OF HUMANITY.** In a barbarous age, it was confined to men of our country. In a half-barbarous age, it was confined to men of our religion. Within our time, it was extended only to men of our colour. But as time shall roll on, I am persuaded that it will not be limited even to our kind; that we shall feel how much the brute creation, also, is entitled to our sympathy and kindness, and that any needless or wanton suffering inflicted upon them will on every occasion arouse, and be restrained by indignation and disgust.—Vol. ii., p. 229.

So in the great case of the wrongs of Ireland, Lord Mahon is eminently considerate, and just. Thus he concludes a powerful summary of her wrongs, with these few striking words:—

‘We must concur with the excellent Bishop Berkely, in lamenting the neglect of the Irish language. How dark a shadow have by-gone abuses cast forward, even over our own times! How large a share of the previous animosities which still prevail in Ireland are clearly owing, not to any actual pressure felt at present, but only to the bitter recollections of the past.—*ib.*, vol. iv., p. 196.

Of fairness to political opponents, there appear to us to be very striking examples throughout his lordship's history; and we select two of them at some length. The first is from the elaborate and beautiful narrative of the last rebellion in Scotland in 1745. After an eloquent eulogium upon the conduct of the Pretender's little army at the defeat of Culloden, Lord Mahon thus describes and denounces the cruel and vindictive course pursued by the victors under the Duke of Cumberland of that day, ‘the butcher.’

‘Quarter was seldom given to the stragglers and fugitives, except to a few considerately reserved for public execution. No care, or compassion, was shown to their wounded. Nay more, on the following day, most of these were put to death in cold blood, with a cruelty such as never perhaps before or since has disgraced a

British army. Some were dragged from the thickets, or cabins, where they had sought refuge, drawn up in line, and shot, while others were dispatched by the soldiers with the stocks of their muskets. *One farm building, into which some twenty disabled Highlanders had crawled, was deliberately set on fire the next day, and burnt with them to the ground.* The native prisoners were scarcely better treated; and even sufficient water was not vouchsafed to their thirst. To palliate these severities, it was afterwards said in the royal army, that an order had been found in the Pretender's army, that the highlanders, if victorious, should give no quarter. But this pretended order was never shown, or seen; it is utterly at variance with the insurgents' conduct in their previous battles; and was often and most solemnly denied by their prisoners.'

The same cruel spirit prevailed in the cool infliction of vengeance after the excitement of this fatal battle must have subsided.

'It would have been a task welcome to most generals,' adds Lord Mahon, 'and not unbecoming in any, to have tempered justice with mercy—to reserve the chief or principal delinquents for trial and punishment, but to spare, protect, and conciliate the people at large. Not such, however, was the Duke of Cumberland's opinion of his duty. Every kind of havoc and outrage was not only permitted, but, I fear we must add, encouraged. Military licence usurped the place of law, and a fierce and exasperated soldiery were at once judge, jury, and executioner. In such transactions, it is natural and reasonable to suppose that the Jacobites would exaggerate their own sufferings, and the wrongs of their opponents, nor, therefore, should we attach much weight to mere loose and vague complaints. But where we find specific cases alleged, with names and dates, attested on most respectable authority, by gentlemen of high honour and character, by bishops and clergymen of the episcopal church, in some cases, even by members of the victorious party, then are we bound not to shrink from the truth, however displeasing the truth may be. From such evidence it appears that the rebels' country was laid waste, the houses plundered, the cabins burnt, the cattle driven away. The men had fled to the mountains, but such as could be found were frequently shot; nor was mercy always granted even to their helpless families. In many cases, the women and children, expelled from their homes, and seeking shelter in the clefts of the rocks, miserably perished of cold and hunger. Others were reduced to follow the track of the marauders, humbly imploring for the blood and offal of their own cattle, which had been slaughtered for the soldiers' food! *Such is the avowal which historical justice demands.* But let us turn from further details of these painful and irritating scenes, or of the ribald frolics and revelry with which they were intermingled—*aces of naked women on horseback for the amusement of the camp at Fort Augustus.*'—Vol. iii., pp 460—464.

These were the utterly defenceless acts of the soldiery, after

the conflict was over. The judicial proceedings at a later period were in the same bad spirit. They far surpassed in violence similar proceedings thirty years before, after the rebellion of 1715, and Lord Mahon impartially remarks, that, 'in general, time effects a happy change in opposite directions. The aggravation, in this case, must be ascribed to the Duke of Cumberland, who, even after his return to London, continued, as we are told, to press for '*the utmost severity*.'

Among the ministers of the day, one whom Lord Mahon delights to speak of, in the highest terms of panegyric, and whose ill reputation as a teacher of morals, he has vindicated cautiously, and not without some success, acted warmly and humanely on behalf of the miserable Highlanders. 'While all his colleagues thought only of measures of repression—the dungeon or the scaffold—disarming acts, and abolition acts, Lord Chesterfield, after the rebellion, 'was for schools and villages, to civilise the highlands.'

So also he gives Lord Chesterfield due credit for the admirable administration of Ireland, in which a spirit of conciliation produced unwonted tranquillity, and which has been rewarded by the long enduring gratitude of the Irish people.

The foregoing vindication of the claims of humanity in the case of the Jacobites, to whose cause Lord Mahon is certainly no friend, although he thus so well proves that he can do them justice, is quoted at greater length than another which follows, in which his lordship also proves, that he can condemn, with equal severity, a breach of duty on the part of British protestants, towards an enemy of another character, and elevate with honourable acknowledgement, the merits of the Romish missionaries, however little he sympathises with them in the peculiar articles of their faith.

'In the autumn of 1759, the Cherokee Indians commenced hostilities against our back settlements in their usual cruel manner of ravages, murder, and scalping. This savage tribe had at the beginning seemed to espouse our cause in the war against the French. A fort called Londoun had been built in their country, at their own desire; and they had sent some parties to our aid in our last expedition against Fort Duquesne. It is supposed that they were either on that occasion offended by English haughtiness, or since, gained over by French emissaries. Mr. Lyttleton, then governor of South Carolina, marched against them at the head of one thousand men, and by the terror of his approach, compelled them to a treaty of peace. But no sooner had he returned to Charlestown, than the attacks and outrages recommenced. The affrighted settlers applied to General Amherst, who, in June 1760, sent to their aid a body of twelve hundred men, under Colonel Montgomery.

'This officer carried the war into the Cherokee country; but far from setting the savages an example of Christian forbearance, thought himself justified, or compelled, in retaliating on them their own barbarities. The Indian villages were first plundered, and then set on fire. It is acknowledged by the English historians, that all the men that were taken, suffered immediate death, and that some were burned in their houses.

'A Roman catholic writer might find some pleasure in dwelling on the contrast between the protestants of Carolina, and the Jesuits of Paraguay.'—*ib.* vol. ii. p. 291.

The price of the barbarous massacre was soon exacted. When Colonel Montgomery withdrew, the Cherokee nations returned to attack the British fort established in their country; took it by capitulation on honourable terms to a garrison of two hundred men; suffered them to march about fifteen miles on their way to the British head quarters; and then perfidiously attacking them, put all the officers, except one, to death; and kept the common men prisoners, until they were ransomed.

Turning to those large portions of the History of England, from the peace of Utrecht, which seem to constitute the favourite, as they are unquestionably by far the most successful of the author's labours, *the portraits and characters of distinguished personages*, we offer our humble, but sincere tribute of thanks, for this valuable addition to the *national gallery*, for the first half of the last century. For important corrections of the history of that period, an acknowledgment is due to his industry and judgment, but the fine taste and spirit, the discrimination and fairness with which Atterbury, the famous Bishop of Rochester, Lord Stanhope, Caroline the queen of George the Second, Lord Grenville, Sir John Barnard, Sir W. Wyndham, Pitt, Walpole, Lord Chancellor Hardwick, the younger Pretender, Lord Chesterfield, Bute and Mansfield, Wolfe, and many others, not omitting the three unfortunate governors of the French settlements in India, La Bourdonnaye, Duplex, and Lally Tolendal, are here presented to us, as they lived and acted, their eloquence, and even persons and manner, will rank this history with the most delightful books in the language. It may be anticipated that at no distant day, a collection of these historical extracts will be published separately from the rest of the work, and along with those of Clarendon, of Hume, and some others that may be found among our early and late writers, form an acceptable British Plutarch, for readers of all ages. We close our notice of the History with a few of the shortest of these portraits, some of them being only bold miniatures, or, at best, cabinet pieces.

We have not space for the very remarkable character of Lord Carteret, afterwards Earl Granville (vol. ii., p. 81, and vol.

iv., p. 25); and the omission will be justified by the acute remark of Lord Mahon, that with all his splendid accomplishments as a scholar, orator, and statesman, 'he neither fills, nor deserves to fill any very high niche in the temple of fame.'

The eloquence of the elder Pitt is of course referred to, and the following will furnish our readers with the noble author's estimate of it:—

'Let us now endeavour closely to view, and carefully to judge that extraordinary man, who, at his outset, was pitied for losing a cornetcy of horse, and who, within twenty years, had made himself the first man in England, and England the first country in the world. He had received from nature a tall and striking figure, aquiline and noble features, and a glance of fire. Lord Waldegrave, after eulogising the clearness of his style, observes that his eye was as significant as his words. In debates, his single look could sometimes disconcert a speaker opposed to him. His voice most happily combined sweetness and strength. It had all that silvery clearness, which, at the present day, delights us in Sir William Follett's; and even when it sunk to a whisper, it was distinctly heard; while its higher tones, like the swell of some majestic organ, could peal and thrill above every other earthly sound.

After noticing that *gout*, derived from his birth, not dissipation, had confined him to a sick room from early life, the historian adds:—

'Of his leisure for study Lord Chatham had availed himself with assiduous and incessant care. Again and again he read over the classics; not as pedants use, but in the spirit of a poet and a philosopher; not nibbling at their accents and metres, but partaking in their glorious aspirations; warmed by the flame, not raking in the cinders. For style, Demosthenes was his favourite among the ancients; among the English, Bolingbroke and Barrow. But, perhaps, our best clue to Lord Chatham's own mental tastes, more especially in the field of oratory, is afforded by those which he afterwards so successfully enjoined to his favourite son. It may be stated on the authority of the present Lord Stanhope, that Mr. Pitt, being asked to what he principally ascribed the two qualities for which his own eloquence was most conspicuous—namely, the lucid order of his reasoning, and the ready choice of his words—answered, that he believed he owed the former to an early study of the Aristotelian logic, and the latter to his father's practice in making him every day, after reading over to himself some passage in the classics, translate it aloud, and continuously, into English prose.

'Nor was Lord Chatham less solicitous as to his own action and manner, which, according to Horace Walpole, was as studied and successful as Garrick's: but his care of it extended not only to speeches, but even in society

'In his oratory, his most elaborate speeches were his worst; and that speech which he delivered on the death of Wolfe, and probably intended as a masterpiece, was universally lamented as a failure. But, when without forethought, or any other preparation than the talents which nature had supplied and education cultivated, Chatham rose—stirred to anger by some sudden subterfuge of corruption, or device of tyranny—then was heard an eloquence never surpassed either in ancient or in modern times. It was the highest power of expression ministering to the highest power of thought. Dr. Franklin declares that in the course of his life he had heard sometimes eloquence without wisdom, and often wisdom without eloquence. In Lord Chatham only had he seen both united.—vol. iii. p. 17.

One example of 'the great commoner's successful eloquence, the occasion upon which *single speech* Hamilton delivered his famous oration, and on which Lord Chesterfield's much-tutored son failed for ever,—that occasion being one upon two war treaties with Russia and Hesse, is given as follows:—

'At length up rose Pitt, as Horace Walpole, who was present, well describes him,—haughty, defiant, conscious of recent injury and of supreme abilities.—'He surpassed himself, and then I need not tell you that he surpassed Cicero and Demosthenes. What a figure would they, with their formal, laboured cabinet orations, make by the side of his manly vivacity and dashing eloquence, at one o'clock in the morning, after sitting in that heat for eleven hours! He spoke above an hour and an half with scarce a bad sentence.' Such descriptions must make us more than ever regret the utter absence, or what is even worse, the glaring imperfections of reports in that age. Of this splendid declamation against the treaties of subsidy, by far the greater part has perished; one celebrated passage, however, on the coalition between Newcastle and Fox, is happily preserved.—'It strikes me now!' exclaimed Pitt, raising his hand to his forehead, 'I remember that at Lyons I was taken to see the conflux of the Rhone and Soane,—the one a gentle, feeble, languid stream, and though languid, of no depth;* the other, a boisterous and impetuous torrent: but different as they are, they meet at last—and long,' he added, with bitter irony, 'long may they continue united, to the comfort of each other, and to the glory, honour, and security of this nation.'

'Such was the great genius, who, in office, smote at once both branches of the house of Bourbon, and armed his countrymen to conquest in every clime; while at home (a still harder task!) he dissolved the old enmities of party prejudices, quenced the last lin-

* Note by Lord Mahon.—'Any one who gazes on the Soane, in almost any part of its course, will be struck with the aptness of Cæsar's description:—Flumen est Arar, quod per fines Æduorum, et Sequanorum in Rhodanum influit incredibili lenitate, ita ut oculis, in utramque partem fluit, *fluat* judicare non possit.—De B. G. lib. i. c. 12.

gering sparks of Jacobinism, and united Whigs and Tories in an emulous support of his administration.*

These extracts are limited to the passages upon Lord Chatham's studies, his eloquence, and its general influence. Further characteristics of his genius are given in great detail by Lord Mahon, who justly treats the topic as one of very great importance in the history of the last century; and Chatham is one of his lordship's favourite and successful studies.

This admiration of the vast talents of one who stands pre-eminent in all English history as a *war* minister, is unquestionably just, and consistent with the range of Lord Mahon's views upon the duty of British statesmen in reference to national aggrandisement—views which many will be disposed to condemn—but it remains to observe, that some inconsistency arises from this homage to the star of his time being rapidly followed in his lordship's pages by something more than an apology for the character of George the Third, who so soon subjected that star to a fatal eclipse. The portrait, or rather, indeed, panegyric, of George the Third, which is given a little hastily at the beginning of his reign, (vol. iv. p. 309), is, we venture to say—one which the future volumes of Lord Mahon's History will not justify.

The portrait of Lord Bute (vol. iii. p. 33) is a melancholy comment upon the wane of the best kingly qualities in him who could take such a man into councils which a Chatham was no longer permitted to guide, although the historian admits he was on the point of gaining for this country an accession of colonial dominion which would have thrown all the past, and almost all present greatness into the shade.—(vol. iv. p. 363.)

Sir Robert Walpole is acquitted by Lord Mahon of direct, personal corruption, with which he was so vindictively charged in the heat of party dissensions; but his great political crimes of increasing the corrupt influence of money in official life, and of sharing in the most profligate dispensation of the honours of the crown are admitted. He and his wife gained large sums in the South Sea bubble, when more high-minded statesmen avoided the stain. He gave a living of £700 to the Bishop of Chester to marry one of his natural daughters—whom the bishop rejected after he had got the living. He obtained a pension of £4,000 a-year, which popular indignation compelled him, at the time, to abandon; and he got a patent of rank for another natural daughter, which he would afterwards gladly have seen cancelled to escape the same indignation.—(vol. iii. p. 158.)

Lord Chancellor Hardwicke has received, as he deserved, the

* History of England, &c., vol. i. p. 38; vol. iii. p. 17; and vol. iv. p. 83.

highest meed of panegyric (vol. iii. p. 48) that perhaps could be expressed in so few words:—

‘The family of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke was neither rich nor old. He owed his elevation solely to himself, to high character, extensive knowledge, and eminent abilities. He was born in 1690; the son of Mr. Yorke, an attorney, at Dover; and at the early age of twenty-two we find him among the smaller contributors to the *Spectator*.* He was a member of the House of Commons in 1718, and solicitor general in 1720. Distinguishing himself in all the stages of his profession, he became chancellor in 1737, and continued such for nearly twenty years. Never was there high office more worthily or honourably filled. If we compare him to Somers—yet how difficult to assign the palm between two such mighty names!—we should say, perhaps, that Somers was the more distinguished as a statesman, but Yorke the superior as a magistrate. His decisions have ever been revered as great landmarks in our law; nor has calumny once dared to breathe against the uprightness of his motives. Amidst a degenerate age—while a too prevalent corruption had deeply tainted the state—his judge’s ermine, like the fleece of Gideon, shone forth unsullied and pure. As an orator, he was never warm or impassioned, but clear, weighty, and convincing. When he rose in debate, it seemed, says Lord Lyttleton, like Public Wisdom speaking. His knowledge, high as it soared in his own department, was not confined to it; in literature he was accomplished; with foreign affairs well acquainted. The principal blemish which his enemies imputed to him, and probably not without some truth, was avarice. Yet it should be borne in mind, that chancellors are easily, but unjustly exposed to this charge, from being contrasted with their colleagues and associates, men in general of hereditary fortunes and large expense, whilst the head of the law, on the contrary, must endeavour to found a family, and earn an estate, and not leave his son, as a poor peer, a burden on his country. This endeavour every thoughtless spendthrift, or envious detractor, may call avarice; but should not the historian award it a nobler name?’—vol. iii. p. 199.

Clive, we repeat, is depicted too kindly; and we feel quite assured that if another such brilliant adventurer should in our day attempt to carry British power beyond the Himalayan mountains by the methods which he pursued to establish it about Calcutta, his too easy apologist in these pages, would not hold office one hour in support of the repetition of such iniquity, or consent to let it go unpunished.

Lord Mahon does great justice to the last three unfortunate governors of our last rivals in India—the French, namely, Mahè de la Bourdonnais, Dupleix, and Lally Tolendal. He

* Mr. Yorke, afterwards Lord Chancellor, was the author of a letter on Travelling, in No. 364.

justly denounces the scandalous treatment which all these men received from those they served too well. The last, as is generally known, was put to death in Paris, in the year 1766, under circumstances that will eternally disgrace his judges, and the government of France. Lord Mahon should have added, that after a struggle of twenty years, his heroic son obtained the revocation of the sentence, and restored his father's name to the honour that was dearer to him than the life which only had been sacrificed beyond recall.

In the survey of French misrule upon Indian affairs, the English historian marks with unsparing indignation, the sufferings inflicted on this legally-murdered man; he shows that La Bourdonnais after a long imprisonment, and a trial of three years, was acquitted of all delinquency, but allowed to die of protracted sickness and a broken heart, leaving a widow to receive the pension paid by a government too late repentant; and he eloquently tells of the fate of Dupleix, 'reduced to the most deplorable indigency, compiling in some garret another fruitless memorial, or waiting for many a weary hour in some under-secretary's ante-chamber, until he, too, expired sick at heart, and broken in fortune, a victim to the *system of that day*.' (vol. iv. p. 470.)

These melancholy cases furnish one of the lessons from the historian's study, which he must boldly take with him into his closet in Cannon Row, where the practice of the Indian government, like that of our Colonial office in Downing Street, not the law and constitution of England, excludes the victims of error or malignity from the power of being *heard*; * and where redress of the deepest injury is to be obtained only by the combination of influence, or through the 'chapter of accidents.'

The portrait of Charles Edward, the pretender, is at full length, and drawn with great discrimination, good feeling, and success. As was indispensable to mark the true character of that last unfortunate representative of a line of kings, the picture is drawn for him at several periods of his life. It is too long to be extracted; but, together with the whole narrative of the rebellion of 1745, we commend it to the perusal of all who love the romance of reality; and can sympathize, while they condemn.

The sameness of political narrative is relieved by Lord Mahon's essays on subjects belonging to the period before him. The eighteenth chapter, accordingly, is on the head *literature*; and treats well of a few branches of the book-learning of the

* See the cases of Colonel Frith and the Rajah of Satara, appended to *THE RIGHT TO BE HEARD*; by S. Bannister, formerly attorney-general of New South Wales, second edition.

time, of the excellent style of 'the great writers of Queen Anne's reign;' of dramatic unity; and of licencing plays for the stage. These topics can hardly be said to furnish materials for a just judgment upon the literature of the first half of the eighteenth century. But a curious and useful discussion of another topic—the result of *state encouragement to literature*—is introduced with much effect.

From 1688 to 1721, all parties vied with each other in honouring literature, and elevating the condition of learned men. The advantages of office or wealth were showered on Sir Isaac Newton, on Locke, Steele, Prior, Gay, Parnell, Pope, Addison, Tickell, and Congreve. In 1714, an Act was passed providing a most liberal reward for the discovery of the longitude. Swift became dean of St. Patrick's, and, but for the queen's dislike, says Lord Mahon, would have been bishop of Hereford. All this was done, too, he insists, without the least infringement upon the independence or self-respect of authors.

To this sunshine there succeeded, under Sir Robert Walpole's ministry, 'a bleak and barren winter,' in the misery of which the imprudent man, like Savage, starved; and even the prudent such as Johnson, long pined neglected.

His lordship does not follow out the subject in all its facts, and to the fair inferences to be drawn from them. But he observes with great force, that the literary profits, even of our golden days, do not in all respects supply the place of patronage by the state. He concludes boldly, 'that any minister who might have the noble ambition to become the patron of literary men, would still find a large field open to his munificence; that his intercourse with them on the footing of equal friendship would be a deserved distinction to them, and a liberal recreation to himself; and that his favours might be employed with great advantage, and received with perfect independence.' (vol. iii. p. 336.)

An extraordinary oversight is made in the rapid historical introduction of the chapter on literature, where it is asserted that 'throughout all the states of Europe, the literature of the middle ages was nearly the same; and that in Spain and Italy, as in France and England, the learned few, five centuries ago, equally lost themselves in the mazes of Thomas Aquinas, and trod in the beaten tracks of Aristotle; while their lighter hours were amused with Latin quibbles, and Leonine verses.' (vol. iii. p. 317.)

Now few men have proved themselves better acquainted with modern Spain than Lord Mahon; and he should not have forgotten the very remarkable fact, for it would have much helped

his argument in favour of the state patronage of literature, that in that very country, five hundred years ago, a king of Arragon both wrote well himself, and, by his liberality, greatly promoted good writing by others in the *vernacular* tongue, the Catalan. This great king and his successors, for more than a century, who were themselves writers distinguished for learning, most successfully patronized native literature of every kind, at a time when neither England, France, or Germany, says our author, possessed a single poet capable of using the language of the country in verse or prose.*

The class of histories to which Lord Mahon's work may be said to belong, has been described in an able address to a French literary society, as wanting in schools, and colleges, under the apt denomination of *Histoire anecdotique et morale*, consisting of original incidents of every kind, simply told in a dramatic form as they occurred; and as distinguished from mere abridgments consisting of dates, of great events, and catalogues of kings, or of sieges and battles. This improved method of writing history, says the Count Du Coetlosquet, in the address referred to, might be applied to the youngest readers, and teach them a lesson of maternal affection, by using the very words of Cornelia when showing her children as her best treasures; of friendship, in the story of Damon and Pythias; of conjugal affection in that of the wives of Winsberg;—and of every virtue and good quality, in terms that might be presented in the liveliest manner, and with the best effect, for such young minds. Instead, also, of long and learned dissertations on points of antiquarian research, on legislation, and national manners, with which our histories are filled, and which are excellent in their proper place, the same method of developing the history of all times by a succession of genuine anecdotes, would be most attractive, and therefore most useful to illustrate *moral* points fit to be impressed on somewhat older minds, as well as points of *public policy*, in which all are interested.†

Lord Mahon's History of England is a perfect model of a work framed upon this principle of dramatic writing, however imperfect it must be confessed to be in reference to some higher qualities of historical composition to which it makes a pretension. A future Tacitus, or Polybius, who writes the history of the period

* *Melanges sur les Langues et les Patois*; art. *Recherches Historiques sur la langue Catalane* par M. Fr. Faubert de Passa correspondant de l'Institut de France. Paris: 8vo. pp. 336. 1831.

† *Memoire* par M. Le Comte Du Coetlosquet. *Congres Scientifique de France*; cinquieme Session. Metz, 1837. p. 494.

which Lord Mahon has chosen, will find this work indispensable, and turn to it again and again with delight; but a Tacitus, and a Polybius are still wanting, the one duly to pourtray the character of a period which his Lordship honestly admits to have been eminently corrupt, the other to show what was defective in the brilliant men who did so much for the glory of England abroad, yet failed to place their glory on a sufficiently sure basis, to avert, within the term of their own lives, the dismemberment of the empire, by the loss of thirteen of the American colonies. He does not treat this part of his subject on a sufficiently large scale, nor attempt to present in a broad light the facts which led to that loss. He rashly hazards the opinion already mentioned, that if Clive had lived, the American colonies would not have successfully rebelled. But even the meagre accounts to be found in this history on the affairs of those colonies before the days of Wolfe, contain strong grounds against that opinion. The volunteers of New England, in 1745, under a commander chosen by themselves, 'Mr. Pepperel, a private gentleman, in whom courage and sagacity supplied the place of military skill,' (vol. iii., p. 299) achieved over strongly posted and well disciplined French troops, a conquest, far surpassing in difficulty whatever was done by us in India. The military operations of the time in this quarter of the globe are not sufficiently dwelt upon by Lord Mahon; but it is not on that side so much that we venture to make these observations, as it is in reference to the absence of all comment upon the civil progress of the American colonies in the period of his history. Where Berkeley carried his enthusiasm, and his genius; where Oglethorpe executed an unusually large plan of colonisation; where Wesley and Whitfield, whose missions at home are topics of careful examination by Lord Mahon, extended their personal zeal; where Franklin had already shown, by his sagacity, that the new world could rival the old one in science; where, as Lord Mahon remarks, Washington was already known; where, too, not only military glory was to be gained, but experiments of colonial settlement were then making, which his Lordship is well aware, are of the highest interest to us now; and where, lastly, as he also knows, and deeply feels, a race of aborigines not excelled by any in many natural gifts, were sinking under our superior power, *because not helped by the proper use of our superior acquirements*, and were not aided by the admirable principles and proceedings of the Elliots, the Penns, the Brainerds, the Franklins, and the Washingtons, ever their unshrinking friends in will, but wanting in a system to influence society and the law in favour of justice towards the objects of their sincere and generous sympathy. On all these accounts, the subject of

the American colonies ought to have had a fair share of attention ; but one peculiar motive for discussing these affairs, remains. At the latter end of the period, closed with the last volume of Lord Mahon's history, a revolution in colonial policy was working, similar to another immense change in this policy which has been going on during the last nine years ; and that nine years change has received its completion in the very month his Lordship joined the ministry which has completed it.

The policy which prevailed in the settlement of the old American colonies had, at the end of George the Second's and the beginning of George the Third's reign, become governed by one idea, — namely, that the sea-board must be kept in sight wherever our power extended, in order that our ships might cover our colonies and keep in check the infringements upon the trade of the mother country, which occurred in spite of our acts of parliament. Against this policy, the voluntary extension of settlement to the west was perpetually struggling. Hence arose the enormous evil of *squatting*, which cannot possibly be prevented, except by extending interior settlements upon a wise *system* of government. Such a system was asked for in vain during a quarter of a century before the breaking out of the old American war of independence. It was conceded too late. The war of 1776 broke out ; and one of the very first acts of the American Congress was to organise into a state a population of thirty thousand people, to whom the British Government had long refused law and colonial institutions. The refusal to change the old system was one of the causes of the American war, not often noticed. So in our time, during the last fifteen years, and since the revival of our old colonizing spirit in England, a policy of resistance to the extension of colonies has prevailed, partly on the ground of economy, partly on that of philanthropy. In the mean time the colonists, and large bodies of the people, have colonized without law ; but after a remarkable declaration by Lord Howick (now Earl Grey), that he had abandoned his error in supporting a policy only adopted '*for want of information*,' and after the two New Zealand debates, more remarkable *in all respects* than any which have occurred for many years in parliament, the ministry of Sir Robert Peel has acted upon a new principle favourable to colonization, — Sir Robert Inglis being the only member of the House of Commons who, on philanthropic grounds, adhered to the anti-colonizing policy thus condemned as erroneous. Some members who on former occasions, either within the walls of parliament or in popular addresses, such as Mr. Sharman Crawford and Mr. Cobden, and the school of Sir W. Parnell, had joined in the

outcry against colonies as a ground of our public policy, now silently withdrew their opposition.

This change cannot be pursued without much more discussion; and the philanthropists, who, with good intentions, have long struggled to stop, what they ought, and might assist in guiding, namely, the spread of civilized man over the globe, must now apply themselves diligently to the devising of legitimate means for resolving the grand problem, how that spreading can be effected to the mutual good of the people who spread, and the aborigines among whom they settle.

Lord Mahon is a professed, and we believe, a sincere, philanthropist, without being one of those often seen at benevolent meetings; and we regret that he has not in this history seized upon the good opportunity offered by the course of North American affairs under his hands, to contribute to the prudent and intelligent advancement of the cause of philanthropy; as well as of every other great interest connected with colonization.

Upon another subject, *the South Sea bubble*, his lordship has neglected the true use of the case, *its universal application*; and the clear distinction to be drawn between that melancholy precedent of national dishonour as well as delusion, and our present dangers, arising from *railway gambling*. There is enough doing now, of a disgraceful character, in this gambling to justify severe and repeated cautions. But the basis of the two enterprises essentially is different. In the South Sea bubble all was fiction and folly. In our time the main facts of each case are within the reach of everybody; and the burdens spread over the universal surface of the empire, as the weight of each set of operations is necessarily borne by a separate set of resources. Lord Mahon should have seized upon this chapter of his history to offer his readers a great, but a discriminating lesson.

In point of style, it is to be wished that a few instances of false wit, and a few conceits, may be expunged in the future editions to which the work must run. Perhaps passages might be amended by aiming at a thoroughly English style. The language is too often trivial and common,* without being of the purest English.

Upon the whole, we do not hesitate to say that Lord Mahon's History of England from the Peace of Utrecht, should have a place

* After noting rather a long list of short passages and words, meant to have been cited in support of these criticism, we prefer leaving our general remark, to filling up an ungracious catalogue of little faults.

Where so much has been done in good taste, and ably, it is enough to make the general remark; and to trust that the same good taste may be safely left to do its proper work hereafter.

upon every one of the tens of thousands of bookshelves now laden with Hume and Smollet; and whoever pretends to follow critically the progress of modern British history of any period, will not fail to seek with a strong interest whatever proceeds from his lordship's pen. In an early number we shall take a rapid survey of his other works; and include in it a notice of his present official career as Indian secretary.

Art. V.—*Rhymes and Recollections of a Hand Loom Weaver*, by William Thom, of Inverury. Second edition, with Additions.—London: Smith, Elder and Co. Cornhill.

IN Aberdeenshire, a small market-town, known as Inverury, exists,—a town not altogether unknown to fame. The 'bonny water' that flows by it, Thomas, the Rhymers sang. The Bass, dark with its green foliage, according to local legends, may well be termed Golgotha—the place of skulls. In a neighbouring plain was the battle of Harlaw fought, where Donald of the Isles mowed, like grass, the chivalry of the south. Its memory yet lives in no ignoble verse; and it was in the town itself that the Bruce watching the spider, as it struggled to climb the ceiling, learned perseverance and success. There, till recently, lived and struggled, William Thom—one of those men whom the land 'of the mountain rock and river,' every now and then, nurtures in her rough but kindly bosom. In spite of its austerity of manners, Scotland is a land rich in poetic lore. Every brook racing down the mountain side, or lying calm and silent at its foot, every brown heath stretching far away beneath the summer sun—every glen, every forest, is peopled with poetic creations, every ivy-clad tower has its legend of hapless love. The name of Burns is yet cherished by all hearts, and not a child breathes there who knows not of Tam O'Shanter and his grey mare Meg, and to whose bosom the odes and songs of that rare child of genius are not as living fire. No wonder then that emotion, passion, fear and hope, struggle into song—no wonder then the hungry and toilworn weaver, when the storm of life has left him homeless and bare, seeks solace and restraint in poetry. Writing verses, though they be but indifferent, the most strenuous utilitarian must confess is not such a very bad substitute for rick-burning. Among such craftsmen, we believe that, were we to seek, we should find, if not a Burns or a Nicoll—many a William Thom; patient in the endurance of want and work, toiling and struggling, as men only do in Great Britain, in this the

nineteenth century, yet having the high hopes and fervid aspirations of poetry—'the vision and the faculty divine.'

But we turn to our author himself; and the prose poem of his life. Like most lives of the same class, it tells of many a hard struggle—many a dark cloud—many a bitter hour. As is generally the case amongst workmen, the factory system finds but little favour in the eyes of Thom. He deems it his duty to expose it as it once stood in our 'moral north;' fairly to put the knife into the dead monster, lay bare its dark core, dissect it in broad day, that the world may see who had the fat, and who had the famine portion of that heartless trading.' This state of things we rejoice to learn no longer exists; but thus was it in Aberdeen, in the School Hill Factory—'a prime nursery of vice and sorrow,' when Thom was employed there; where 'man became less manly, and woman unlovely and rude;' he grew up as most, whether poets or not, do grow up. In 1814, when Thom began weaving, its golden age had already passed. No longer did the skilful workman earn forty shillings with four days' work, and make the rest of the week a jubilee. The earnings had fallen from forty to six, and on that sum the weaver had to drag out a miserable and precarious existence. But even for him sometimes there was God's glorious sunshine, and God's green and living earth.

'The garden of Gordon's hospital lay close by our work, and was at the time open to all during every day. There was quietness there, though encircled by noisy streets. There, of a summer day, we would meet, those of us who had a turn for reading, and gossip over all we knew of books and the outer world. Then came glimpses—the only glimpses afforded us, of true, and natural, and rational existence. Then would the shuttle rest for a time, and 'a little time yet—a harder and a longer pull to-morrow, will keep soul and body acquainted, and our utmost does no more.'—p. 13.

The works of English and Scottish poets were here Thom's companions, and writing poetry, the next step to reading it, was, in his case, a step speedily taken; or rather he committed to paper the poetry that had its home deep in his heart, and waited but the appointed hour. But our bard had no idea of writing for the mere sake of writing. Such an enjoyment is far too selfish for your true poet. In these days, one must print; and with beating heart, his first born was placed in the office of the Aberdeen Journal. The day came when it was to be seen how the question 'to be, or not to be,' had been settled by that literary despot, the newspaper editor.

'One special crony, and only one, was in confidence, and no

mean sharer was he in the unutterably curious feeling that sets in on the first throes of authorship. Early on the morning of publication, the anxious pair stood watchfully in a court that led to the printing-office. The *confidant* was in that troublesome state known as fidgets, with now and then a qualm, inasmuch as having talked away two days' work, there was not withal to settle up matters in his boarding house that night. The *principal*, although in the very same plight, felt not the very same way. The pain—for pain it was—had no connection with aught on earth, save and except the printing-office on which he gazed. Did his verses exist in *print*? Woes on me! Why don't they buy a paper? Man after man, lad and elderly woman, passed each other with journals at nose, heedless of all beside.

'Ask that man for a peep.'

'Have I not besought it of twenty?'

'Then let us try that chappie coming up.'

'This was meant for a little sulky fellow, who refused flat to open his paper. Patience could do no more; it *becked* away, quite; good manners and honesty followed. We were 'left to ourselves.' The obstinate journal-bearer was led into a house entry; we shut the door; and while he kicked and roared, we groped for the 'Poor Man's Corner' in the journal, and were blessed—the song was there.'—p. 18.

But the times were bad, and Thom emigrated further south. At Newtyle, near Cupar Angus, he was fortunate to enjoy, for a time, happiness such as seldom, he tells us, visits man. But certain American houses failing, great was the dismay in the whole county of Forfar. The storm mainly fell on Newtyle. Those who could go elsewhere did so. Those who had families and wives, such as Thom, remained, subsisting on five shillings a week. But this passive starvation cannot be endured for ever—it has its bounds. Thom grew weary of it when the spring came, and resolved to try some other mode of life. We return to his narrative.

'Proceeding to Dundee, I there exchanged at a pawnbroker's a last and most valuable relic of better days, for ten shillings, four of which I spent on such little articles as usually constitute 'a pack,' designing this to be carried by my wife, while other four shillings I expended on second-hand books, as a stock of merchandise for myself; but I was very unfortunate in my selection, which consisted chiefly of little volumes, containing abridgments of modern authors, these authors being little to the general taste of a rustic population.'—p. 23.

Thus accoutred, they started on their travels. On the third day, it seems, they had not much bettered their condition. The night became cold and wet, the children tired, and there was for them no other place of rest than the lone wayside. There

sat Thom, watching the troubled sleep of the cold and weary ones, till his brain heated, as well it might, with thoughts dark and dire.

‘My head throbbed with pain, and, for a time, became the tenement of thoughts I would not now reveal. They partook less of sorrow than of indignation, and it seemed to me that this same world was a thing very much to be hated; and on the whole, the sooner that one like me could get out of it, the better for its sake and my own. I felt myself, as it were, shut out from mankind—enclosed—prisoned in misery—no outlook—none! My miserable wife and little ones, who alone cared for me, what would I not have done for their sakes at that hour! Here let me speak out, and be heard too, while I tell it, that the world does not at all times know how unsafely it sits, when despair has loosed honour’s last hold upon the heart, when transcendent wretchedness lays weeping reason in the dust—when every unsympathising onlooker is deemed an enemy;—who *then* can limit the consequences? For my own part, I confess that, ever since that dreadful night, I can never hear of an extraordinary criminal, without the wish to pierce through the mere judicial view of his career, under which I am persuaded, there would often be found to exist an unseen impulse—a chain, with an end fixed in nature’s holiest ground, that drew him on to his destiny.—p. 26.’

At length a good Samaritan passed and pitied them. They were taken to a neighbouring farmer’s. An out-house was furnished with straw and blankets, and there they slept sweetly, whilst from that small family one too young for the hardships that preyed on her frame, was taken. In a day or two, our travellers again started forth, and with fivepence halfpenny, we find them seated at the fireside of a lodging house in Methven. But here a new difficulty presented itself, the demand of the lodging house keeper was sixpence, and that was to be paid before the parties ‘took off their shoon.’ But Thom had a flute. He had never tried that method of raising money before. He was somewhat nervous as to the result, but then Homer had sung the Iliad for bread, and Goldsmith had piped his way over half the continent, and Thom dipped his dry flute in a little burn, and began to play.

‘It rang sweetly among the trees. My music raised one window after another, and in less than ten minutes put me in possession of three shillings and ninepence, of good British money. I sent the mother home with this treasure, and directed her to send our little girl to me. It was by this time nearly dark. Every one says, ‘Things just need a beginning.’ I have had a beginning, and a very good one too. I also had a turn for strathspeys, and there appeared to be a run upon them. By this time I was nearing the middle of the town. When I finally made my way, and returned to my lodging, it

was with five shillings, and some pence, in addition to what was given us. My little girl got a beautiful shawl, and some articles of wearing apparel.—p. 34.

This, however, Thom found to be but beggars' work after all, and it was without regret that he settled down as a weaver at Inverury. Here just as a brighter day began to dawn, his wife—she who had struggled with him through the storm, was taken from him. The sunshine that gleamed on him afterwards, lost half its warmth because she was not there. In a few months the dull season came, and he sent a small poem to the *Aberdeen Herald*: but that, though it obtained for him praise, had neither clothed nor fed him or his children. Well there was Aberdeen, and the House of Refuge, they must go there, thus Thom thought one cold morning in February. The wearables, such as they were, were packed for the journey, when the postman came with a letter, dated *Aberdeen Journal Office*. He was not forsaken in that dreary hour. The dark clouds that had hung heavy on his path, vanished, and the poet at length found money and fame.

Let us now pass from the poet to his poetry. This short account of his life will the better have prepared us to appreciate his lays. The verses of a man half clad and half fed are apt to be somewhat rough and rude, and under such circumstances he is likely to say something sharp and stern; they have not the finish of an article for the boudoir or saloon; and Thom's are no exception. But they are of the right stamp—musical and true,—coming from the heart they make their way there at once: and are worth whole folios of poems such as are now daily issuing from the press to the horror and amazement of all who follow what Southey, a reviewer himself, termed the *ungentle craft*. Our space is limited, but we give the poem that brought him first into notice. It is entitled 'the Blind Boy's Pranks.'

Men grew sae cauld, maids sae unkind,
 Love kentna whaur to stay.
 Wi' fient an arrow, bow, or string,—
 Wi' droopin' heart an' drizzled wing,
 He faught his lanely way.
 'Is there nae mair, in Garioch fair,
 Ae spotless hame for me?
 Hae politics, an' corn, an' kye,
 Ilk bosom stappit? Fie, O fie!
 I'll swithe me o'er the sea.'
 He launched a leaf o' jessamine,
 On whilk he daured to swim,
 An' pillowed his head on a wee rosebud,
 Syne laithfu', lanely, Love 'gan scud
 Down Ury's waefu' stream.

RHYMES OF A HAND LOOM WEAVER.

The birds sang bonnie as Love drew near,
But dowie when he gaed by ;
Till lull'd wi' the sough o' monie a sang,
He sleepit fu' soun' and sailed alang
'Neath Heav'n's gowden sky !

'Twas just whaur creeping Ury greets
Its mountain cousin Don,
There wandered forth a weelfaur'd dame,
Wha listless gazed on the bonnie stream,
As it flirted an' played with a sunny beam
That flickered its bosom upon.

Love happit his head, I trow, that time,
The jessamine bark drew nigh,
The lassie espied the wee rosebud,
An' aye her heart gae thud for thud,
An' quiet it wadna lie.

'O gin I but had yon wearie wee flower
That floats on the Ury sae fair !'
She lootit her hand for the silly rose-leaf,
But little wist she o' the pawkie thief,
Was lurkin' an' laughin' there !

Love glower'd when he saw her bonnie dark e'e,
An' swore by Heaven's grace
He ne'er had seen, nor thought to see,
Since e'er he left the Paphian lea,
Sae lovely a dwallin' place !

Syne, first of a', in her blithsome breast,
He built a bower, I ween ;
An' what did the waefu' devilick neist ?
But kindled a gleam like the rosy east,
That sparkled frae baith her een.

An' then beneath ilk high e'e bree
He placed a quiver there ;
His bow ? What but her shinin' brow ?
An' O sic deadly strings he drew
Frae out her silken hair.

Guid be our guard ! sic deeds waur deen,
Roun' a' our countrie then ;
An' monie a hangin' lug was seen
'Mang furmers fat, an' lawyers lean,
An' herds o' common men !

But Thom is also the poet of poverty
of love, but he can also sing of woe. |
of Marah, as well as at the (

that can feel for another' will not remain in stupid silence when its own sorrows are to be sung—when the memory of its own loved and lost is to be perpetuated in verse. The Jeanie of his warm youth and bitter manhood was early called, but her memory remains fresh and strong in the poet's heart.

JEANIE'S GRAVE.

'I saw my true love first on the banks of the queenly Tay,
Nor did I deem it yielding my trembling heart away;
I feasted on her deep dark eye, and loved it more and more,
For, oh! I thought I ne'er had seen a look so kind before!

I heard my true love sing, and she taught me many a strain,
But a voice so sweet, oh! never shall my old ear hear again,
In all our friendless wanderings, in homeless penury,
Her gentle song and jetty eye were all unchanged to me.

I saw my true love fade—I heard her latest sigh—
I wept no frivolous weeping when I closed her lightless eye;
Far from her native Tay she sleeps, and other waters lave
The markless spot where Ury creeps around my Jeanie's grave.

Move noiseless, gentle Ury! around my Jeanie's bed,
And I'll love thee, gentle Ury! where'er my footsteps tread;
For sooner shall thy fairy wave return from yonder sea,
That I forget yon lowly grave, and all it hides from me.'

We have introduced the Inverury bard to our readers, and we now leave him to make his way. We congratulate him on the success he has already obtained, and we trust that he will fearlessly and prosperously go on. It speaks well—it bids us take confidence, and have faith in man, that Thom is no longer in want—that men have at length seen that it is better to honour the prophet living, than to build him a sepulchre when dead. Burns died trampled on by the fine lords and ladies who had been amused with him as the play-thing of an hour. Nicoll in song his equal, in all that ennobles and dignifies humanity his superior, could but just earn his daily bread, and went down to his grave worn out at the early age of twenty-three. With Thom it has been otherwise. In the hard struggle with the world, he has neither fainted nor failed; and now the clouds are scattered after the storm, and above him there is the clear blue of heaven and the sunshine. He could have done as the weak hearted have done—there was the halter and the poison for him as well as for them, but he spurned that guilt—he lived in faith and hope, and has met with his reward.

Art VI.—*Letters of Mary Queen of Scotland, selected from the 'Recueil des Lettres de Marie Stuart,' together with the Chronological Summary of Events, during the Reign of the Queen of Scotland.* By Prince Alexander Labanoff. Translated, with Notes and an Introduction, by William Turnbull, Esq., 8vo. London: Charles Dolman.

THE researches of history are correcting many of the judgments of past times. Opinions long current among us, which have been handed down from generation to generation, and to question which has been deemed heretical, in the highest degree, are, in the course of being proved unsound and delusive. This is especially the case with the estimates formed of the leaders of defeated parties. The victors have been permitted to sketch their character, and we need not therefore wonder, if the portraits left are dark and repulsive. They wrote under the influence of temporary passion or of party zeal, and have, in consequence, exaggerated every real defect, or assigned to their subject mere imaginary qualities, which had no existence, save in their own disordered mind. To deny to an opponent the existence of any virtue, and to assign to him whatever qualities awaken reprobation, or induce contempt, has ever been esteemed compatible with party honour. All classes have been guilty in this matter. One after another, as opportunity arose, has practised the evil art of detraction, as though their hostility could not be satisfied without destroying the character of those whose fortunes they had ruined.

The history of the losing party has usually been written by the winner. It has been so from the times of Wat Tyler—to say nothing of more remote days—and various influences have, consequently, been at work to distort the narrative from which posterity was to derive its knowledge of the past. In many cases it was impossible to make out a vindication of the course pursued by the victors, without denying the virtues which the vanquished possessed, or assigning to them crimes of which they were wholly guiltless. This has been the usual resort of power, whether exercised on a large or a small scale, in the church or the world, the Consistory or the Court. In other cases passion availed so to discolour objects, and to present them in such false lights, as to make them appear to the excited spectator other than what they really were. The dominant party, or, at least, many of those who served their purposes and promoted their success, really believed the men whom they aspersed to be as they described them. This need awaken no surprise. Our fathers adjudged men and women for witchcraft, and burnt them accordingly; and many of the Church

publications of the present day will scarcely concede to dissenters the virtues which they allow to Jews, Turks, or Infidels. In some cases this is mere hypocrisy, the utterance of what is known to be false; but, in others, and those not few, it is the conviction of excited and bitter partizanship,—the opinion really entertained by those who are too passionate to be reflecting, or too ignorant to be cognizant of the evidence pertaining to the case adjudged.

We need not, therefore, be surprised at the erroneous judgments on the actors in former scenes of our history, which have been hereditary with our countrymen. The assertors of English liberty in the former part of the seventeenth century, long suffered in this way. The most illustrious men of their race, constituting a line of moral heroes, which have never been surpassed, distinguished alike for public and for private virtue, eminent both in the Senate and in the field, profound in learning, masculine in intellect, versed in the arts of government, and almost superhuman in their knowledge of the human heart; they were proscribed for a century and a half, and their names referred to only as the emblems of whatever was vicious in civil rebellion and ecclesiastical heresy. For a short period their career was full of promise, and the eyes of Europe were drawn towards them with mingled astonishment, admiration, and hatred. But their sun went down while it was yet day. They were before their times, and having scattered the seeds of truth, they perished in prison, in the battle-field, or on the block. Their enemies raised the song of triumph, and it was left to Clarendon and others, the advocates of despotism in Church and State, to asperse their memory and misstate their deeds. The press was in the hands of their victors, and multitudinous was the host of mercenary scribblers who sought bread by vilifying men whom they were incapable of understanding. A reaction, however has taken place. The passion of the age has passed away. Men are become more reflecting, and with that more just. Englishmen have discovered that they have been wronged in this matter, that the brightest page of their history, the purest models of their patriotism, have been kept from them. They begin to feel that the blessings they inherit are but the fruits of the labours of the illustrious dead, and thousands, noble in spirit, if not in name, are repairing with profoundest reverence to the tombs where their fathers rest.

As the leaders of the long Parliament and their precursors were thus wronged by the historians of the Cavaliers, so were the Puritans and Separatists by those of the Episcopalian. The former were the defeated party, and none dared to speak in their defence, whilst Whitgift, Bancroft, Heylin, South, and

a host of others, found their appropriate vocation in defaming men whose disinterestedness and moral heroism shamed their worldlymindedness and servility. As in the former case, however, a new trial has been sued for, and the verdict obtained does justice to the memory of men of whom the world was not worthy.

A third class which has suffered wrong in a similar manner, is that to which the ill-fated Queen, whose letters are now before us, belonged. Happily for the interest of religious truth and civil freedom, the struggle long continued in this kingdom between the papal and the protestant faiths, was finally decided in favour of the latter. In the fact we rejoice, though bitterly sensible of the criminality of many of the measures employed to compass it. There was little of principle, and still less of that which was strictly religious, in the contentions of those on whom the determination of the struggle in England mainly depended. They were the new nobility arrayed against the old, the selfish adherents of power in possession against power in prospect; the men who had fattened on the spoils of the church, against those who assailed their title and charged them with sacrilege. Beneath the surface there were, on both sides, men who regarded the religious as the main element in the struggle; but they acted only a subordinate part, and were not free from the charge of succumbing to power, and of flattering the vices of the great. The scale alternately preponderated according as the sovereign smiled on the one faith or the other. At length, it settled in favour of a pseudo-protestantism, a form of ecclesiastical polity which repudiated the authority of the Pope, whilst it retained as much of popery as suited the despotic temper and religious formalism of Elizabeth. The usual result followed. Popery was denounced as a civil crime, and the advocacy of its principles, or the defence of its adherents, was strictly prohibited. The press was in the hands of the dominant party, and they were not sparing in their efforts to blacken the character, and to vilify the deeds of their opponents. It would have been a noble triumph of principle over passion, of religious integrity over human weakness, if the advocates of the Reformation had respected the limits of truth. There was enough of the terrible to relate, without drawing on the imagination. The testimony of history, was sufficiently explicit and would have told with more salutary and permanent effect, if the redeeming qualities of papal advocates on the one hand, and the defects of Protestant champions on the other, had been honourably admitted. A different course was, however, pursued. The ordinary policy of victors was adopted, and we have had, in consequence, handed down to us, among many others, two imaginary characters, mere fancy sketches; one

entitled 'The good queen Bess,' and the other, 'The blood Mary!' A calmer and more discriminating judgment is not happily exercised, and the 'Virgin Queen' has, in consequence, declined in popularity, whilst her sister is admitted to have possessed some redeeming qualities, and to be entitled to the benefit of certain extenuating circumstances, not formerly noted. The same process has been going on with another catholic heroine of that age, and with a like result. The character and history of Mary, Queen of Scotland, have recently engaged special attention. Various witnesses have been called in Court on her behalf, and it certainly is not going too far to allege that the issue has been decidedly favourable to her reputation. We do not affirm that every past judgment has been reversed, but it has been clearly shown, that she was free from some of the worst crimes charged upon her, and that in the case of others, though no absolute decision can be arrived at, there is much to incline a candid mind to a favourable decision. We are indebted to Prince Labanoff for a collection of letters, which leaves little to be desired in the way of epistolary illustration of the life of this unhappy princess. With patience not to be wearied, a diligence which nothing could tire, and a deep interest which rendered difficulties pleasant and enabled him to surmount them, Prince Labanoff has prosecuted his researches throughout the public libraries and private collections of Europe. The result has been given to the world in seven volumes, which are absolutely indispensable to a correct and thorough knowledge of Mary Stuart and her times.

The volume now before us is a translation of a portion of the Correspondence contained in Prince Labanoff's work, and possesses considerable interest, though not certainly so much as we could have desired. It is difficult to determine on what principle the selection has been made, and the whole is, therefore, wanting in that distinct and definite interest which might have been secured. We should, for instance, have welcomed a selection which was adapted to illustrate the main points of the queen's life, which threw light on her relation to Riccio, on the murder of Darnley, on her marriage with Bothwell, and on the course pursued by the two rival parties which then struggled for the ascendancy in her kingdom. This, however, has not been aimed at by Mr. Turnbull, or rather—for he expressly states that the selection is not his—by those at whose request he undertook the labour of translation. If the volume bears on any one point, it is the devotion of the queen to the papal faith but even this is only partial, and its value is, in consequence, somewhat diminished. The letters are preceded by an introduction by Mr. Turnbull, and a Chronological Summary of the leading events in the Life of the Queen, by Prince Labanoff.

The latter, extending to 188 pages, is an exceedingly valuable production, and may be read with great advantage.

The letters commence in January 1563, about two years and a half prior to Mary's marriage with Darnley, and we shall proceed to give a few extracts from them, to enable our readers to judge of their worth. The intrigues which preceded that ill-fated marriage, are detailed at length in a memorial, and a letter to the French ambassador in England (pp. 147—155), which throw considerable light on the difficulties of her position, and although marked by bitter crimination, are adapted to induce both sympathy and compassion. We hasten on, however, to the period of her captivity. In May 1568, having been defeated by the Earl of Murray at Langside, Mary resolved to seek shelter in England, whither Elizabeth had frequently invited her. She was received with outward respect, and was conducted to Carlisle by the Lieutenant-Governor, Lowther, 'with all the honours due to her rank.' It was soon apparent, however, that she was a prisoner, in the power of one, who combined with the ambition and remorseless of the other sex, the vain and jealous temperament of her own. A pitiable view is given of her condition, in the following extract from a letter to the Cardinal of Lorraine, dated from Carlisle, June 21, 1568.

'The queen has sent me hither a little linen, and provides me with one dish. The rest I have borrowed, but I cannot do so any more. You will participate in this disgrace. Sandy Clerk, who was in France on behalf of this false bastard, boasts that you will neither provide me with money, nor meddle in my affairs. God tries me severely; however, rest assured that I shall die a catholic: God will relieve me from these miseries very soon. For I have endured injuries, calumnies, imprisonment, famine, cold, heat, flight, not knowing whither, ninety-two miles across the country without stopping or alighting, and then I have had to sleep upon the ground, and drink sour milk, and eat oatmeal without bread, and have been three nights like the owls, without a female in this country, where, to crown all, I am little else than a prisoner. And, in the meanwhile, they demolish all the houses of my servants, and I cannot aid them; and hang their owners, and I cannot compensate them: and yet they all remain faithful to me, abominating these cruel traitors, who have not three thousand men at their command; and, if I had support, the one-half would assuredly leave them. I pray that God may send relief when it pleases him, and that he may give you health and long life.'—pp. 163, 164.

The same subject is referred to in several subsequent letters to Elizabeth, which furnish ample evidence of the severity with which the royal prisoner was treated, though their profession of regard to 'my good sister,' may well be discredited. Mention

is made of the sudden removal and change of her keepers, the harsh treatment and abrupt dismissal of her servants, the interdicting all communication with Scotland and France, the rifling of her trunks, and the entering her chamber with pistols. She was alternately hopeful and despondent, at one moment anticipating her speedy deliverance, and at another, darkly foreboding her cruel end. In a letter, under date of October 16, 1570, she refers to a communication recently received through Cecil and Mildmay, in a tone which painfully contrasts with subsequent epistles. She was evidently full of hope, and the terms in which she alludes to her son, gives a yet darker shade to the heartlessness and brutality with which that son regarded her fate. She speaks of him as 'the most valued jewel which God has given me in this world, and my sole comfort,' and yet that son could be silent, if not acquiescent, during the long captivity and tragical death of his mother. Were it not that we already regard the character of James with superlative contempt, we should hold him in lower esteem from his obvious unworthiness of such parental fondness. The following, dated October 29, 1571, contains a similar reference, while it throws a clear light on the strictness and rigour of her confinement:—

'But now, without further annoying you with the sad and pathetic complaint of an afflicted queen prisoner, I shall venture to address to you this humble and perhaps last request, that you will please for once to give me leave to confer with some one of my people from France; or, if that is not agreeable to you, with some of the attendants of M. de La Mothe, the ambassador from his most Christian Majesty, my good brother, if you do not choose that he himself should take that trouble, in order to an arrangement of my affairs in France, as well for the remuneration of my old servants now banished from my presence, as for the small number now left to me, I know not for how long, and also for the payment of my debts, which, without seeing my accounts, I am unable to discharge according to the duties of my conscience, of which I implore you to have consideration. Although I do not wish to trouble you with what concerns my condition, which, knowing to be of so little consequence to you, I leave to the mercy of God, resolved to live patiently in adversity and prison as miserable as he pleases, and to die in like manner when it shall be his will to deliver me from this wicked world; in which not knowing how long it is his pleasure that I remain, being afflicted with a disease occasioned by so many unaccustomed inconveniences or by your unmerited severity; yet I will pray you also (impelled to this by the zeal of my conscience) to permit me have a priest of the catholic church, of which I am a member, to console me and attend to my duties. Which requests being granted, I shall pray God, both in prison and in dying, to give to your heart what may be agreeable to him and wholesome for you; and if I am refused them, I charge

you to answer before God for my failure in the means of doing my duty, having duly implored and requested you, in whom lies the refusal or permission.

‘ There remains still another request, of little importance to you, but of extreme consolation to me ; it is that you will please, having compassion on a desolate mother, from whose arms has been torn her only child and hope of future joy in this world, to permit me to write at least open letters, to enquire into the real state of his welfare, and recall to him his sad mother ; so that, receiving some comfort from his good behaviour, I may also remind him of his duty towards God and me, without which no human favour can profit him ; for failing in one of these two so express commandments, God may make him forgetful of all the others. And if the above points are granted to me, I shall prepare myself at once to receive life or death, or whatsoever it may please God to send me at your hands ; which having kissed, I shall conclude by praying God to give you, Madam, his holy grace in this world, and his glory in the other.

From my close prison of Sheffield, this 29th October.—

pp. 225—227.

Writing to the French ambassador in the following month, she says :—

‘ My people are not permitted to go beyond the gate of this castle, and all Lord Shrewsbury’s servants are prohibited from speaking to mine. The displeasure which this queen has expressed to you by Burghley, is followed in my instance by new severity and menaces. I am confined to my chamber, of which they wish again to wall up the windows, and make a false door by which they may enter when I am asleep ; and my people will no longer be permitted to come there, except a few valets, and the rest of my servants will be removed from me. So she makes me to know that this cruelty will only terminate with my life, after causing me to languish unmercifully.—
p. 227.

Justice to Elizabeth and her advisers, requires it to be borne in mind that the Scottish queen was the recognised centre of the papal party at this time. Without a knowledge of this fact it will be impossible to understand what occurred. Though it affords no justification of her treatment, it explains the policy of Elizabeth, and relieves her measures, not, indeed, from the charge of injustice and cruelty, but from that of sheer folly and wanton despotism. The two parties were animated with the fiercest hatred towards each other, and the possible succession of Mary to the English throne was anticipated with dread by the one, and with all the eagerness of hope by the other. The English ministers partook of the former feeling, while Mary was aware of, and encouraged the latter, on the part of the catholics. ‘ They have,’ she says, in January 1571, ‘ no hope of recovery,

except from God and me.' And again in March, of the same year, 'the hope which the catholics have of seeing their religion restored, and themselves freed from captivity, is not founded upon other human aid, than from those who will advance my just claim of queen of Scotland, which I have to both these kingdoms.' The catholics were perpetually engaging in schemes on her behalf, which the vigilance and promptitude of the English government detected and punished. This state of things weighed heavily on the spirits of the captive queen, and is frequently referred to in terms similar to the following :—

'The undertakings that are discovered before they are matured, and that nevertheless could be well executed,—of their designers some are prisoners, others quit the country and lose their wealth, others their wealth and their lives. Which things keep me in such perplexity of mind, that I have many times wished that it would please God to take me from this world, esteeming that by this means the Catholics in not relying more upon me would have patience, and thus would content themselves as they best could, waiting for some other opportunity, through the goodness and mercy of God. And it was this consideration that induced me to resolve to treat with this Queen, although it were on exorbitant terms, and hard conditions, and fly from them in some sort as it were, sooner than see them miserably ruined and destroyed one after another.—p. 191.

The 'main scope and intention' of the catholics is affirmed to be 'the establishment of the catholic religion,' and the Duke of Norfolk is confidently spoken of as 'the leader of the enterprise.' The policy to be pursued was wanting in highmindedness and sincerity, as the following brief extract will show :—

'The said Duke of Norfolk being at all times loved, favoured, and followed by many of the noble Protestants, who, by chance, might draw back from him, if at first sight he directly indicated to them his wish to change the religion, the principal Catholics of this enterprise are to make it appear that he temporises, and thus unite with the said protestants to serve him in it, and to make him enter into the business under other pretences and views, for which now there are great opportunities; one, that many of the said Protestants are favourable to my title, part because the said duke is of that opinion, part because of the particular enmities and quarrels which they have with the Earls of Hertford and Huntingdon.—p. 193.

To this subject Mary often recurs in such terms as were perfectly natural in her position, but which must have rendered it extremely difficult for the English government to reconcile its own safety with her preservation. They had committed themselves to a course of injustice, and might plead in extenuation of their rigour the necessity laid upon them. Thus it has ever

been that wrong generates wrong. One false step calls for, and seems to justify another. But as in private, so in public life, enlightened expediency and sound justice are one. Errors and crimes had been committed in the early policy of the English court towards the Scottish queen, but the wisest and the right course would have been to admit the one, and to offer atonement for the other. Elizabeth, however, resolved to carry out and complete her injustice, and in doing so, she only acted in keeping with the ordinary maxims of state-craft.

During a considerable portion of the reign of Elizabeth, the English court was rent into various factions. The protestant and the catholic, the churchman and the puritan, the advocate of prerogative and the assertor of popular freedom, had each his representative, and it was sometimes difficult to say to which side the scale would incline. On the animosities and intrigues of these parties, the letters before us throw considerable light, though it is necessary, in their perusal, to bear in mind the position from which they were viewed, and the strong personal interests of the writer. Writing from Sheffield, August 4th, 1574, Mary says :—

‘ You know that there are three factions in this kingdom ; one of the Puritans, in favour of Huntingdon, who is privily supported by Leicester ; another of Burleigh, for Hertford ; and the third of the poor Catholics ; and of all these this queen is the enemy, and only considers Hatton, Walsingham, and several others, at all free from suspicion, expressing herself to them thus, that she would wish to return after her death, to see the murders, quarrels, and divisions in this country. ‘ For,’ says she, ‘ Leicester flatters Hertford, and stands for his own brother-in-law, and the others would like to be rid of me. But if the third comes (speaking of me), she will soon take off their heads.’ And therefore she has persuaded the said Hatton neither to purchase lands nor build houses, for, if she were dead, he could not live. Yet Leicester talks over Monsieur de La Mothe, to persuade me that he is wholly for me, and professes that afterwards he is to propose marriage to me, and endeavours to gain over Walsingham, my mortal enemy, to this effect. Burleigh writes very civilly of me, when he thinks it will come to my ears, protesting that he will not, like others, suffer anything to be said to him against me (he alludes to Leicester), as the nearest relative of the queen, and whom he desires to honour as far as I shall not offend his mistress. Notwithstanding Bedford, who is entirely Leicester’s, as he himself has caused me to be informed, solicits to have me, to persuade me to come to it. But recently they have charged him with the knowledge of a conspiracy against the life of Burleigh, of which he is acquitted. I do not know what will be the result, but they have little confidence in each other.’— 239—240.

Three years later, reference is made to the matrimonial de-

sign of the Earl of Leicester, and the court is represented as distracted by the feuds consequent thereon. The passage referring to these points is somewhat too extended for its limits, but it does not admit of abridgement, and its importance forbids omission. It is addressed to the Archbishop of Glasgow Mary's most trusted adviser:—

'The principal subject which I have now to write to you, is Leicester's journey to the baths of Buxton, where he has been very honourably received by my host Shrewsbury. Many are there filled with great jealousy, suspicion and distrust. For my part, after having sounded, by all the best means that I could, his intention and chief motive for this journey, I have discovered that he has gone expressly there to ascertain the inclinations of the nobility in reference to the marriage which he designs to solemnize with this queen, which everyone considers to have been for a long time secretly contracted between them; and he himself even speaks of it in a manner a little more freely than perchance may be profitable to him. But besides that, knowing well with what difficulty I shall be induced to consent to it, and without I derive some great advantages from it, he has sent in all duty to assure me, by a third party, both of the good affection of this queen towards me and of his own, even for his own sake, in what affects my pretension to the crown of England. And to please me on this point, he has received very ill the earl of Huntingdon, his brother-in-law, who went to see him, and would not permit him to remain with him beyond half-a-day. I need not write to you the endless other reports to this purpose which have come to my ear, from which, after all, I can learn nothing, except that the said Lord Leicester wishes to maintain and preserve her favour during this reign, and to have an eye to and secure himself for the future wherein I have determined to give no more faith to his words than his behaviour, full of all dissimulation, allows me ground; and I pray you to inform Morgan, Liggon, and others, who may in this be alarmed and distrustful. My Lord Burleigh, on account of the jealousy which he has of this journey, was to have set out for one of his own residences, near this, with a determination of going to the baths, and, as I believe, of counteracting and destroying all that he dreaded the other, his mortal enemy, might have arranged to his disadvantage, principally as regards me. But he has been commanded, and has not been able to obtain his leave. The Earl of Sussex has declared openly against the said Lord Leicester, so far as to threaten to take his life, by whatever means he can, if the queen will not permit them to fight. There are many in this kingdom with the same inclination; the factions and party-spirit being so great in it, that never had foreign princes a finer opportunity for indemnifying themselves for the inconveniences which they receive from this quarter, which those of this country infinitely dread, especially if the peace concluded in France, as they hold it certain in Flanders, suspects that there has been a close understanding between the kings

France and Spain, and that, if I am of the party, I can annoy them much, which makes them affect me more than usual, and labour so much to secure me.—pp. 254—256.

To those who are not able to procure the larger work of Prince Labanoff, Mr. Turnbull's volume will be highly acceptable, and we cordially recommend it to all our readers who are interested in the historical enquiries to which it pertains.

Art. VII. *The Fourth Report of the Commissioners on the Fine Arts.*

THE Fourth Report of the Commissioners for conducting the ornaments in 'the New Palace of Westminster,' which by a novel stretch of sycophancy it seems is to be the vernacular among other things for the Houses of Lords and Commons, has made its appearance, and presents an object of considerable interest. In some views it may seem to be of small importance whether one specimen of humanity or another be represented in stone or marble by act of parliament in a certain niche. But the question is at all events of consequence, as handing down to posterity the measure of what were the notions of merit prevalent in Great Britain in the middle of the nineteenth century, modified (for that must not be overlooked) by the medium through which the decision has been made. As neither the members of the commission, nor the act of parliament which appointed them, resulted from universal suffrage, the 'universal British people' is not entitled to either the praise or blame which may be incurred by the final operation. But the statues when they appear, will, on the whole, be on this account only more interesting to the historian; and it is clear that they offer useful points of remark, while the decision is still to some extent incomplete.

In confirmation of interest being to be found about the subject, a curious question starts up at the threshold, or perhaps before it. Is it possible it should have been quietly slobbered over and passed *sub silentio*, that the house of lords and the house of commons shall be out-houses of 'the palace.' The House of Lords, like 'brother Neile,' may do as it chooses; but was there decency in ostentatiously turning the House of Commons, which has made and unmade kings, into an adjunct of a royal residence, the scullery, the servants' hall, or as the event may be? Was there any more propriety in doing this, than there would have been in inviting the queen to quarter in the lobby of the house of commons, and use the smoking-room on levee-days? Is the Speaker to be asked to dinner with the officers of the guard? for a guard-room is among the special appurtenances

named. If a member in the heat of argument should commit himself by a blow on another member's head instead of the table, is he to have his hand cut off with a cleaver by the queen's head-cook in his white apron, the hierarchy of royal scullions attending to do their several services towards the operation? And what fitness was there in having the outside of the Commons' house stuck over with effigies of individuals, for whom the nation has anything but respectful feelings,—individuals to expel and keep out whom, it expended its best blood, and placed and kept the existing dynasty upon the throne as the symbol of its victory? The unmanly pedant, the executed criminal, the brothel-king, the expelled tyrant, are all to insult the people in stone, while England's 'chief of men' is to have his existence stifled, so far as such rubbish can effect the suffocation. How should we laugh at the French, if they were to let any rulers try to persuade them that Napoleon never was sovereign; and call for a 'Three Days,' to put an end to the ridicule of the thing. Would it be of the nature of treason to wish, that popular power may at some time reach the point of applying the scraping-iron to the whole; or is not the treason rather in those who insult the existing tenant of the throne by this parading of the statues of our enemies? Why should a house of commons be larded with kings and queens at all? Suppose a future House of Commons should propose that the residence of the sovereign should present on its outside the burly figure of O'Connell, the economizing lineaments of Joseph Hume, and the expansive nostrils* of Dr. Bowring? Would it be anything but very silly; and is the other a whit the less?

But to come to the selection proposed for the *inside*. A sub-committee presents two lists; one a schedule A, not of names to be disfranchised, but of names to which the committee agreed unanimously; the other, schedule B, of names on which the committee were not unanimous, but which were adopted by a majority. The first list contains sixty-three names, and the other fifty-eight. What proportion the number of indispensables bears to the possible niches in prospect, does not clearly appear, at least from such extracts as are before the public in the newspapers. Both lists are given in a note below†. Besides this, the commissioners present the decision of their united

* The Beloved Ferdinand called him 'him of the *largas narices*.'

† The Fourth Report of the Commissioners on the Fine Arts has just been issued by the Parliamentary printer. It relates to the placing of statues in the 'New Palace of Westminster'—the Parliament Houses. The Commissioners report, that there are various situations already ascertained to be suitable to statues, others suitable to busts; but 'many situations for statues consist of niches only, which, in accordance with the style of Gothic architecture adopted, are uniformly narrow, not exceeding two feet

force, on the places to be awarded to certain of the statues named by their sub-committee.

in width; a size and form 'which seem to limit the choice of the Commissioners to characters drawn from the feudal age, and, as usual with effigies of that period, presenting little or no variety of attitude.' However, the Commissioners express the opinion,

.... 'that six insulated marble statues might be conveniently placed in St. Stephen's Porch, and that sixteen such statues might be conveniently placed in St. Stephen's Hall. We are of opinion that it is not desirable that a corresponding number of eminent names be now pointed out with a view to the entire occupation of those places; but we are at once prepared to recommend that statues of Marlborough and Nelson be placed in St. Stephen's Porch; and that statues of Selden, Hampden, Lord Falkland, Lord Clarendon, Lord Somers, Sir Robert Walpole, Lord Chatham, Lord Mansfield, Burke, Fox, Pitt, and Grattan, be placed in St. Stephen's Hall.

'We have further to propose that the following three artists:—viz. William Calder Marshall, John Bell, and John Henry Foley, whose works in the last exhibition in Westminster Hall were considered by us to be entitled to especial commendation, be at once commissioned to prepare models for three of the aforesaid statues—viz. the statues of Hampden, Lord Falkland, and Lord Clarendon; and that the execution of such statues be allotted to the said artists respectively, as we may hereafter decide.

'We have further to propose that 2,000*l.* of public money be granted on account towards the payment of such works.'

A Sub-Committee report the subjoined lists of names of 'distinguished' men to whose memory statues might be erected. The first list (A) consists of names to which the Committee agreed unanimously; the second (B) of names on which they were not unanimous, but which were adopted by a majority. At the same time, the Committee 'desire to express their unanimous opinion, that the attempt to execute any great number of these statues simultaneously, would not be conducive to the interests of art.'

A.)

Alfred	Sir William Wallace	Bacon
Elizabeth	Sir Philip Sidney	Napier
Robert Bruce	Duke of Marlborough	Newton
_____	Lord Clive	Locke
Lord Burleigh	Lord Heathfield	Robert Boyle
John Hampden	_____	_____
Earl of Clarendon	Lord Howard of Effingham	Caxton
Lord Somers	Sir Francis Drake	Watt
Earl of Chatham	Admiral Blake	Herschel
Edmund Burke	Lord Rodney	Cavendish
C. J. Fox	Lord Howe	_____
William Pitt	Lord Duncan	Inigo Jones
_____	Lord St. Vincent	Sir Christopher Wren
Sir Thomas More	Lord Nelson	Hogarth
Sir Edward Coke	_____	Sir Joshua Reynolds
John Selden	Sir Walter Raleigh	Flaxman
Sir Matthew Hale	Captain Cook	_____
Earl of Mansfield	_____	John Howard
Lord Erskine	Sir Th. Gresham	William Wilberforce
_____	_____	_____
Venerable Bede	Chaucer	Harvey
Richard Hooker	Spencer	Jenner
_____	Earl of Surrey	_____
	Shakspeare	
	Milton	
	Addison	
	Richardson	
	Dr. Johnson	
	Cowper	
	Sir Walter Scott	

The lists, on the whole, are in some respects better than might have been expected, and in others worse. They are better, inasmuch as they undeniably contain less of adulation to unpopular principles than by-gone tory administrators would have thought it their duty to produce. In so far as they are worse, the expectation held out for the possibility of debate, encourages the disposition to criticize for the chance to improve.

Alfred has a right to head the list, as a sovereign who did good when there was nothing to hinder him from doing evil. Elizabeth has a strong hold on popular feeling, as the resister of foreign domination; the same, in short, which Akbar

(B.)		
Richard I. Cœur de Lion	John Wickliffe	Ben Jonson
Edward I.	John Knox	John Bunyan
Edward III.	Cranmer	Dryden
The Black Prince	Archbishop Usher	Pope
Henry V.	Archbishop Leighton	Swift
William III.	Jeremy Taylor	Goldsmith
George III.	Chillingworth	Burns
—	Barrow	Sir William Jones
Cardinal Langton	Bishop Butler	Robertson
William of Wickham	John Wesley	Hume
Cardinal Wolsey	—	—
Earl of Strafford	Sir John Talbot	Fielding
Lord Falkland	Sir John Chandos	—
Sir William Temple	Marquis of Montrose	—
Lord Russell	Cromwell	Roger Bacon
Sir Robert Walpole	Monk	Smeaton
Earl of Hardwicke	General Wolfe	Brindley
Earl Camden	Sir Eyre Coote	John Hunter
Grattan	Sir Ralph Abercromby	Adam Smith
Warren Hastings	Sir John Moore	Purcell
—	—	—
Speaker Onslow	Hawke	Garrick
—	—	—

March 6, 1845.—Revised March 14, 1845.

‘ Another Sub-Committee recommend, that eighteen niches in the House of Lords be filled with effigies of eighteen of the principal Barons who signed Magna Charta; namely—

Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury.	William, Earl of Aumerle
William, Bishop of London	Geoffrey, Earl of Gloucester
Almeric, Master of Knights Templars	Saher, Earl of Winchester
William, Earl of Salisbury	Henry, Earl of Hereford
William, Earl of Pembroke	Roger, Earl of Norfolk
Waryn, Earl of Warren	Robert, Earl of Oxford
William, Earl of Arundel	Robert Fitzwalter
Hubert de Burgh, Earl of Kent	Eustace de Vesci
Richard, Earl of Clare	William de Mowbray

‘ A memorandum by the Commissioners records their opinion that the entrance to the Houses of Parliament by the grand staircase, landing-place, guard-room, Victoria Gallery, and lobby to the House of Peers, should contain the statues of Sovereigns,—namely, Egbert, Edgar, Canute, and Edward the Confessor, and the whole series from William the Conqueror to Victoria. Queen Mary the wife of William III., and Prince Albert, are also to be included. The Victoria Hall to contain twelve statues; beginning with Henry VII., ending with Queen Anne, and including Mary.—*Spectator*, 18 Oct. 1845.

Khan has a right to have on the Affghans. Bruce is an offering to a similar feeling on the part of Scotland ; though at the expense of English pride. If it be deserving of a statue for everybody to resist everybody, would it not be better that everybody should let everybody alone? Lord Burleigh cannot shake his head in stone. The principle he represents, was already represented in fair proportion by Elizabeth. John Hampden is the most brilliant sacrifice in the lists, to the irresistibleness of common sense ; and when it is recollected that he fell in the act of doing battle against the tyrant, the pretence of making faces at the admission of the greater agent Cromwell, becomes more intensely ridiculous. Queen Victoria is neither Jacobite nor Cavalier ; she would not knight anybody the less, for seeing the leader by the side of his subordinate. Clarendon, the darling of Jacobite squires in the last age, has small pretensions to a statue now, for writing the history of a ' Great Rebellion,' in which Queen Victoria is in fact the great and successful ' rebel.' Lord Somers was a good Whig, and Clarendon was probably put in with a view to balancing him. Chatham, Burke, Fox, and Pitt, are intelligible representatives of principles, of which the existing race of men have seen the action. More, Coke, Selden, Sir Matthew Hale (of witches), Lord Mansfield, Lord Erskine, are the representatives of law. Bede and Hooker may be supposed to stand for ecclesiastical history and polity. Wallace, Sidney, Marlborough, Clive, and Heathfield, represent military men. The two last are objectionable. Clive never represented any principle but plunder, nor was revered by any but the shakers of the rupee-tree. Popular tradition to this day represents him as dying haunted by the ghosts of victims ; a bad preparation for a statue. Lord Heathfield scarcely attained to sign-post notoriety. The Gibraltar line-of-battle ship carries, or did carry, his statue for her figure-head ; which is appropriate, and enough. The admirals make a greater show. Lord Howard of Effingham is viewed as the naval conductor of Elizabeth's resistance ; and Sir Francis Drake, though known for a great deal more than is good, among other things for an originator of the Guinea slave-trade, has always preserved a kind of equality in the memories of the time. Blake was Cromwell's sea arm ; and it ought not to be forgotten to typify on his statue, that for this his bones were exhumed by the ' hyæna royalists.' Rodney, Howe, Duncan, St. Vincent, and Nelson, follow that sort of technical necessity by which the leaders of the successful attacks at a siege must be mentioned in a despatch. Clerk of Eldin, who was the teacher of them all, and did for them what none of them would have done for themselves or for one another, has no place ; as is the custom of the world in like

cases. A black line after these, 'brackets off' Raleigh and Cook by themselves; implying that they appear as colonizers or discoverers, rather than sea-warriors. Raleigh was a buccaneer with a literary turn*. In point of magnitude in the public eye, or any other quality implying claim to a statue, it would be childish to compare him with William Penn; who appears in neither list. There are not fifty men and women in the country, who would know Raleigh's effigy if they saw it. There are scarcely the same number among the well-informed classes, who

* By a coincidence purely accidental, the following passages appear in the 'League' newspaper of 18 Oct., in a review of an article *On the Value of the Potato, by a Munster Farmer*.—'Most persons have heard the legendary history which describes the introduction of the cultivation of the potato into Europe. It is said that Sir Walter Raleigh, to whom large grants of forfeited estates had been made in the south of Ireland, brought from South America the seeds of several new esculents, which he planted in his garden at Myrtle Grove; a seat which had been originally the residence of the master of the college established in Youghal soon after the Anglo-Norman conquest. There is abundant evidence to prove that Raleigh valued the lands which he obtained on the banks of the Blackwater, and particularly those near the town of Youghal, more than any of the other estates he received. Youghal harbour, possessing a safe and good anchorage, easily accessible from the Atlantic, and scarcely known by name to the nations of Europe, afforded a safe *dépôt* for the plunder which the buccaneers obtained from the Spaniards; and there is no doubt now that Raleigh's connexion with the buccaneers was continued long after he had entered the service of Elizabeth.

'Nothing is more remarkable in the history of the English buccaneers, many of whom were young men of good family, than the care which they took to destroy every scrap of paper or memorandum which could preserve the history of their proceedings. Sir Walter Scott describes Philip of Mortham, in the poem of Rokeby, as a desperate pirate in his early days, and a most rigid puritan in later years. Tradition narrates the same change in many of Raleigh's associates, who settled under his patronage on the banks of the Blackwater; they were most of them young adventurers from Devonshire and the vicinity of Bristol; and the shortness and comparative safety of the voyage from Youghal to Bristol was probably a strong recommendation of Raleigh's settlement. The ferocious practices ascribed to the Buccaneers in the American seas were not abandoned when they made Youghal their European *dépôt*; the legends of the peasantry point out several spots on the sea-coast where Spaniards were murdered and burned to prevent their telling tales of cruelty and robbery, or where a negro was slaughtered that his grisly ghost might defend a hidden treasure. . . .

'From the time of Elizabeth to the close of the war of the revolution, the valley of the Blackwater was the scene of obscure and petty warfare between the English settlers, brought over by Raleigh and the first Earl of Cork, and the native Irish. One result of these barbarous hostilities was the frequent burning of the uncut harvest; and the great advantage derived from the culture of the potato was that the crop could not be fired. The progress of the cultivation, however, was very slow and imperceptible; it may surprise many to learn that the esculent was long viewed with dislike by the native Irish, and that the use of it was deemed characteristic of the English settler.'

would not recognize Penn's ghost if it were to stand by their bed-side. Sir Thomas Gresham appears by himself, as the representative of civic intelligence. The poet's corner is an extensive one, though novelists and moralists are oddly intermixed. It is pleasant to see the claims of Cowper unhesitatingly recognized; a sign of improvement since the times when Cowley would have been preferred. The philosophers and mathematicians come next; and then a junta of the discoverers or introducers of printing, steam-engines, Georgium Sidus, and the composition of water. If the inventor of the spinning-jenny is distinctly known, he ought manifestly to have had a place. The next are architects, painters, and statuary. Philanthropists are represented by Howard and Wilberforce. The real originator of the abolition of the slave trade is contumaciously alive; but if he was not, it would probably make little difference, for there must in all cases be what the wits of Charles the Second's time irreverently termed a cock for the breed and a cock for the game,—one man who is to be the veritable author, and another who is to take the pleasure and the reward. Harvey and Jenner, as representatives of the healing art, wind up schedule A.

Schedule B introduces matter of debate and of comparison. First on the list is Richard Cœur de Lion. If he is there, there should also have been Robin Hood; who is undeniably the most popular and best known individual of the two. Of the other kings and of kingly race, none have any claims upon modern times, except William the Third; who, as the symbol of a change of government useful though not 'glorious,' has a right to a niche. The next compartment contains sundry men of inferior note, and some that ought not to have been there. Strafford was a bad man and wicked ruler, who in the end received 'the recompense in himself which was meet.' He was a sample of the kind of aristocrat, that ruthlessly ride over the lives and feelings of other men, and cant about their wives and children when they fall into the hands of a stronger than themselves. He would be well changed for Pym, —'famous fellow Pym.' Lord Russell should keep his place, for the chance of its being useful to his posterity. Sir Robert Walpole was a prime minister, and if anything else, a corrupt and bad one. Is he to be put there to remind honourable gentlemen at large, that 'every man has his price'? Warren Hastings ought never to have been proposed. He was a pro-consul whose claim to a statue consisted in having been formidably charged, and *not condemned*. A metropolis might be peopled with effigies of governors, if this was to be the recommendation to the honour. John Wickliffe ought clearly to have

been in schedule A ; it must have been the spirit of Puseyism that kept him out. If the Irish Catholics (but they are not unreasonable) should take umbrage at it, there could be no objection to insert St. Patrick as a balance, provided always there is reason for assuming him to be a *bond fide* historical character. If he really was a missionary, bringing to a savage country the best religion that he or others were acquainted with, the Protestant of most decided hue, on this side the water at least, would not think of objecting to his exaltation. If he was of foreign birth, so was William the Third ; and if he stood on his breviary of saint, as a reason why he could not pair off with the 'god-preste' of Lutterworth, he must be told that heads must count and the followers of the priest are at this moment more than the bishop's. John Knox has a similar claim for Scotland. Cromer was but a weak vessel, after all. And he is reported to have burnt somebody, by way it might be supposed of antipatory justification of what finally befell himself. The next is a train of theologians, of distinction no doubt in their line, but of no great popular mark till they come to John Wesley. The stirrer-up of the church calling itself of England, without whom it would have been by this time a stagnant pool, has a stronger claim on any real friends of the establishment which boasts itself the majority's, than a troop of writers of ponderous divinity, however orthodox by that rule of the strongest to which orthodoxy is defined. The next would appear to be line of military men. A modern soldier does not recognize Sir John Talbot and Sir John Chandos without looking in the dictionary. They served somebody or other in a bad cause. One of them was moreover one of the Irish land-pirates, or to speak more correctly, land-pirates in Ireland. Montrose an unprincipled and sanguinary knave, who began in the liberal party, left them on some pique about preferment, and then butchered them. Claverhouse's black horse is as well entitled to a statue. It is hard to say why England's 'champions of men' should be exposed between two such thieves as him and the 'rascal Monk.' Note also, that the proposal to insert Cromwell in this place, does not affect the question of his appearance among the sovereigns ; for kings are found in the lists, who are to appear again in the other place. General Wolfe,—a man of sign-posts ; and judging by that rule, either the Marquis of Granby or the 'butcher Cumberland' would overmatch him. He chanced to fall in his vocation ; in fighting for nobody at this time very well knows what. Sir Eyre Coote has a statue somewhere already ; which is enough for a mere India conqueror. Among poets, Ben Jonson has more claim than the Earl of Surrey, who is in schedule A. Nobody ever said

'O rare Earl of Surrey!' The next name is one which only England could have produced, and of which it would be hard to make a foreigner comprehend the merit and the claims. The recognition of the inspired tinker, is sufficient to cover a multitude of sins. This is probably the only country in which biblical phraseology and biblical allusions carry with them a sense of the magnificent. In France, particularly, they are viewed as mean, and, for the most part, redolent of hypocrisy. The cause of the difference is clear. In England the religious spirit tamed the tyranny of the temporal ruler, and stood forth the founder of the country's freedom. In France it was unsuccessful and defeated, so that men of the world avoided the appearance of its company; and hypocrites in some instances took it up as a mask. Dryden and Pope have surely either of them claims superior to Richardson. Sir William Jones was an amiable man, but considerably of a pretender. When men say 'I am of Apollos,' and 'I of Cephas,' does anybody say, 'and I of Sir William Jones'? Fielding is hardly of rank to necessitate a statue. And Adam Smith ought as assuredly to have been among the indispensables.

Two names will occur like that of Brutus, because the statue is not there;—Byron, and Bentham. And one extraordinary feature will be felt to be, the total omission of female names, with the single exception of the epicene Elizabeth. Why should not Mary Queen of Scots, for instance, have appeared? She has been the object of much sympathy; and bloody-minded old ladies, must be content when turned to stone, if they can keep their place themselves, without insisting on the exclusion of their rivals. Lady Jane Grey should have been there, as a tribute to female merit, and an expiatory offering for the national brutality which could chop off the head of a girl of seventeen like a calf's, because her friends and relatives had thought she had a title to the throne. Where too is queen Philippa, who prevented a barbarian monarch from disgracing himself at Calais? Mrs. Hutchinson, might help to balance the propinquity of her hero James. Of living women, a number might be cited; but as they are excluded by being alive, it would be invidious to name. Mrs. Fry has just gone where it shall be said to her, 'I was in prison and thou camest unto me.' No better inscription could be wanted for a pedestal.

Of men too, numerous names might be added. Why was not Paley found among the divines or meralists? was his parable of the pigeons still held in memory against him? Franklin was English born; and it would be easy to stop at *Eripuit fulmen cælo*. Latimer preached what would have been good Anti-Corn-law sermons now; he should therefore appear, in honour

of the coming change. Massinger might have claimed a place among the poets; and Beaumont and Fletcher would have made a variety in the character of Siamese twins. Bradley the discoverer of the aberration of light, and Priestley, should have been among the natural philosophers. Sidney Smith the laughter-down of Catholic disabilities, would have exchanged with advantage against a more ponderous divine. Blackstone, though a concealed servile, might have superseded Hale, who was assuredly no witch. Canning, among statesmen, is an enormous omission. What were the claims of the eloquent incendiarism of Burke, compared with those of the author of the South American republics, and the foster-father of Reform? Why not also Earl Grey? Is it not enough for a man to be dead and gone?

One piece of special absurdity must be noticed. Two statues are fixed on by the collective wisdom of the whole Commission, for 'St. Stephen's Porch;' which, if there be meaning in words, is to make them the janitors of the House of Commons. And the statues determined on are,—'Marlborough and Nelson.' Would not Gog and Magog have done as well? No objection was made to his appearance in the ranks of his profession; but if he is to be thrust down the throats of the House of Commons and posterity in a more select capacity, it is time to protest against the truce-breaker and murderer of Castel d'Ovo being chosen for such a situation. The country has been disgraced enough already, without posting it again in hewn stone. If he appears, let his female accomplice be there as an help meet for him; and Caraccioli and his fellow-sufferers be represented as in the act of saying 'Are ye also become like unto us?'. The idea of filling one compartment with the Barons who signed Magna Charta, was a happy one. Mr. O'Connell complains that an Archbishop of Dublin is omitted; and if the omission is unexplained, it is an instance of the mischief that can be done by little men. An Archbishop of Dublin ought in reason to have taken place of a Bishop of London.

On the whole, few better opportunities have occurred for useful discussions through the press. If any that appear are found to agree with what is here, they may be considered as confirming each other so far as they go; inasmuch as no previous communication has been had.

Art. VIII. *The Three Conferences held by the opponents of the Maynooth College Endowment Bill, in London and Dublin, during the months of May and June, 1845. Containing a vindication of the Author from the Aspersions of the Dissenting Press.* By John Blackburn, Minister of Claremont Chapel, Pentonville, London; pp. 95. Jackson and Walford.

THE design of this pamphlet is not to present a record of the conferences mentioned, the gentlemen that composed them, the resolutions passed at them, the state of their funds, and the effect of their labours, but to fulfil a promise, made some time ago by the Author, to vindicate his own conduct, and to throw some light on the conduct of others. Three courses, as Sir. R. Peel might say, are open to us, in reference to it. First, we might decline noticing it at all, but it is probable that silence would be interpreted as a sign of disrespect. Secondly, we might make a thorough examination of its statements and its reasonings, but such an examination is not demanded by the occasion, and it would fill the whole of an Eclectic. So we have resolved on the third possible course, and shall content ourselves with making two or three general remarks upon it, as a sort of introduction to some observations on a subject we have promised to notice this month, viz. the electoral policy of dissenters.

We do not think that Mr. Blackburn has acted wisely in publishing at all, and especially in publishing the present mingled defence and attack. There is not sufficient, in the shape of admissions, or new information, or argument, to prove a necessity for sending forth nearly a hundred pages of closely printed matter, and the tone observed is not such as we imagine Mr. Blackburn himself will approve, after the excitement under which he has evidently written, has passed away. There can be no doubt that he has been the subject of much remark, and much severe remark, and it is easily conceivable that his temper should have been ruffled by some of the animadversions occasioned by his conduct. At the same time, he does not seem sufficiently to consider the circumstances under which he became obnoxious to censure. That he has a perfect right to hold and to utter any opinions that may commend themselves to his mind, we should be the last persons to deny; but in his conduct as a leader of the anti-Maynooth agitation he acted as a public man, and as a public man, the public had an equal right to criticise his deeds and words. Moreover, in appearing before the Dublin conference, not only as a nonconformist, but, as one of the secretaries of the Congregational Union, and the editor of the Congregational Magazine, his speeches could not

fail to be taken by the audiences he addressed, as possessing a large degree of representative worth, and it was therefore perfectly natural for such as did not sympathise with those speeches, and did not believe that worth to belong to them, to feel aggrieved, and to express their grievance. Mr. Blackburn is exceedingly annoyed at having been misrepresented; let him not forget that those whose comments vexed him, were aroused by the feeling that he had misrepresented them.

So far as this pamphlet is a vindication of Mr. Blackburn, it fails to satisfy our minds. Not deriving more joy from our being right, than sorrow from his being wrong, having no consciousness of that bitter dislike to him which he imagines us to possess, we regret this result. Whatever light may be thrown by Mr. Blackburn's explanations on particular statements, however, in some instances he has rescued these statements from the condemnation with which they met on their first appearance, he has not removed the main substance of the charge, *that, considering the circumstances in which he placed himself, the office he undertook to discharge, and the hearers before whom he spoke, he committed himself as a professor of the voluntary principle, and an opponent of all state churches.* We have carefully pondered all that he has advanced in his own defence, and without becoming sponsors for the sayings of others, and without entering into the minute specification which would occupy far more space than we can afford, we must say that some of Mr. Blackburn's statements in Dublin appear to us questionable, that others appear extremely unwise, and that we are utterly at a loss to conceive how *the impression of the whole*, from what was said and from what was *not* said, upon the particular audiences he addressed, should not have been exceedingly different from that which we think might have been, and should have been, made. With this expression of our judgment, we gladly leave this part of the subject.

Mr. Blackburn, not content with vindicating himself, has been at great pains to assail others. He boldly carries the war into the enemy's camp. The Anti-State-Church Association is the object of his peculiar dislike and dread. He is not to be pleased with it, or with those who belong to it. Connexion, with that body, in its simplest shape, creates suspicion. To belong to its council is very ominous. To be a member of its executive committee is a serious evil. But to be an officer seems a sufficient evidence of folly or of malice. There is nothing beyond that. Any conduct is accounted for by such an explanation. No further argument is needed. It is equal to the ancient saying, 'Thou art a Samaritan!' Nothing can avail those who are found in such an unfortunate predicament. They are in as

miserable a plight as the old man with the ass—ride it or carry it, the result was one, a brute in one case, a fool in the other. If we theorise, we are reminded that Englishmen are eminently *practical*; if we set ourselves to work in earnest, our ‘strength is to sit still.’ We shall not debate the question of the Anti-State-Church Association, with Mr. Blackburn. Our opinions, and reasons, are before the public, and, to tell the truth, we have small hope of his conversion. Endowed with various solid qualities of intellect and heart; honoured and esteemed by all who know him; capable of rendering, as he has rendered, substantial service to the cause of religion and nonconformity, he is yet but little likely to sympathise with such a movement as the one in question. His tendencies are historical. There are few men among dissenters who have a greater deference for authority. He is fond of extracts. He loves to think between inverted commas. Well versed in the history of nonconformity, he makes much account of the opinions and practices of our ‘fathers.’ Assert some sentiment, and it is compared with the faith of our puritan ancestors. Deny some position, and Howe and Owen are invoked to prove that it is sound. All the names of the leading men among dissenters, in former ages, are at his finger’s ends, and they are constantly appealed to as approving what is right, and rebuking what is wrong. Of this temper of mind, several indications are to be found in the pages before us. Possessing it, Mr. Blackburn’s separation from the organisation in question, never occasioned our surprise. But we were certainly surprised to find him contemplating it with the alarm and indignation which his pamphlet shews, and assailing its members with accusations that we believe them to be as incapable of meriting as himself. Among other things of a like nature, Mr. Blackburn declares, falling into an error, which is common, and belongs of right, to weaker minds, that he is the object of a bitter and systematic persecution.

‘It is,’ observes Mr. Blackburn, ‘also necessary to inform the reader, that when that Association was organised, I felt it my duty to decline connexion with it, and when the first Anti-State-Church Conference was in session, I inserted in the *Congregational Magazine* a calm and well-considered article upon it. Hence I have been viewed with suspicion, not to say dislike, and my brethren of ‘the press have clearly ‘watched for my halting.’ Some members of the council ‘resident in Dublin, knew the position I had taken, and doubtless reckoned on the eagerness with which their brother councillors of the *Patriot* would receive and publish anything to damage me in the eyes of the religious public.’—pp. 45, 46.

‘The preceding extracts make it plain that the editors of the *Patriot*, *Nonconformist*, and *Eclectic Review*, Messrs. Conder, Hare, Miall, and

Price, have chiefly resented the declarations of the English deputies in Dublin, respecting the conference at Crosby Hall. As that convention was got up by the Anti-State-Church Association party, of which those gentlemen are the official leaders, some allowance must be made for their almost paternal jealousy of its character. At the same time it is plain to me that they permitted their personal prejudices and an old grudge, to hurry them on to a fierce attack, being only too happy to find an occasion when they might assail my conduct and opinions, and by the united efforts of themselves and their allies, succeed to put me down.'—p. 62.

Had we not been mentioned in this passage, we should have left the matter entirely to others. As it is, we shall only say, that we are not aware of having been actuated by any such feelings or desires as Mr. Blackburn has imputed to us. Whatever effect was produced on our minds by the perusal of his comments on the Anti-State-Church Conference, it certainly was far removed from anger or a desire to be revenged. It grieves us to say that the spirit of the passages we have quoted is the spirit of all the references made in these pages to the same parties and the same movement, especially as the writer of them, by obvious implication, ranks himself with those on whom devolves the task of cherishing the remains of dissenting honour, courtesy, and truth.

On one point Mr. Blackburn acknowledges to having spoken without book :—

'What I said on the course dissenters will take at the next election was unguarded; and on reflection, I confess that I ought not to have spoken on such a topic without much qualification. The purposes I uttered are my own, and those of many dissenters I know; but still it is plain, from subsequent events, that no one can tell what course the great nonconformist body may take, and therefore it would have been wiser and safer not to have spoken upon that subject at all.'—p. 61.

No doubt it would, and this is one of the very things which were sure to convey a most erroneous impression of our views to the persons who heard them—persons, for the most part, utterly unacquainted with our political and ecclesiastical sentiments. But if Mr. Blackburn is not sure what 'the great Nonconformist body' will do at the next election, he is quite sure that if they attempt anything good, there will not be wanting marplots to interfere for mischief. Wherever the carcass is, thither will the eagles be gathered together.

'Now, if there really exist an honest, hearty desire to prevent such an act of national apostacy, (the endowment of the Irish catholic priesthood) 'this, I take it, is the course to be pursued; and the protestant dissenters of the empire have to make up their minds to

united and steady action, with their protestant brethren of other evangelical denominations. From the preceding narrative, however, it is too plain that such combined and decided proceedings will be greatly endangered by the theorists, the chartists, and the journalists amongst us, who by their unscrupulous conduct have proved that they are likely not to be very nice as to future measures, if thereby they can propound their fine-spun theories, increase the popular discontent, or gratify the vanity or spleen of their little minds.'—pp. 86, 87.

But there is reason to hope, notwithstanding these attempts at mischief, that the prevalence of good sense and right feeling will prevent any serious consequences.

'Should another crisis then come, and the necessity of cordial protestant co-operation appear, I have a strong conviction that these gentlemen will not be permitted, by their meddling intrigues, a second time to work mischief. Some of them aspire to senatorial honours. Before another struggle comes on, they may have attained the object of their ambition, and be occupied in the exposition of their theories and the display of their manners in parliament; or what—if we may prognosticate from the late Southwark election—is still more probable, they may sink to their own level, and no longer possess the means of impeding the usefulness and damaging the good names of those who differ from them.'—p 94.

Such are the terms in which Mr. Blackburn thinks it right to describe the dissenting party, from whose ecclesiastical movements he keeps himself aloof. We must say, that we have read them with great pain—not on our own account, but the writer's. Mr. Blackburn is evidently very angry; he deems that he 'does well' to be so; and any expressions of contempt and indignation appear to him justified by the occasion. We can only account for it by the absorbing influence of one idea—popery. Sympathizing with him entirely in his disapproval of that system, and ready to concede that it affords sufficient grounds of serious apprehension, we would yet suggest to him, that fear is a bad counsellor; that those whose conduct he disallows have as strong an abhorrence of popery as himself; and that he wrongs himself in cherishing such harsh and unjust judgments of the aims and motives of his brethren. He mistakes the men. Looking at them from a distance, and through the coloured medium of prejudice, he sees neither them nor their actions as they are. We can assure him, that a nearer view, and a more cordial intercourse, would disabuse his mind. He would discover that the objects of his indignation are, after all, human beings, possessing the same affections as himself, and having at heart, though they may differ as to modes, the same great objects of Christian zeal. And we would suggest to him, that

he is bound to get his mind disabused in this or in some other way. The opinions he expresses respecting his opponents are so utterly out of the way, they so manifestly outrage all that is reasonable, to say nothing of what is right, that respect for himself alone should induce him to use proper means of obtaining a correcter estimate of those whom he still deems Christian, though erring, brethren.

Mr. Blackburn's pamphlet sufficiently discloses his own intentions, and it may be, those of some others. He disapproves of pushing the anti-state question, but he has a strong feeling (we have met with men in our time who would call such a feeling 'violent') in relation to the endowment of Roman catholicism, so strong that he would support a conservative candidate who was against it, rather than a liberal candidate who was for it. We differ from Mr. Blackburn in this—that, while we indignantly protest against the endowment of popery, we do so as against a form and a fruit of a bad system, and think that, therefore, our efforts to prevent the former should, in all fairness and consistency, be connected with efforts to destroy the latter. We do not say, but that in some particular case we might do as Mr. Blackburn purposes to do, though not altogether from Mr. Blackburn's motives, but we think it a far 'more excellent way' to adopt vigorous measures to render such a predicament as he supposes impossible. The principle of the late Southwark election is our own—that dissenters should make a resolute effort to obtain a distinct recognition of the injustice and injuriousness of state-churchism on the part of candidates for seats in parliament.

We take it for granted, that the cessation of all state support of religious opinions is a matter of immense, of incalculable importance. With those who do not deem it desirable at all, and with those who, deeming it desirable, do not deem it urgent, we have no present controversy. The truth and worth of the great dissenting principle are presumed to be admitted, while the propriety of pursuing a particular method of securing its practical application is debated. We do not stop, therefore, to prove or to praise that principle, but assuming it worthy of all honour, ask whether dissenters should honour it by demanding honour for it from those who wish to represent them in parliament? In other words, ought the men who represent dissenters to be required to represent their dissent?

At first sight, it seems to us very *reasonable* that this requirement should be made. Adhesion to the voluntary principle is widely different from adhesion to many other principles, as a test of fitness for legislative functions. For, what is it? Simply an acknowledgment of what dissenters consider the true

province of government on the greatest of all subjects. He who does not allow that the civil power has no business to meddle with religion, is, in their view, ignorant of the real end for which the civil power exists, and for them to send such an one to stand and act for them in the great council of the nation, is to send one who does not know *what he ought, and what he ought not, to do there*. Nor is this all. In insisting on a candidate's disapproval of state interference with religion, dissenters act a part of *thorough fairness and impartiality towards all classes of the social body*. In so doing, they claim no superiority, and seek no peculiar privilege. They do only what they would have done unto them. They merely ask to be let alone, and all other persons to be let alone likewise. They require only that he whom they empower to use a portion of their property shall not abuse his power; that he whom they select to maintain their rights shall not most grossly violate them. Surely they may do this, and yet boldly face their fellows. No demand can be more manifestly equitable than the demand to be treated as there is a willingness and determination to treat others, and none can complain if dissenters use their legal power in giving force to this demand.

These remarks would apply at all times, and vindicate, on broad grounds, any action by which the universal application of the voluntary principle might be sought. But at the present time there are reasons of great power for a united and determined movement against the principle of church-establishments. Such a movement is required by the necessity, not merely of undoing something that is now, but of preventing something the danger of which is imminent. The state-church principle is not stationary. They who would urge it on us as a crime that we resist it, are themselves fully prepared to invigorate and extend it. The last few years have witnessed a considerable activity in this direction, and the circumstances of the times promise a yet greater. 'The Maynooth grant,' say some, 'is past; why dwell on it?' And is the fact of an evil being fixed and settled a reason for quietness and resignation? We always thought that it was just the other way. Why, the corn-law is settled, and the income-tax is settled, and a thousand other bad laws are settled, but who ever hears their settlement pleaded by those who object to them as a reason for not discussing them, and seeking their removal? But if the Maynooth grant is settled, the policy of which it is a part is not exhausted. The *principle* of that measure will demand other measures of the like kind, and the *motives* that originated it will be equally strong to originate them. We do not hesitate to say, that if the endowment of Maynooth was right, much more will be right. As far as both

justice and expediency are concerned, we can draw no line. The arguments that justify the recent measure will justify the prospective measure, and they who deem the making of priests by the state proper, can hardly consider the maintaining of them wrong. But inferences are not necessary. The leaders of both the great political parties are church-establishment men, and perfectly willing, if allowed, to establish the Irish catholic church. Every year, of late, has revealed, in ways that cannot be mistaken, not only their preparedness, but their determination, to act out their theory, and nothing but the opposition of dissenters will prevent its being acted out. Had churchmen been satisfied, had they attained the object of their desires, the case would be different, but they are ripe for more mischief, they are set upon strengthening their stakes and lengthening their cords, and in circumstances to render exertions on our part against the whole system more manifestly necessary than such exertions have appeared for centuries. Indeed, it is difficult to convey our impression of the solemn importance attaching to the present season. There is nothing between us and the entire endowment of the Irish catholic church but the prime minister's view of the English public opinion. The leading spokesmen in the ministry and in the opposition have given sufficient intimation of their feeling, that such a measure is not objectionable in itself, and that on many accounts it is highly desirable. Here, then, is the prospect of a new state-church, one to meet the wants and wishes of six or seven millions of people. If vigorous agitation against a course of public policy can be justified at all, it surely can be justified when that policy is being applied in a new direction and on a larger scale. Would free-traders not esteem a new law increasing the amount of protection, and comprehending articles at present free, a just and powerful argument for more energetic efforts to promote their doctrines? And let it be considered further, that the endowment of popery would not only involve the creation of a new state-church, but would *give strength and stability to the existing establishment*. On this very ground it is defended and urged. The purpose is openly avowed. 'This is,' says the *Quarterly Review*, 'to the Roman and the protestant church a common cause.' The peril of the Irish protestant establishment is the peril of the English protestant establishment, and the preservation of the one must be secured for the sake of the other. 'Buy off Roman opposition,' it is said, 'by paying Roman priests. It is the good old way. Reason suggests it, experience enforces it. Convert grumblers into participators; prevent a split by dividing the profits; stop the bark by throwing a sop.' And he must be very ignorant of general history, and very forgetful of recent

events, who supposes that this plan would not succeed. The Irish catholics *would* receive the bribe, and the separation of church and state would be put back an indefinite period. We say, then, that 'the time is come' for dissenters to do 'whatever their hands find to do' in pressing their principles to a full adoption. If they speak not now, they may almost be told ever after to hold their peace.

Looking at the position of the question in this light, with what face can politicians rebuke us for taking up our own cause? Really, they must be supernaturally simple, or suppose us to be so. Their advice to us can only be explained by folly or knavery, for it is advice which, if taken, would just bind our fetters more tightly to our limbs, and make us help to bind them too. It would be like nothing more than slapping a man's face with his own hands. To prevent this grievous and ignominious treatment, but one course appears to us available—to *set up for ourselves*. Nothing else will tell upon parliament. Our representatives care nothing for petitions. The utter unavailability of the people's prayers has been sufficiently displayed. Words go for nought; deeds alone will tell. Yea, it is even thought well for those who represent us to plead that opposition to their proceedings *comes only from dissenters*. Such a source is regarded as sufficient to render the opposition unworthy of attention. Perhaps it is regarded so aright. But why? Simply because dissenters have been easy, quiet, inconsistent. They have been so often loud in their bark, and harmless in their bite, that they are not heeded. The only way to get attention paid to them is to show what they can do. There are few men in St. Stephen's that cannot understand votes, and do not respect them. Even petitions derive their power from the probability of their being remembered on the day of election. And if petitions are pretty sure not to be remembered then, they may be couched in any terms, and multiplied to any extent, without producing the smallest impression. But if petitions fail, from whatever cause, the wise expedient is plain, *send men to parliament who will hear them*.

'But,' says some timid voluntary, 'how can we do that? It is easier to talk of sending them, than to do it. Look at Southwark.' In answer to this, it is surely enough to say, that the question is not, what can be done just now, but what may be done hereafter by virtue of a vigorous and well-sustained action; and that none are more certain to effect nothing than those who attempt nothing. 'The never get school' has been well described as the most contemptible of all schools. If dissenters imagined that they could obtain three hundred advocates of the voluntary principle among the members returned at

the next general election, they would be worthy of even more contempt than that with which they are regarded by Whigs and Whig-Radicals. Such a thought never entered the mind of the most absurd and sanguine. But every thing must have a beginning. Rome was not built in a day. The earth took countless generations to be prepared for man's occupancy. Christianity was, at its commencement, as a mustard seed.

There is vast importance in the getting our principles fairly and powerfully represented in the House of Commons at all. 'You cannot elect a principle,' says the *Spectator*, with its usual cunning. But you can elect a man who has a principle, a man who believes it, and loves it, and will 'so speak' that members shall hear, and newspapers shall report, his speeches. And the immediate necessity of our cause is a few such men. True, there are some who understand voluntarism in Parliament, but there are more who say they do and do not, while there are more still who understand it better than they represent it. Some members of the Anti-State-Church Association voted for the Maynooth Endowment Bill! When we deduct all who cannot speak with effect upon the House, and all who do not speak at all upon this question, all who 'imprison the truth in unrighteousness,' and all who let it go free only in such a garb as causes it to be laughed at, we are bold to say, that there is no principle in so miserable a plight in the Commons' House of Parliament, as the principle of which we are speaking. We do not want men there who require to be labelled with 'I represent voluntarism,' but we want men who can give it out in all its strength of evidence, and comprehensive applications. A few men of this kind would do immense service for some time to come. They would educate the House and the country to a considerable extent, and education is the great want just now. Six 'good men and true' would do *this* work as well as sixty.

But this is only one view of the matter. Who can tell how many members might be returned to represent voluntarism, if dissenters were thoroughly alive upon the subject. There may be but few places in which they possess a majority of the votes, but there are many places where they possess a sufficient number to turn the scale in the case of a disputed election, and many more where they have a great electoral importance. Let it be known that no dissenting votes will be given to any man who maintains the doctrine of civil support of religious opinions, and the result will be a *wonderful difference in the views of candidates for dissenting suffrages*. Candidates are, after all, saving their presence, like other articles of necessary use, like corn, and meat, and such things. *The demand regulates the supply*. If voluntarism were found to be an essential qualification for a seat,

voluntaryism would soon be seen to be a very proper thing. And this appears a more reasonable expectation from the fact, that voluntaryism is in alliance with all liberal sentiments. There may be zeal for freedom in other things without zeal for freedom in religion, but it is not likely that many men will be found who are intelligently and earnestly for free churches, who are not also for free trade, and free politics.

A great deal depends on dissenters *being prepared for action when the time for action arrives*. If any thing be to be done in the way of elections, it must not be deferred until vacancies occur. Candidates become pledged to electors, and electors become pledged to candidates, and the evil of having to go to work without plans, without funds, and without the preparation of the public mind, becomes apparent when it is too late to rectify it. All that have had to do with elections know the disadvantage of being taken unawares. The soldiers have to be drilled after the call to battle has been sounded, the season of harvest arrives before the seed has been sown. It is very well to talk of public principle, its claims, and force, but principle in its best state is still embodied ; it exists in connexion with many interests and affections. He who, scornfully despising the innocent alliances of principle, should seek to work out any great purpose without employing the common measures dictated by prudence, may have a high estimate of truth, but he has also little knowledge of humanity. We have not to do with the abstract elements of right, nor with right in perfect natures, but with right in men, men who are constantly associating with their fellow men, who are moved by a thousand considerations that have little relation to conscience, and in whom even right itself is never found but in a comparative state of strength and purity. We would strongly counsel the formation, in every place where it is practicable, of electoral clubs, after the manner which has been recommended in the *Nonconformist*. Let the decided and earnest dissenters meet, form their organisations, arrange their plans, commence subscriptions, canvass electors, and thus be in a condition to take advantage of any opening that may occur. But what is to be done, should be done quickly. There is no time to be lost. Every day is of importance. The effects of dilatoriness may be felt through many years.

One great objection to this course will be urged in the danger of dividing the 'liberal interest,' as it is called. For ourselves, we have very little concern about this, according to its common meaning, and should never let the fear of it interfere with any measures that might commend themselves to our minds as fitting to work out the ultimate object. In taking a decided course, we are the last persons to be charged with dividing the liberal

interest. They who will persist in pursuing a policy alien to our wishes and our convictions are fairly chargeable with this result, if it take place. The Russell party had warning enough that in supporting the Maynooth Endowment Bill, they were acting in diametrical opposition to our most warmly cherished principles. *They carried the obnoxious measure.* And now, when we are beginning to talk of giving place and force to our professions, we are to be met with the cry, that we divide the liberal interest! With just as good a face might the giver of a challenge throw the responsibility of the duel on him who accepted it. Nor, apart from this reference to the past, are we much disturbed by the threatened danger. Is this plea for inaction ever to have weight? If it be good as against dissenters, it is equally good as against others. It would be as valid a reason for not making any other principle an election test as for not making the voluntary principle one. It would shut out, in its turn, every doctrine that makes the 'liberal interest' a thing of any importance, or any thing at all. Liberalism, like every whole, is made up of parts, and if the parts are to be severally resigned, what means contention for the whole? And what after all is the essence of liberalism, which is to be secured in every way, and at all costs? Where is the line that divides the liberal party from the anti-liberal so distinctly that nothing must justify its being crossed? We know of nothing, in this vague thing, so important that the assertion of a real and momentous truth should be quietly laid aside for the sake of it. Liberal principles are very different things from the 'liberal interest,' and we have a shrewd suspicion that one of the best things for the former would be the annihilation of the latter, *as it exists at present.* The doctrine of voluntarism, we take it, is just one of the things that will ultimately effect this end. Toryism and liberalism, as heretofore known, have kissed each other, and a new power must rise up which will say to the old pretenders to popular favour, 'Get you gone, and give place to honester men.' He must be slow to interpret the course and tendency of public events, who does not see that one of the elements of that new power will be the conviction that states are never so irreligious as when they meddle with religion. These are our general sentiments on the division of the 'liberal interest,' in the current signification of that term. The best way to build up a healthful and honest liberal party is not to sacrifice principles but to maintain them; the present form of liberalism wants blood and purification, and it would be a miserable thing to retain it in its present condition of infirmity and corruption in order to avoid the inconvenience of disturbing, and paining it. The case is one of imminent danger. The only

chance of preserving life is in the use of extreme measures. Nothing short of them will meet the exigency; and if they fail, they will do no harm. But we trust they will not fail. We have hope in the progress of public opinion. And in proportion to our faith that right reason will ultimately prevail, is our conviction that patriots must look at the future, and not at the present; seek to create public opinion and not conform to it; and throwing aside all consideration of what this or that man will do, or what will be done unto him, 'follow' the plain dictates of an enlightened conscience with all the energy and perseverance of a courageous heart.

There are one or two topics on which we would make a few remarks before leaving the subject, on which, we take it, dissenters will have to re-consider their opinions. The first was mooted at the Southwark election, and alluded to in our last number, viz. *the religious principles of members of parliament*. Mr. Miall incurred not a little odium by hinting at the supposed infidelity of one of his opponents. It was 'cant,' 'a wicked and dastardly attack,' and so on. We have reason to believe that many were disposed to condemn the reference, who have never given the general question a careful consideration. In Mr. Miall's case the allusion was provoked by a contemptible sneer, but we would look at the matter with a broader application. None of our readers, we presume, will suspect us of a desire to check the fullest liberty of religious opinions, though it is the fashion in some quarters to condemn voluntaries as if they were the most outrageous bigots, probably on the old established and well recommended plan of beginning to scold those from whom a scolding is expected. We are not of the number of those who think it immaterial what religious views men may hold, and account the opinion to be as unphilosophical as it is unscriptural, but we maintain, without qualification and reserve, the right of every man, so far as his fellow men are concerned, to cherish and to express whatever sentiments may be approved by his own mind. But when a man asks to be put into a peculiar position, when he asks to be invested with power and influence, then a new element is introduced into the case, and he has introduced it. He submits his pretensions to our view and decision. If, in the exercise of our reason we deem him incompetent to fill the desired position, he cannot complain of persecution if we decline helping him into it. The gift of a vote is a free gift. No man has a right to it. No man can plead authority to exact it. And if a candidate be judged unqualified to sustain the office of representing our principles and interests, whether the judgment be wise or simple, the cry of persecution is preposterous. Persecution is out of the question. Persecution

supposes the withholding of a man's right. But no man can plead a right to be made a member of parliament. If electors think a man unfit to represent them, they may reject him. It is only as constituting unfitness that we would make infidelity important in a candidate. We would put it in the same category as other things, and deal with it in the same way. We would prefer a believer in christianity, not to punish an unbeliever, any more than we would prefer a wise man to punish a fool. We would prefer him just because he is better qualified *to do the work*. To talk big about the infidel's right to hold his own opinions is not to the purpose. A man has a right to be an idiot, but we should not therefore give him our vote. To assert that opinions are not within the sphere of volition, that we possess no more controul over our creed than over the colour of our skin, or the height of our stature, were it true, would be irrelevant to the occasion. A man may not be able to help being dull or dumb, but that is no reason for sending him to the House of Commons. The question, we repeat, is one of fitness, and of fitness only. We do not think that a disbeliever of the gospel can be said to possess the highest kind of fitness to fulfil the functions of a representative of our distinctive principles. That highest kind of fitness involves the possession of moral influence in its purest form; of perfect sympathy with our cause in its deepest basis and broadest relations; and of the utmost measure of fidelity, zeal, and courage. The Anti-State-Church question is eminently a religious question. It has, of course, other and important bearings, but its religious bearings are by much the gravest and the greatest. It affects the interests of the state, but it affects far more the interests of the church. When the heavenly kingdom becomes connected with earthly kingdoms, both suffer, but the chief mischiefs fall upon the spiritual system. We cannot consider a man who holds that spiritual system to be the crazy dream of weak, or the cunning device of crafty, men, the best qualified to vindicate 'the present truth.' Its mightiest claims can have no hold upon his mind. He is under strong temptations, whatever may be his theory and his profession, to neglect, if not to despise it. He cannot feel concerned for the purity of the ministry, the freedom of the gospel, the independence of the church. Is he the one to meet the scorn and contempt of boon companions in vindicating the spirituality of religion? Is he the one to maintain the power of love and conscience to do God's work, apart from civil exactions? Is he the one to reply to the honest pleas of earnest defenders of state-churches? Is he the one to throw his whole soul into our service as having an intimate connexion with the honour of God, and the welfare of souls? We trow not—and

should not choose such a man, unless another were not to be had.

It is impossible too strongly to warn even dissenters against the widely-prevailing prejudice in favour of candidates who possess rank or riches. If there is any idolatry peculiarly characteristic of Great Britain in the present day, it is the idolatry of the golden calf. Property is the best introduction, the best argument, the best appeal. It will cover any pretensions, or want of pretensions. As money represents all kinds of property, so property represents all kinds of excellence. This honour for wealth goes along with a vehement love of rank. Men the most radical will prefer the member of the aristocracy to the most qualified man from among themselves. Even districts dependent on manufacturing interests will select for the guardians of their trade and commerce men who know nothing of, for they have never studied, the laws by which their well-being is secured. The fundamental error has been the looking on representatives as for ornament, not for use. They confer a favour on constituencies, instead of being favoured by them. They buy their seats, virtually, and at a great price; and may they not do what they like with their own? It will have to be seen and felt that the office of a legislator is a laborious office, if properly filled; and that, instead of being a light and graceful addition to a title or a fortune, it requires the strenuous application of a man's soul and strength. It is useless to expect this from men, whose education, and habits, and tastes, are aristocratic. Nor are such men, generally speaking, the most likely to take a deep interest in that neglected class, the people. If the people would be fairly represented, they must be represented by members chosen from among themselves. So far from high birth and large property being recommendations, they are, in some serious respects, disadvantages. Their *tendency*, we do not say their constant effect, is to separate their possessors from the mass of the community—to unfit them to perceive, and to care about, what is good for the main body of the nation. Let dissenters present a better example, and promote a better spirit on this subject. Let them select candidates for what they are, not what they have; for what they can do, not what they can give; let them insist on manly intellect and unimpeachable integrity, and *be satisfied with them*; let them get rid of the little jealousy that cannot bear to see men of their own class raised higher than themselves; and it is easy to see that a reform of immense practical worth will be effected. And what if such men should need to be sent free to parliament, and even supported there? Utilitarians may ask whether the work be not worth the wages; admirers of old

customs may read the History of England, while Christ may remember that 'the labourer is worthy of his hire.'

We cannot close this article without one more remark. Those dissenters who act upon our suggestions will most surely have to lay their account with annoyances and couragements, which nothing but a calm and sturdy purp will enable them to disregard. They will have to resist bitter opposition of foes, and to encounter perils among brethren. The serious rebuke, the contemptuous sneer, heavy argument, and the light joke, they must look for matters of course. Their views, their motives, their purpose will be misrepresented. Their simplicity will be cunning; their honesty, knavery; their active prudence, meddling intrigue; their patriotism, unsanctified ambition; their firmness, obstinacy. Succeed or not succeed, they will be alike unable to please; they will be scolded when they do the one, and laughed at when they do the other. Many will turn prophets of their own failure, and, according to a natural law, seek to make their own predictions good. And many more will predict backwards, find out that they spoke what they only wished, and wonder that any should not have expected what they themselves thought likely till it did not come to pass, for it is just as true that events predict themselves, as that predictions fulfil themselves. Earnest dissenters will, of course, often find themselves 'ridiculous minorities.' They must, therefore, sow in hope. Often must they throw themselves upon the goodness of their cause, amid circumstances of depression, and often contemplate the certainty of future triumph to sustain the dispiriting impression of present defeat. In the face of such a prospect as before them, the only course is to 'gird up the loins' for a long and laborious work. It is useless to enter on it in the darkness. To 'count the cost' carefully is the only way to meet it. No one will be alarmed at the prospect who would not flinch in the day of battle. True zeal will not suffer from a survey of difficulties. It will be braced up more tightly to encounter them. If it become less showy, it will become more strong; and what it loses in its branches, it will gain in its roots. The truth is, whatever we may think of it, that we are but at the beginning of a contest, and if we be downcast and impatient now, what can be the hope of perseverance? Let it, then, be distinctly understood, and seriously pondered, that the cause itself is a great and noble cause; that, being so, the harder it is to secure its victory—the more necessary is it to do so; that obstacles to the spread of truth show more clearly the duty of the truth; that temporary defeat is in this, as in other cases, to be reckoned upon; that such defeat may become a means of success; that

no efforts can be ultimately without effect ; and that final triumph is secure. 'Gad, a troop shall overcome him, but he shall overcome at the last.' No right principles ever yet prospered without being first condemned and ridiculed, and causing loss to their promoters. Minorities have ever gone before, and helped on, majorities. Life grows out of corruption. Christ uttered a providential law when he said, 'Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone, but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit.' They who seek to lead the age must go before it, and it is only natural that they should suffer for their superiority. These things must be recognized, and well wrought into the minds of all who would prove faithful. Familiarity with them alone can generate and sustain a fervent, self-denying, persevering spirit. And they who possess not that spirit had better be quiet. The Jewish law forbade the fainthearted to go out to battle ; and Christ has said, 'No man having put his hand to the plough and looking back is fit for the kingdom of God,' he is destitute of the only temper that can appreciate its principles, endure its defeats, and profit by its triumphs.

Brief Notices.

Plane Trigonometry and Mensuration ; for the use of the Royal Military College (Sandhurst) By William Scott, M.A., F.R.A.S., Professor of Mathematics in the Institution. Longman, 1845.

MATHEMATICAL knowledge, as far as it goes, is so perfect and well defined, that it is only in a subdued sense that new treatises on the old subjects can affect originality. For the purposes of military education, as for engineering, the teacher has to keep pretty close to practical methods ; and the book before us is contrasted to the Cambridge works on the same subjects by its *selection* of only the most necessary propositions, which are worked out with great fulness, leaving no steps to be filled-in by the learner. The Practical application to the purposes of Trigonometry proper, are delayed till all the abstract formulæ have been investigated and the mode of computing the tables has been explained. Although this is the more philosophic course, we rather question the advisableness of leading classes of students by it : the majority, we believe, get on better, if they are taught first how to use the tables, and afterwards how they are calculated.—But we suppose it is in the power of the judicious instructor so to employ the manual before us ; leaving out perhaps, large portions the first time it is gone over. If such is the intention

of the writer, it would have increased the usefulness of the work to schools, if he had placed asterisks at the sections to be thus omitted.

The whole book is got up with that careful attention to the delicacies requisite in the real work of surveying, which marks the practical man; and an accurate account is given of all the instruments which are needed, and of the mode in which they are to be employed. A knowledge of elementary Algebra and of the theory of Logarithms, is presupposed, but the use of the Differential Calculus is studiously avoided even in the higher investigations. We perceive in pp. 65, 84, 221, that the 'Algebra' to which the reader is referred, teaches not only the Binomial Theorem, with n any whatever, but the summation of the numerical series, (n an integer,)

$$1^{-2n} + 2^{-2n} + 3^{-2n} + 4^{-2n} + \&c. :$$

which is drawing rather largely on the powers of Algebra.

Considering the honourable position of the Royal Military College, and the hereditary experience of its professors, we cannot doubt that for the real purposes of mensuration the treatise before us is highly efficient. On theoretic grounds we are disposed to criticise a few parts of it. In the last twenty years, the doctrine of Infinite Series has been laboured out with great care, both in France and in England, and numerous sources of logical fallacy have been remarked, which in the older treatises pass unnoticed. We could wish that the author had attended to the *convergence* of his series, and in some other matters had more guarded his reasonings in the passage from the finite to the infinite. It is very common to assume that if every term of an infinite series becomes zero, the sum of the whole is zero; which however is manifestly false; for *infinity* \times *zero* may = a finite quantity, or even a quantity infinitely great. This fallacy is virtually involved in the process by which $\sin x$ and $\cos x$ are found in series, p 63. The writer indeed is conscious that he leaves the reasoning incomplete; for he says: '*Admitting* that (when $\cos \phi = 1$ and $\sin \phi \div \phi = 1$) their (infinite) powers are also each equal to '1 &c.'; which is an unproved postulate. But this is not all. It is easy to show by elementary methods, (though he has not shown it,) that when,

$$n = \infty, \left(\cos \frac{x}{n} \right)^n = 1 :$$

so that we may omit the first factor of the result, when we have assigned to it the form,

$$\begin{aligned} \cos x = \left(\cos \frac{x}{n} \right)^n & \cdot \left\{ 1 - \frac{x^2}{1 \cdot 2} \cdot \left(\frac{\tan \phi}{\phi} \right)^2 \cdot \left(1 - \frac{1}{n} \right) \right. \\ & + \frac{x^4}{1 \cdot 2 \cdot 3 \cdot 4} \cdot \left(\frac{\tan \phi}{\phi} \right)^4 \cdot \left(1 - \frac{1}{n} \right) \left(1 - \frac{2}{n} \right) \left(1 - \frac{3}{n} \right) \\ & \left. - \frac{x^6}{1 \cdot 2 \dots 6} \cdot \left(\frac{\tan \phi}{\phi} \right)^6 \cdot \left(1 - \frac{1}{n} \right) \dots \left(1 - \frac{5}{n} \right) + \&c. \right\} \end{aligned}$$

where $\phi = x \div n$. But in passing to the case of $n = \infty$; so as to deduce the well known expansion of $\cos x$ in terms of x , we cannot dispense with considerations depending on convergence; for though each term may be said to differ *infinitely little* from the result, yet the sum of those infinitely numerous infinitesimal differences may chance to be finite.

The mode in which $\sin x$ is resolved into its factors, (p 82,) offends our sense of logical reasoning still more: for it assumes properties concerning an infinite equation, which are certain only of a finite one, and altogether neglects to inquire whether any *powers* of the factors enter the expression. How is the learner to be sure, that the factor to which the writer assigns the form,

$$\left(1 - \frac{x^2}{\pi^2}\right) \dots \text{is not really} \dots \left(1 - \frac{x^2}{\pi^2}\right)^x \dots$$

to say nothing of an infinity of undiscovered functions? In p. 68, the process offered for resolving $(2 \cos x)^n$ into linear cosines, 'whatever be n ,' is not sound when n is fractional, without other limitations: and the assumption of series with an arbitrary form and unknown co-efficients, in pp. 219,—20, and elsewhere, cannot be regarded as *demonstrative*. We are aware that in all these matters, Mr. Scott follows authors of the very highest name: nor would we explode such reasonings, if offered as investigatory and only probable. In this view they are very valuable, but should be proposed as *needing confirmation*. Not but that, in the present state of mathematics, we regard the purely demonstrative methods as the best for learners.

Our impression is, that it would be easier to communicate, as a part of Algebra, the definition of a 'Differential,' and its application to x^n , $\sin x$, $\cos x$; than to subject the learner to the long processes which Differentiation in disguise involves, and to the very serious difficulties of the Binomial Theorem in its generality.

Murray's Home and Colonial Library.

1. *The French in Algiers.* No. 19.
2. *Darwin's Journal of a Voyage round the World* Nos. 22—24.
3. *History of the Fall of the Jesuits in the Eighteenth Century.* By Count Alexis de Saint Priest. Translated from the French. No. 25. London: J. Murray.

FEW serial works have established a higher claim on public patronage than Mr. Murray's *Home and Colonial Library*. It has been maintained with a spirit and skill equal to its commencement, and in the variety of its subjects, the talent and information of its contributors, and the sterling worth or literary interest of many of its numbers, has established a reputation inferior to none, and greatly in advance of most of its contemporaries.

The numbers now before us are a fair specimen of the variety and talent by which the series is distinguished. *The French in Algiers* relates to a passing topic, fraught however with painful inter-

est, from the light it reflects on the character of our Gallican neighbours. The volume is composed of two parts, the first by Clemens Lamping, a lieutenant in the Oldenburgh service, who joined the French army in Africa as a volunteer; and the second, by M. de France, a lieutenant in the French navy. The former gives an account of the military operations of the French, and the latter of the proceedings of the Arabs, and the hardships and dangers of their prisoners.

Darwin's Journal contains a history of the voyage of H. M. S. Beagle round the world, and is designed to furnish a sketch of those observations in natural history and geology which are interesting to the general reader. It is a second edition, condensed and corrected, of a work which has been cordially welcomed by the scientific world, and will amply repay for perusal.

The fall of the Jesuits is a narrative fraught with large counsel and undying interest. The event to which it relates constitutes one of the most instructive and absorbing chapters in the history of our race, and at the present moment, has special claims on attention.

We cordially recommend the whole to the early perusal of our friends.

The English Hexapla, consisting of the Six important vernacular English Translations of the New Testament Scriptures. Parts I. and II. London: Bagster & Son.

In our journal for October, 1841, we noticed, in terms of high and well-merited eulogy, the first edition of this beautiful work. What we then said has been fully justified by subsequent examinations, and we are glad to find that the public have so appreciated Messrs. Baxter's labours, as to call for a second edition. This has been carefully revised throughout, and an entirely new Introduction has been prepared, in which use has been made of the latest investigations of the topics included. We are gratified to find that the work is to be issued in parts, as it will thus be brought within the means of a much larger class than could otherwise secure it. The number of such parts is to be twelve, and the price of each, three shillings and sixpence. The Greek type is one of the clearest and most beautiful we have ever seen, and the six English versions of Wickliff, Tyndale, Cranmer, the Geneva, the Rheims and King James's are so arranged, as to be open at once to the eye, and to be capable of easy comparison. To recommend such a publication would be a work of supererogation of which we will not be guilty.

The Child's Commentator on the Holy Scriptures. By Ingram Cobbin, M.A. A new edition, revised, corrected, and enlarged, vol I. London: Ward & Co.

THE plan and execution of this work are alike deserving of commendation, and few parents, who introduce it to their children, will fail to perceive the happiest results. It is at once lucid in style, simple

in its general structure, and richly fraught with the materials of scriptural information. Level to the apprehension of the youngest, it is yet capable of retaining the attention and of enlarging the knowledge of a senior class, and we can heartily recommend it to the confidence and good opinion of all. The present edition is got up with taste and elegance, and is illustrated with several woodcuts, which further increase its attractions to the young.

Political Dictionary; forming a work of universal reference, both Constitutional and Legal; and embracing the terms of Civil Administration, of Political Economy, and Social Relations, and of all the more important Statistical Departments of Finance and Commerce. Vol. I. London: Charles Knight and Co.

THIS is one of the best books which have been published for some time past. It contains a vast mass of important information not easily accessible, and is executed with an industry and skill which will go far to prove its trustworthiness. It was suggested by the consideration, that the 'Penny Cyclopædia' contains a great number of articles on matters of constitution, political economy, trade and commerce, administration, and law; and that if these articles were so altered as to make them applicable to the present time, wherever alteration was necessary, and new articles were added wherever there appeared to be a deficiency, a work might be made which would be generally useful.

This plan has been steadily followed out, and the work produced supplies in consequence what has long been a desideratum. The first volume is now complete, and if our opinion have weight with our readers, every one of them, and especially every young man, will immediately possess himself of a copy.

Literary Intelligence.

In the Press.

A Revised Translation of the Epistle to the Romans; with Notes Explanatory and Critical. By W. Walford, Author of a New Translation of the Psalms, &c. &c.

Just Published.

History of England from the Peace of Utrecht. By Lord Mahon. Vol. IV. From the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle to the Peace of Paris.

The Three Conferences held by the Opponents of the Maynooth College Endowment Bill in London and Dublin, during the Months of May and June, 1845, containing a Vindication of the Author from the aspersions of the Dissenting Press. By John Blackburn.

History of our own Times. By the Author of "The Court and Times of Frederick the Great." 2 vols., 8vo.

Household Verses. By Bernard Barton.

The Pictorial Gallery of Arts. Part 9.

Memoirs of Prince Charles Stuart (Count of Albany), commonly called the Young Pretender, with Notices of the Rebellion in 1745. By Charles Sonis Klose, Esq. 2 vols. 8vo.

Elements of General History, Ancient and Modern; to which are added, a Comparative View of Ancient and Modern Geography, and a Table of Chronology. By Alexander Fraser Tytler. A new edition.

Murray's Home and Colonial Library. The French in Algiers; No. XIX. Darwin's Journal of a Voyage round the World, Parts I.—III.; Nos. XXII.—XXIV. The Fall of the Jesuits, No. XXV.

Lectures on the Second Advent of our Lord Jesus Christ, and connected Events; with an Introduction on the Use of unfulfilled Prophecy. By the Rev. William Burgh, A. B. Third edition.

An Exposition of the Book of the Revelation. By the Rev. William Burgh, A. B.

Lectures addressed chiefly to the Working Classes. By W. T. Fox; vol. 2. Fourth edition.

Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology. Edited by Wm. Smith, L. L. D. Part 13.

The Words of a Believer. By the Abbé de la Mennais. Translated from the French. By Edward Smith Pryce, A. B.

Memorials of Mercy; or, Scenes and Reflections. By the Rev. I. F. Barr.

The Telescope of the Gospel. By J. R. Balme.

The Modern Orator; being a Collection of celebrated Speeches of the most distinguished Orators of the United Kingdom. Erskine. Part 2.

Cobbin's Child's Commentator on the Holy Scriptures. Part 19.

Theological Study, and the Spirit in which it ought to be pursued. The Lecture delivered at the Opening of the United Secession Divinity Hall, Session 1845. By John Madie, L.L.D.

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THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR DECEMBER, 1845.

Art. I.—*Episcopacy and Presbytery.* By the Rev. Archibald Boyd, M. A., Curate of the Cathedral Church of Derry.

THIS volume, as the author informs us, is the fruit of a controversy which has subsisted, for some time, between himself and four ministers of the presbyterian communion; and we have no doubt, from the cool acerbity which is mixed up with every train of his reasoning, that no Englishman who has ever boasted of being equal to four Frenchmen in war, has entertained this opinion with more assurance than the author of this book felt of his being a match for the four presbyterians whom he, as the knight-errant of episcopacy, has undertaken to demolish. The spirit of the work is not, indeed, violent; but there is in it a certain tone of contempt towards all who are not of the author's party, which will make the reader feel, if he be right-minded, that this is not the way in which religious controversies are likely to be, or ought to be settled.

Two years previously to the publication of this volume, it appears that Mr. Boyd wrote 'Letters on Episcopacy,' which produced the 'Plea for Presbytery,' by four ministers of the Synod of Ulster. The present work is a rejoinder to the 'Plea;' but the author states that he was anxious to combine with his 'refutation of the special arguments, a sufficient treatment of the general subject.' The book, therefore, is to be regarded as a defence of the most lofty, divine-right episcopacy; and we know of no generally readable volume, of moderate size, too, which contains so elaborate a discussion of this grand point in contro-

versy between the United English and Irish church, and the dissenters from its communion. No doubt, it will be considered by churchmen, especially of the Oxford school, as a very masterly work; and we are not prepared to deny that, in regard to talents and research, it is so. Probably it would be difficult to find any single book by which the high-flying exclusive episcopalian would more desire to be represented.

For our own part, we are content that the controversy of the present age should turn, as it mainly does, on grand principles; such as the relation of religion to the civil government, the materials of which the Christian church should be composed, the grounds of union between various denominations. We are less inclined to dispute on the points which divide presbyterianism in its different forms, from independency, or both these even from episcopacy merely as such. For what obstacle does the constitution of the Free Church in its present state, that of Congregationalism, and that of Moravianism, present to Christian union, the grand sign fixed on by Christ himself as the mark of the true catholic church? We believe that each of the three leading forms of church government may be found in connexion with equal degrees of piety and conscientiousness. So far are we from wishing to promote a spirit of controversy among Christians on the mere question of forms, that we should gladly hail any symptoms of intelligent mutual concession. Not, indeed, that, apart altogether from the question of establishments, we are very sanguine as to any speedy consolidation of denominations. The present educational movement shows that the several dissenting communities are by no means prepared for coalescence, in regard to the teaching of the young, the catechumens of the future churches. Had there been any very strong desire to pave the way for a new order of things as to union, what better conceivable opportunity than that which is at this moment presented, in the call which has taken place for the general and religious instruction of the people! This might have been made an excellent rallying point; and, in the *school* at least, where the youthful mind is to be trained, there might have been a platform of union for all evangelical Christians of every name; at least, for all those who are not under the trammels of an establishment. But religious education is taken up denominationally. The divisions of the Christian church have thus a fair chance of being handed down, with all their lines of demarcation, to the next age. Perhaps it was too much to expect otherwise, considering the actual state of education in Christian churches. The acts of a voluntary community must of course be expected to follow the general tone of thought and sentiment prevalent within it. Evidently

the public mind of the million who signed the death-warrant of the late government education bill, and of the millions more whom they represented, was not prepared for seizing upon the offered vantage-ground, and making it a lodgement from whence a mine might have been sprung, perhaps more unexceptionably than in any other way, for the final overthrow of the party walls of the Christian church. Such an opportunity may not return for ages. Facts prove, undoubtedly, that it is mere utopianism to imagine that Wesleyans, Independents, Baptists, Presbyterians, Moravians, not to add evangelical Episcopalians, can all unite together in one grand school society; give an education to the rising population which shall include all that they mutually understand by the main doctrines of Christianity, without touching upon the distinctive peculiarities of any one denomination; and be content to draw supplies for replenishing their several churches from a common nursery of Christians, but not of parties. The infirmity of human nature, which magnifies its *own*, is clearly tending to another course. We cannot think, however, that much if any difficulty would have been encountered as to the question—what is to be taught? But it is to be feared that, for want of a certain kind of local and individual stimulus in the case of a more liberal attempt at combination, money, the sinews even of the holy war against ignorance and sin, would have been found wanting.

We must now return to Mr. Boyd. Our object will be to examine his main arguments for the divine right of episcopacy. In the chapter on the 'divine and apostolic institution of episcopacy,' the author begins by urging the argument derived from the constitution of the Jewish church. It is well known that Vitringa, Lightfoot, Grotius, Selden, and others, have supposed that the order of the apostolic churches was exactly assimilated to that of the synagogue. We have certainly, however, no statement or ordinance to this effect in the New Testament; and that this theory is too unqualified, is admitted even by episcopalians themselves. Indeed, the order of the Jewish synagogue has been forced into parallelism with different platforms of Christian church-government. Whoever wishes to see the result of attempts to maintain the theory that the synagogue was intended to be the precise pattern for the church, should read the conflicting opinions of Lightfoot and Vitringa, on some important points: for instance, on the office of the *Sheliach Tsibbur*, or angel of the congregation. Mr. Boyd gives his suffrage to the opinion that, 'in the Old Testament, and in the New, the chief priest is of one order, the priests of another,' and the Levites of another. Now if it be contended that the high-priest is to have his exact counterpart in the Christian church,

we can see the analogy fulfilled nowhere but in the Lord Jesus Christ himself. Any other supposition would lead us straight to Rome, where we find the professed universal bishop. Mr. Boyd, however, is quite indignant with this objection to the supposed identity of Jewish and Christian forms of the church on earth. He, at once, arraigns the motives which have induced his opponents to dissent from his opinions, and pronounces that 'the objection is based upon a wilful disregard of the fact that the analogy has been carried out in this respect to the letter.' Christ is truly, he says, the 'universal bishop,' but he has delegated his office upon earth to many co-equal members of the same order,' (episcopal bishops.) It appears, then, that the high-priest of the Jews adumbrated not only the head of the church himself, but all the prelates of the episcopal church, besides. Whether this is not a lame and far-fetched attempt to make up analogies, we leave our readers to determine.

What we would contend against is the extreme assumption that the synagogue is by divine right, or divine precedent, entitled to be regarded as in all respects the unalterable model of the Christian church. That this pattern has been so copied in any form of Christianity, it would be preposterous to assert. It is contradicted by historical and by standing facts. Nor have we, in the New Testament, any directions or precedents that can be even plausibly strained into the semblance of a divine warrant for such an assimilation of the Jewish and Christian churches. Still we are far from being prepared to deny that the general idea and plan of the first organized Christian assemblies was very naturally suggested by the synagogue. Hence Christian offices and functions were denoted by such terms as *presbyters* and *presbytery*, the synonymes of which already existed in Judaism. The council of elders, moreover, as in the synagogues, would appear a very suitable mode of government for Christian communities in the towns of the Roman empire, in which the pagans had been already familiarised with a civil administration by the *senate*, or the assembly of the *decuriones*. Accordingly, as far as we can trace the order of the first churches, we find, generally, a government vested in a number of individuals. The supposition, however, that the three orders of the episcopal clergy are only a reproduction of the orders of the Jewish ministry, and were so intended to be by Christ and his apostles, is given up by the most enlightened Episcopalians, among whom we may name Bishop Bilson, and Prebendary Townsend.

The author next takes up the bold position, previously assumed by archbishop Potter and others, that 'when Christ ordained a ministry, he formed it on the principles of the Episcopalian church.' Our readers may well ask, where we are to find any

basis for the hierarchies of Rome and England, in the four gospels? what resemblance there is between the fishermen of Galilee, and the mitred lords, who, 'by divine permission,' and by 'divine providence' have demanded the homage of governments and nations? what sort of deans, prebends, canons, archdeacons, and pluralist rectors, were the seventy, when they itinerated with their Master's message over the land of Judea? Mr. Boyd, however, sees, in the apostles, a divine institution of prelacy, and in the seventy disciples that of the order of priests. He argues this distinction from the names, 'the twelve,' and 'the seventy:' from the relation in which the former stood to their Lord, as those who were to 'be with him,' to be instructed 'in ecclesiastical principles,' as well as doctrinal truths, by his tuition; while the seventy were 'sent two and two before his face:' and from the greater extent of the apostolical commission, the world itself being the destined sphere of the apostolic dioceses, while the seventy were restricted to their own country. We confess that to us it appears that such an argument as this would prove any thing at discretion. The twelve were to be foreign missionaries, therefore, they were to be episcopal, yea, diocesan bishops: the seventy were to be home missionaries, therefore, they were to be of the order of priests! And why should the twelve be 'with their Lord,' but to learn *ecclesiastical principles*, which it seems the priests had less to do with! It is pity that Mr. Boyd did not point out to his readers the parts of our Saviour's discourses which treat of these principles; and he would have done an act of charity, in illuminating the darkness and obtundity of his opponents, of which he so often complains, if he had even condescended to show where is the precedent for church-rates, and other like benefits of the ecclesiastical system. But he sometimes thinks it below his dignity to take any trouble about the scruples of those who presume to question the divine right of his church. Witness the following remark:—

'It is almost humiliating to be obliged to notice the ground on which the pleaders for parity attempt to set aside the argument drawn from the extent of the apostolic commission. It is argued that 'it is an error to suppose that the extent of a preaching commission proves a superiority of rank; for that, on such a principle, the late venerable Ouseley, was primate and metropolitan of all Ireland.' I have yet to learn from what source, either ordinary or extraordinary, the commission of the missionary of methodism was derived; but I have not to learn whence that of the apostles was derived. It was never argued by me that mere itinerancy over many lands is indicative of ecclesiastical superiority; for, then, questionless, the most unwearied and industrious vagrant must claim the right at length to sit down in the highest room. But I do argue, that when the Lord

Jesus Christ assigns a contracted field for the visits of one body, and makes those visits only introductory to his own, and when he assigns an unlimited field for the labours of another body, and, withdrawing from the world himself, leaves that field, by solemn commission, in their hands, he did mark (and that most clearly) that the two bodies were distinct in their standing and position in the Christian church.'

The whole argument respecting the 'twelve,' and the 'seventy' appears to us so vague and baseless, that we shall content ourselves with a counter-quotation from a zealous episcopalian, Bishop Sage; who since, according to Mr. Boyd, he is in the direct apostolical succession from the twelve, may be supposed to be as well versed in 'ecclesiastical principles' as the curate of the cathedral of Derry, who is only in the succession of the 'seventy'. The passage occurs in Bishop Sage's 'Principles of the Cyprianic Age.'

'It is impossible to make it appear so much as probable that S. Cyprian believed the LXX as making a distinct college from that of the XII; to have had any standing office in the Christian church, in which they were to have a constant line of successors. On the contrary, it is to be presumed that one of his abilities and diligence in searching the evangelical records could hardly have missed to observe that which is so obviously observable in them. I mean, that the Christian church was not, could not, be founded till our Lord was risen, seeing that it was to be founded on his resurrection. Nothing more certain than that the commission which is recorded, Luke x., did constitute them (the seventy) only temporary missionaries, and that for an errand that could not be more than temporary. That commission contains in its own bosom clear evidences that it did not instal them in any standing office at all. Could the commission, which is recorded, Luke x., any more constitute the LXX standing officers of the Christian church, than the like commission, recorded Mat. x., could constitute the XII such standing officers? But it is manifest that the commission, recorded Mat. x., did not constitute the XII governors of the Christian church, otherwise what need of a new commission to that purpose after the Resurrection? Presumable, therefore, it is that S. Cyprian did not at all believe that the LXX had any successors, office-bearers in the Christian church, seeing it is so observable that they themselves received no such commission to be such office-bearers.'—p. 235.

Mr. Boyd pursues the argument for the divine and apostolic right of episcopacy as applied to the times of the apostles. He maintains that 'the apostles were as absolutely the bishops of the church, then, as the prelates of England and Ireland are of those branches of the church catholic now.' This he endeavours to prove by urging that they are represented, in the New Tes-

tament, as the regulators and inspectors of churches. They exercised authority, and maintained discipline: they visited and revisited the infant communities: Paul summoned the Presbyters of Ephesus to meet him at Miletus: Peter gave injunctions to Presbyters, as to their pastoral duties: St. John corrected the presumption of Diotrephes: the apostles maintained their position with firmness at Jerusalem: they managed the church's general and financial details. These facts, Mr. Boyd contends, were peculiar features of the episcopal character of the apostles. Besides these, they held the prerogative of confirming converts in the faith by the bestowment of spiritual gifts. They also ordained elders to their pastoral office.

Now we would candidly ask whether the above facts are sufficient to form any part of the basis of an exclusive theory of the church, in which the sole divine right of modern episcopacy is to be maintained? In what manner is this form of government to be deduced from these facts, as an essential form for all future churches? It is evident that when a new system of moral and religious discipline was to be inculcated on mankind, in connection with doctrines before unknown, there must have been some to take the lead. The apostles exercised many of the very functions which modern missionaries who have planted the gospel in heathen countries have necessarily had to exercise, whether these missionaries have been episcopalians, presbyterians, or independents. It is very true that the miraculous gifts with which the apostles were endowed, and which they were enabled to impart to others, constituted a splendid peculiarity in their case, which, together with their divine commission from Christ himself, places them in a position in which no modern missionary has ever stood. But, it is on this very account that we can safely affirm that, in strictness, the apostles have had no successors; none certainly in the sense which alone can avail to prove the dogma of 'apostolic succession.' It is, to say the very least, doubtful whether miracles are ever to be again expected in the church. Their end, or, at all events, a very important end, appears to have been already answered by them; that of establishing, on a lasting basis, the truth of the Christian religion as a communication from God. With the divine commission, itself miraculous, and with the *charismata*, or gifts themselves, the apostolic office, which was marked by them, has ceased also.

Mr. Boyd claims for *diocesan* episcopacy the same exclusive honour which he demands for episcopacy itself, or the doctrine of the essential *imparity* of ministers. He affirms that 'diocesan episcopacy, *i.e.* the assignment of a church officer endued with permanent authority over ministers, to a defined sphere of ac-

tion, was the system of church government under the very eye, and with the sanction, of the apostles themselves.' In this way, says our author, St. James was the first bishop of Jerusalem. Now, as to James, (whether one of the twelve or not, which is still matter of dispute,) what evidence have we that his office was otherwise than temporary, being adapted to the existing circumstances of the parent church? that, in short, he was any thing more than a missionary who was stationed at Jerusalem, during the absence of the apostles from that city? What intimation have we that his functions were similar to those of a modern bishop, or that he was intended to be a divinely-appointed example of episcopacy binding on all future ages? Accordingly, Dr. Burton, Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, in his lectures, candidly remarks: 'We know little of the constitution of the primitive church; I by no means intend to affirm that the office which he (James) bore, was analogous to that of bishop in later times.' That the first inspired missionaries of Christianity should frequently intrust an infant community of believers whom they had collected, to the more special superintendence of some one eminent and tried individual, was perfectly natural, often perhaps necessary: modern and ordinary missionaries must frequently do the same. But what proof is this, unsupported by explicit evidence, of the establishment, in the primitive church, of the alleged permanent and absolutely essential ordinance of an *imparity of order* among ministers: for it is not even asserted that any rules are given for such an arrangement in the New Testament? The authoritative control of one order of Christian ministers over another, is so unlike the whole genius of the gospel, it enters so deeply into the entire structure of the church, and draws so largely upon principles in human nature which are sometimes awkward to manage, that nothing less than an intelligible divine warrant for such a constitution can avail to render it obligatory upon the consciences of Christians, as the high-church party wish it to be considered.

Mr. Boyd, of course, regards Timothy and Titus as notable prototypes of hierarchical dignity and of diocesan rank and power; and he labours hard to prove that their cases are quite decisive of the divine superiority of the third order of the clergy. He pronounces it impossible to read the epistles of Paul to Timothy and Titus without coming to the conviction that they were altogether distinguished from ordinary presbyters, by the functions which they were directed to perform. On the other hand, more moderate, though very learned episcopalians, have admitted that there is not sufficient ground for regarding Timothy and Titus as possessed of diocesan rank, founded on a distinction of order; but that they were, in fact, evangelists,

that is, missionaries, with such directions from the apostle Paul as were suited to the emergencies of the churches in which they sojourned. No less eminent an advocate for episcopacy than Whitby, after stating, in his preface to the epistle to Titus, that he 'can find no intimation in any writer of the first three centuries that Timothy and Titus bore the name of bishops,' adds :

' I assert that, if, by saying that Timothy and Titus were bishops, the one of Ephesus, the other of Crete, we understand that they took upon them these churches or dioceses, as their fixed and peculiar charge, in which they were to preside for the term of life, I believe that Timothy and Titus were not thus bishops. For, first, both Timothy and Titus were evangelists, and therefore were to do the work of an evangelist. Now the work of an evangelist, saith Eusebius, was this, to lay the foundations of the faith in barbarous nations, to constitute them pastors, and having committed to them the cultivating of these new plantations, they passed to other countries and nations. Secondly: As for Titus, he was only left at Crete, to ordain elders in every city, and to set in order the things that were wanting; having, therefore, done that work, he had done all that was assigned to him in that station: and therefore St. Paul sends for him, the very next year, to Nicopolis, Tit. iii. 12. And so, according to Bishop Pearson's Chronology, he was left at Crete, A.D. 64, and sent from thence, A.D. 65. As for Timothy, St. Paul saith, he exhorted him to abide at Ephesus, when he went into Macedonia. Now, as he writes to the church at Philippi, A.D. 62, that he hoped shortly to be with them, so, saith Bishop Pearson, he went thither, A.D. 64, and wrote his first epistle to him, A.D. 63. Two years after this he sends for him to Rome, 2 Tim. iv. 9. 21, and there he continued, as the ancients conjecture, till the martyrdom of St. Paul. Now, I confess, that these two instance, absolutely taken, afford us no convincing arguments for a settled diocesan episcopacy, because there is nothing that proves they (Timothy and Titus) did, or were to exercise these acts of government rather as bishops than as evangelists.'

Mr. Boyd adduces several authorities by way of shewing that the term 'bishop' was applied to Timothy and Titus by the voice of antiquity; but none of his quotations are from writers who flourished previously to the fourth century, when already all history had been looked at through the optics of diocesan episcopacy, which had been universally established; so that the term 'bishop' had become fully associated with its present meaning. Whitby's remark, therefore, that there is no evidence of a very early date proving that Timothy and Titus were spoken of as bishops, in the ecclesiastical sense, remains unrefuted. We take the true theory to be, that these distinguished ministers of Christ were appointed by the apostles to attend to the affairs of the churches in given localities, just as

any other pious and competent Christian men might have been. Any ordinary pastor of a village-church might, in *their* circumstances, so far as we can understand, have sustained the same functions which they exercised, without any distinctive change in his official order, or his relation to the apostolic church; and after setting in order the affairs of Ephesus or Crete, he might have returned to his humble pastorate in any other locality of the Christian world.

Our author does not appear to us sufficiently to submit the question of the divine right of episcopacy to the test of scripture. We know how very early gross corruption became rampant in the church: the fact, therefore, that lofty notions of episcopal prerogative, and of the necessity of an episcopal construction of the church early prevailed, is no decisive argument for the claim itself, which is so bold and so exclusive, that we can accept nothing less than the same evidence of its validity which we have for the generally admitted doctrines and observances of Christianity. When once we have travelled beyond the record of the New Testament, it should be remembered that we have left the region of inspiration. There can be no dispute that what the *Fathers* say is, at all events, but a human *opinion*; or a testimony to some fact which must be examined without any necessary detriment to their veracity, according to the usual laws of evidence. It is plain enough that the scope which was given for infirmity, fanaticism, and prejudice, and even worse principles, to display themselves under so potent an impulse as that which the new religion communicated to the human mind, left even the best of men liable to fall into gross errors, and often unintentially to misinterpret facts. Tertullian, who died early in the third century, writes—(*de baptismo*) that external unction, after baptism, ‘spiritually profits.’ Cyprian, who lived about the middle of the same century, speaks in the same way—(*Epist.* 70). With this anointing, signing with the cross was connected, ‘that the soul may be fortified,’ says Tertullian—(*de Resurrec. Carn.*) Crescens and other bishops who were present in the synod of Carthage, about the year 256, judged the right of *exorcism* necessary in certain cases previously to baptism.—(*Act. Conc. Carth. ap. Cyp.*) Indeed this practice appears to have been introduced before the end of the second century. Contrary to scripture-fact,* and the genius of apostolic doctrine, baptism was held, in itself, to possess the mysterious, sacramental efficacy which is now claimed for it in the church of England.—(*Sedatus in Act. Concil. Carthag. ap. Cyp. de Bapt. Cyp. Epist.* 70.). *Prayers*

* E. g. Simon Magus, Acts viii : compare 1 Pet. iii. 21 ; Tit. iii. 5 ; Phil. iii. 3.

and oblations for the dead also became common about this period.—(*Tert. de Exhort. Castit. c. 11*). Again, Clement of Alexandria, and his contemporary Tertullian, as also Origen, attach some importance to praying towards the east—(*Clemens. Alex. Strom. lib. 7*.—*Tertull. Apol. c. 16*. *Origen de Orat. § 21*:)—hence a report was current among the heathen, as Tertullian informs us, that the Christians worshipped the Sun. He also says that, on certain Lord's-days, and at certain festivals, 'it is a sin to worship kneeling.'—(*de Coron. Milit.*) In Africa, infant communion was practised; and Cyprian records an instance of the wine of the Eucharist being forcibly poured down an infant's throat by the deacon. (*de Lapsis § 20*.) These instances, out of a multitude, may suffice to show that we must not imagine that it is any proof of a practice being in harmony with the simplicity of the gospel, much less of divine appointment, that it is recorded or even advocated by the Fathers. As honest men, they may be entitled to our credit for veracity and good intention: as to *facts*, where they had the means of knowing the reality, we may respect their testimony: but the more they are read, the more will it appear how different their writings often are from the sobriety and the simplicity of the language of inspiration.

When we consider the genius of Christianity with respect to externals, as manifested on several important occasions of practice in the apostolic churches, we are certainly not led to expect the rigid formalism of any one unalterable detail as to outward modes of observance. We find nothing in the records of the New Testament which so far assimilates Christianity to Judaism. It was the spirit of this preparatory economy to reduce all things to one model, and to bring every son of Abraham under the same circumstantial discipline. But the Mosaic spirit of uniformity was evidently not found in the new religion; and Christianity, though emerging from the very heart of Judaism, presented to the world a far less formal, and more spiritual element. In all mere externals, respecting which any question arose by which we are enabled to see the application of principles, we find no appearance whatever of a design to require uniformity. When Jews and Gentiles became Christians, the former were not to impose any rites which they themselves retained on the latter, nor were the latter to prohibit the Jews from following theirs. No man was to '*judge*' another 'in meat or drink,' or in respect of 'a feast, or of the new moon, or of sabbaths.' (Col. ii. 16.) Examples will be too familiar to our readers to require detail. We need only name the decree of the church at Jerusalem exempting the semi-Jewish Christians from observances which the Hebrew Christians of Judea sought

to impose on them, the liberty that was allowed in regard to meats prohibited in the Mosaic law, and meats that had been offered to idols.

We have no evidence that this latitude, as to things not essentially spiritual, was restricted from finding a place in the form and order of the government of the first churches. It is by no means certain that in this respect there was a perfect uniformity in details, even in the time of the apostles. Certain *principles*, however, seem everywhere to have prevailed. No less eminent an episcopalian than Barrow, thus writes on this subject, in his 'Discourse concerning the Unity of the Church':

'Each church did separately order its own affairs, without recourse to others, except for charitable advice, or relief, in cases of extraordinary difficulty and urgent need. This appeareth by the apostolical writings of St. Paul and St. John to single churches, wherein they are supposed able to exercise spiritual power for establishing decency, removing disorders, correcting offences, deciding causes, etc. This *autonomia* and liberty of churches, doth appear to have long continued in practice.'

As to the details of church government, it is natural first to inquire by what names the parties holding office are distinguished in the New Testament. Many of the highest authorities in Mr. Boyd's own church have candidly acknowledged that no stress can be laid on these names in support of the exclusive claims of episcopacy. Bishop Burnet, and Doctors Reynolds and Holland, who were both formerly professors of divinity at Oxford, expressly state that the terms '*bishop*' and '*presbyter*' mean the same thing. Bishop Hoadley, Dr. Hammond, and many others might be named, as admitting that the two terms are used promiscuously in the New Testament. The same words are declared to be synonymous in the work entitled, 'The Institution of a Christian Man,' published in 1536, and approved by the king, parliament, and clergy.

And can a single passage of the New Testament be adduced, or any series of passages, which could legitimately lead to the conclusion that one bishop or presbyter (for any one who will take the pains to examine, will find that they are identical) must necessarily and formally have more power, and a higher dignity, than others, either in a single assembly of Christians having more than one pastor, or among a number of associated societies? Though we should concede that a disparity in moral influence might sometimes naturally arise from circumstances, and that the recognition of it was not unchristian; we still ask where we are to find convincing evidence that the apostles made the formal distinction, a distinction essential to the order of the

church? Mr. Boyd ventures to be so much more explicit than these holy and inspired men, as to pronounce, from the cathedral of Derry, the judgment that churches not episcopal 'cannot claim to be resting upon the foundation of apostles, or to have Jesus Christ himself for their ecclesiastical corner stone.' The manner in which our author gives an episcopal colouring to every thing in the gospels and epistles, and finds everywhere the garb of an ecclesiastical formalism, has repeatedly reminded us, while we are writing, of a huge picture which we saw, some years ago, in the gallery of the *Louvre*, representing the marriage at Cana; in which the disciples and our Lord himself are seated at the wedding dinner metamorphosed into popish priests, wearing the paraphernalia of high mass, and presenting the same showy colours and embroidery which are familiar to all who have strayed into a Romish church: if we are not mistaken, some of the party also had the tonsure. No doubt the good catholics among the Parisians think all this is as it should be; and imagine that copes and albs and scapulars, 'white red, and grey,' are to be dated back to the rise of Christianity: but this ecclesiastical lesson first of all produces a smile in those who are in the secret, and then, as may be supposed, a sigh over the fact of the prevalence of a superstition which can command the talents of the artist to embody it, and set it forth to all eyes. To make the piece complete, the Saviour should have been represented with the triple crown; and this would have been as true to history, as the other parts of the picture. The church towards which Mr. Boyd's Tractarian friends have expressed so much reverence and sisterly affection, does not make episcopacy more essential than he himself does; the only difference being that which relates to the filling up of the whole hierarchical idea by having a pope: for while Mr. Boyd, in his usual high church phraseology, speaks of the 'ecclesiastical acts of Christ,' as the 'first in the episcopate of Christianity,' he contents himself with an apostolical succession of the twelve, a presbyteral succession of the seventy, and a diaconal succession of the first deacons; while the church of Rome completes the lineage by making a vicarial-succession representative of the Head of the church himself, in the person of the supreme pontiff.

We would seriously ask, whether it is reasonable that a doctrine so momentous in its consequences, if true, as that of divine right, should be allowed to rest on the conjecture that the apostles, in some of their visitations, took care to settle one of the presbyters or bishops of a place over the rest, making him the *episcopus* by way of eminence and rank? When St. Paul took leave of the elders (presbyters) of Ephesus, he told them that they should see his 'face no more;' but he does not appear

to have uttered a word respecting any superior officer : not a word was said to any such person on the solemn responsibility of his function ; not a word to the elders on their duty of obedience. Paul simply addresses the elders as co-equals, bidding them 'take heed to all the flock, over which the Holy Ghost had made them overseers' (bishops, Acts xx.) It is always pleasant to witness candour in a religious controversy ; and this is one cause why we prefer sometimes to state the views which we have been led to entertain, on the subjects of the present volume, in the language of episcopalians themselves. For we are glad to say that they often do manifest a degree of fairness and concession which we look for in vain in the statements of Mr. Boyd, who indulges in a great deal of special pleading ; and though he often gets into a trackless region, where his road is quite hedged up with difficulties, nothing daunted, he presses forward to his favourite end like a pioneer who has to cut his way through a dense forest, on the classic principle, *inveniam viam aut faciam*. We will quote the admission of an episcopalian writer of the article 'Ecclesiastical History,' in the tenth volume of the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana* :—

'At the period of St. Paul's summons to the church of Ephesus, no such order (the episcopal) could have existed there ; and if not in so large and important a church, probably nowhere. The *title* (bishops) cannot imply it, for it is one used for all the presbyters of Ephesus ; and their number proves that he was not addressing bishops, for they came from one church. Again, though the word occurs elsewhere in St. Paul's *epistles*, it cannot intend one chief governor of any church, because his epistles are addressed to the church as bodies of men, in whom authority was vested.'

One of the strongest arguments in favour of the divine right of a third order of ministers in the church, has always been drawn from the epistles to the seven churches in the Apocalypse ; and Mr. Boyd does not fail to contend that we have here conclusive proof of apostolical diocesan episcopacy. He states that the term '*angel*' refers, not to a collective body formed of the several persons constituting the 'presbytery' or the 'pastorate' of a church, as has been maintained by presbyterians, but that the '*angel*' must, in each case, have been a single individual. We confess that we have always been of this opinion ; and we think it so improbable that the term should have a collective signification, that no desire of maintaining any particular theory could induce us to attempt to persuade ourselves to the contrary, without further evidence. But Mr. Boyd demands, for the '*angels*' of the Asian churches, diocesan rank and power. Independently, however, of the appeal which

he makes to the Fathers, he offers no very direct argument in proof of this claim. He seems principally to rest on a quotation from Mosheim, who says that—

‘In the more considerable churches at least, if not in the others, it came even during the life-time of the apostles, and with their approbation, to be the practice for some men more eminent than the rest, to be invested with the presidency or chief direction. It must be evident that those who are termed angels, were persons possessing such a degree of authority in their respective churches, as enabled them to mark with merited disgrace whatever might appear to be deserving of reprehension, and to give due encouragement to everything that was virtuous and commendable.’ (De Reb. Christian i. 227.)

In order to explain more fully the views of Mosheim, who is justly termed ‘judicious’ by Mr. Boyd, we will introduce a passage on the same subject from his Ecclesiastical History. Having stated his opinion that ‘neither Christ himself, nor his holy apostles, have commanded any thing clearly or expressly concerning the external form of the church, and the precise method according to which it should be governed,’ he proceeds: ‘It was the assembly of the people which chose their own rulers and teachers, or received them by a free and authoritative consent, when recommended by others. The same people rejected or confirmed, by their suffrages, the laws that were proposed by their rulers; passed judgment upon the different subjects of controversy and dissension that arose in the community; and, in a word, exercised all such authority which belongs to such as are invested with the sovereign power.’ Before concluding the quotation, we would here take the opportunity of remarking, that with an episcopacy so set up by any community of believers, out of their own free choice, and with no encroachment on the civil or religious liberties of other Christians, we have no dispute; not even if that episcopacy be diocesan. The rights with which Mosheim regards the Christian assembly as invested, are clearly those which are incidentally testified as belonging to it, in the apostolical epistles, and which are viewed in the same light in the quotation we have given above from Barrow. Once for all, be it remembered, what we deprecate is the doctrine of divine right as applied to the form and the details of church-government—the divine right of the platform, rather than of the general principles which ought to pervade it. Mosheim continues:—

‘Three or four presbyters ruled. But the number of presbyters and deacons increasing with that of the churches, these new circumstances required new regulations. It was then judged necessary that

one man of distinguished gravity and wisdom should preside. This person was at first styled the *angel* of the church, but was afterwards distinguished by the name of *bishop*, or inspector. A bishop was a person who had the care of one Christian assembly. In this assembly, he acted not so much with the authority of a master, as with the zeal and diligence of a faithful servant. He charged the presbyters, indeed, with the performances of those duties and services which the multiplicity of his engagements rendered it impossible for him to fulfil; but had not power to enact or decide any thing, without the consent of the presbyters and people. The power and influence of the bishops soon extended themselves. New churches in the neighbouring towns and villages grew imperceptibly into ecclesiastical provinces, which the Greeks afterwards called *dioceses*.' (Vol i., c. 2, ed. 1806.)

It would seem, from the above quotation, that the authority on which Mr. Boyd appears to repose so much of the argument, as is deduced from the 'angels' of the Asian churches, by no means bears him out to the length of diocesan episcopacy, at the least; nor, indeed, to that of any episcopacy which he would think worthy of the name, much less to the extreme position of divine right. As a preliminary to the determination of the precise functions of the 'angel,' in each of the seven churches, it would be of course necessary for us to know whether in each case there was more than one pastor; a query which is certainly not determined by anything contained in the epistles themselves; for nothing is required from the angel which could not be as well done by an ordinary minister as by an episcopal bishop, even on modern episcopalian principles, provided that any thing approaching to a pure discipline were supposed to be maintained in the church. Now it is not easy, at this distance of time, to conjecture to what number the Christians might amount in any one of the seven churches, and how many pastors might, therefore, be required. Even the fact of a city being great, would not prove that there were many Christians in it. With respect to Philadelphia, moreover, it appears that, in the time of Strabo, (xiii. p. 628) a little before the date of the Apocalypse, it had been frequently visited by earthquakes. On this account, it was greatly deserted by its inhabitants. This may, perhaps, account for the poverty of the Philadelphian church. Under such circumstances, it is quite conceivable that there might be only one pastor. If so, he would be the 'angel,' and there would be no room for diversity of ministerial rank; for it is certain that the scriptures give no express rules for the number of office-bearers in each church, and it is likely that this depended on circumstances. Doddridge (Lect. 196) remarks that 'the angels of the churches might be no more than pastors

of single congregations.' We think it probable, however, that in some, at least, of these seven churches, the Christian community was so numerous that several ministers were required; and if so, we do not see how the conclusion can well be avoided that the individual addressed in the epistles would be the one who was, in some respects, distinguished from the rest. If in any place there was a plurality of pastors, one of them, it would seem, possessed some kind of superiority. The question is, what was the nature of this superiority? Was it conventional, and growing out of circumstances; or was it formal, organic, and even of divine appointment, according to the views of Mr. Boyd?

It certainly does not appear that we have any means, from the New Testament, of pronouncing the latter of the two alternatives. For aught that appears there, the 'angel' might have been, now the sole minister of a small assembly of Christians, now the senior or chief minister among several who had the oversight of one church; as at Ephesus, when Paul took his farewell of these elders (presbyters); or at Philippi, when he addressed his epistle to the *bishops* and the deacons in that place. The angel might have been the presiding church officer, whether sole or among many; and we need scarcely repeat that the terms presbyter and bishop are, in the New Testament, synonymous. It is also, we believe, generally admitted that the offices of teaching and superintending were combined in the same persons. It would seem little to be doubted that the 'bishop' of later times was still unknown in the age of the Apocalypse, not being as yet developed, if we may so say, out of the presbyter, and being only, as it were, in the germ, which sprung out of circumstances, and not from any original and necessary organization of the church. If the term 'angel,' in the seven epistles, derived its application from the *Sheliach Tsibbur* of the synagogue, (which is a prevailing opinion), the expression 'angels of the churches,' would seem to be a Hebraism for 'ministers of the churches,' who took the lead. The rendering in both cases might be, 'messengers of the assembly,' a designation which is thought to have been given because they spoke to God on behalf of the people: for it appears that the officer of the synagogue alluded to, was defined by being the minister who usually led the prayers of the congregation, instructed the people in religion, and acted as the principal directing functionary in matters of business.

We have no evidence that, at this early period, any fixed and determinate rules had been laid down with regard to the limits of particular churches, the more minute details of their formal organization, or their external and mutual relations. It would well accord with the liberal genius of the gospel, that

many of these matters of arrangement should be left to adapt themselves, in a great measure, to circumstances; the grand principles of brotherly love, spirituality of aim, and subordination in all things to Christ, to his laws, and to the spirit of his religion, being held to be inviolable. It appears, however, clear enough that how large or small soever might be the number of Christians at any one town or city, and however numerous or few the ministers, the whole body was regarded, in the apostolic times, as the 'church' in that place. We know, from the Acts of the Apostles, that the 'church of God which was at Jerusalem,' early numbered its members by 'thousands;' yet it is spoken of as *one* church. The epistle to the Romans is addressed to 'all that be in Rome;' and it is evident, from many passages, that they constituted one body. So we read of the 'church of God which is at Corinth,' and of the 'church of the Thessalonians.' The question would arise, when the number of Christians in any place became too great for them conveniently to assemble in one building, and when the number of pastors consequently required to be increased, what was now to be the organization of the church? The case might be that of something more than merely a large assembly. We have large assemblies now, assemblies of two or three thousand persons in one place of worship, sometimes under one pastor; and if even presbyterian or independent single congregations, either from numbers or from any other cause, have more than one pastor, it is always found that one is regarded as the senior or leading minister; and it can hardly, in the nature of things, be otherwise. This might perhaps be exactly the case of some of the first churches. But in the case of unwieldy numbers, a still further distribution of labours might be necessary. And here we might expect for the first time to see developed the genius of systems. Presbyterians would maintain the union by a synod of the elders. Independents, according to their practice in England, would separate the whole body into parts; no longer insisting on an organic union, but regarding each part as much a distinct church as the whole previously was, and as formally separate from all the rest, and as much *sui juris* as though they were situated, each, in different towns or provinces. Episcopalians would bring all the distinct assemblies under the supreme jurisdiction of one officer, the bishop. Now who will undertake to say that we have any apostolic directions as to what is to be done in such a case? Nay more, can we pronounce a decision even with the guidance of any one clear and unequivocal apostolic precedent? All that can be done is to ask whether any one plan seems to be more harmonious with the general spirit and design of the Christian institution than another; and of this all

churches must judge for themselves. Dean Milner, therefore, while he thinks that Usher's model of reduced episcopacy comes nearest to the earliest form in which episcopacy arose, candidly acknowledges that, at first, presbyters and bishops were the same; and he adds, in a spirit which is very different from that of our author:—'it has been an error common to all parties to treat these lesser matters as if they were *jure divino*, or, like the laws of the Medes and Persians, unalterable. In vain, I think, will almost any modern church, whatever, set up a claim to exact resemblance of the primitive churches. The Christian world has been more anxious to support different modes of government, than to behave as Christians ought to do in each of them.' These words occur in Milner's 'History of the Church,' century the second, first chapter; and it may be worthy of remark, that four volumes of this work were printed by the university of Cambridge at its own expense. We can hardly persuade ourselves that Mr. Boyd has devoted much attention to the views of his more liberal episcopalian brethren, or he would surely have felt himself compelled, to have disposed in some way of their statements, in maintaining his favourite doctrine of divine right. We would refer him to the opinions of such writers as Hinds, Waddington, and Whately.

We may name as ecclesiastical historians of other communions who have given, in our judgment, a very distinct and probable account of the manner in which the third order of ministers arose out of cases in which there was a plurality of pastors, Campbell, Gieseler, and Neander. Campbell remarks:

'Certain it is that the very names of church-officers were borrowed from the synagogue, which had also its elders, overseers, deacons or almoners; and amongst them one usually presided, who was called the angel of the congregation, the title given by our Lord in the Apocalypse, to the presidents of Christian assemblies. It would be necessary, for the sake of order, that one should preside, both in the offices of religion, and in their consultations for the common good. Some of the most common appellations whereby the bishop was first distinguished, bear evident traces of this origin. He was called president, chairman. He was in the presbytery, as the speaker in the House of Commons, who is not of superior order to the other members of the house, but is a commoner among commoners, and is only in consequence of that station, accounted the first among those of his own rank. A letter to the congregation might very naturally be directed to him who possessed the first place, and presided among them. It is likely that John, in the direction of the epistles to the seven churches, availed himself of a distinction which had subsisted from the beginning; but as it implied no difference in order or power, was too inconsiderable to be noticed in the history.'

(Sect. v., vii.) Gieseler says, 'The new churches everywhere formed themselves on the model of the mother church at Jerusalem. At the head of each were the *elders* (πρεσβύτεροι, ἐπίσκοποι,) all officially of equal rank, though in several instances a peculiar authority seems to have been conceded to some one individual, from personal considerations. After the death of the apostles, and the pupils of the apostles, to whom the general direction of the churches had always been conceded, some one amongst the presbyters of each church was suffered gradually to take the lead in its affairs. In the same irregular way the title ἐπίσκοπος (bishop) was appropriated to this first presbyter.' (*Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, § 29, 32.)

We must not omit the opinion of another celebrated German historian, Neander. He convincingly proves that, in the apostolic age, the name *bishop* was 'wholly synonymous' with that of *presbyter* (Acts xx. 17, 28; Titus i. 5, 7; Philip. i. 1; 1 Tim., iii. 1—8); and remarks that as, at the appointment of deacons and of delegates to accompany the apostles (2 Cor., viii. 19), the churches were permitted to choose for themselves, it is probable that the wishes of the churches were regarded in the case of other officers. He remarks that 'Clement of Rome (Epist. c. 44) adduces the rule, as though delivered by the apostles, for the appointment of church offices, that they should be held according to the judgment of approved men, with the consent of the whole church.' Neander proceeds:—

'It was natural that as the presbyters formed a deliberative assembly, one among them should take the precedence. What we find in the *second* century, leads us to conclude that the standing office of president of the presbytery must have been formed soon after the apostolic age, which president, inasmuch as he took the oversight of everything, received the name of ἐπίσκοπος, and was thereby distinguished from the other presbyters. This name was at length exclusively assigned to this president, while the name *presbyter*, as at first, still remained common to all; for the bishops, as the presbyters who had the precedence, had as yet no other official character than that of presbyters: they were only *primi inter pares*.' (*Allgem. Geschichte der Christlich. Kirch. B. i. Ab. i.*)

On the whole, we cannot but think that the above views, from ecclesiastical historians of different schools, form a fair and probable account of the subject; and we do not think that the argument for the *divine right* of any official distinction of rank and order between presbyters, which Mr. Boyd pronounces to be sanctioned by Christ, the Head of the church, in his charges to the Apocalyptic 'angels,' has any force. In order to render it valid, we must first know that, in the case of a plurality of pastors, the 'angel' was distinguished by peculiar powers; such

as that of ruling the other presbyters, by authority. We ought also to be able to know that the term 'angel' would not be applied to any *sole* pastor of a church, a case which we have ventured to suppose might have existed at such a place as Philadelphia. It will not be pretended that the ecclesiastical spirit, ever wont from its very birth to manifest itself in laying great stress on form and order and official rank, lost anything of its vigour by the lapse of time; on the contrary, it waxed stronger and more tenacious of distinctions among the clergy. Yet (notwithstanding the extraordinary epistles ascribed to Ignatius, which date in the second century, and which we shall presently notice), the candid episcopalian writer, Waddington, admits that, even 'at the beginning of the *third* century,' though 'the more important churches were severally superintended by a bishop, he possessed a not very definite degree of authority' (*Hist.* p. 35): and Bishop Kaye, the learned commentator on Tertullian, who belongs to the same period, remarks that 'however clearly the distinction between the bishops and the other orders of the clergy may be asserted in the writings of Tertullian, they afford us little assistance in ascertaining wherein this distinction consisted.' (*On Tertull.* p. 234.)

We were anxious to see how far Mr. Boyd would understand Clement of Rome as favouring his views of the divine right of diocesan episcopacy, and its consequent necessity as an element of the true church. We should premise that Clement, by the united voice of Christian antiquity, is the same who is mentioned in the epistle to the Philippians (iv. 3) as one of the 'fellow-labourers' of the apostle Paul. Towards the close of the first century, he wrote an epistle entitled 'From the church of God at Rome, to the church of God at Corinth;' a title which is quite in keeping with the incidental evidences of essential self-government, which are found in so many passages of the apostolical epistles to the churches. This invaluable document, probably the earliest of uninspired Christian antiquity, discovers a spirit which is just such as might be expected from one who, as Irenæus (*adv. Hæres.*) says, 'had seen the blessed apostles, and conversed with them; and who had their preaching still sounding in his ears.' How contrasted is this truly Christian epistle with the anathemas and fulminations which, little more than a century afterwards, began to burst forth from this same church of Rome, (so early a volcano of desolation to Christendom,) when Victor, claiming diocesan power over the Asian churches, denounced against them an edict of excommunication, the first thunder of the Vatican, for refusing to observe the paschal feast at the precise time adopted in the west! This memorable fact, which is supposed to have taken place about

A.D. 196, sadly proves how soon after the apostolic age the apostolic spirit had begun to depart from the church! The epistle of Clement was occasioned by a repetition of the divisions which had taken place among the Corinthian Christians in the time of the apostle Paul; and it appears that some of the presbyters had been improperly removed from their charge; or, to use the exact words of Clement, from their *episcopate*: (*ἀπο τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς*;) whence it is evident that the presbyters exercised a joint oversight, and were bishops in the sense of this term in the epistle of Paul to the Philippians. The same word is translated, in our common English version, '*bishoprick*,' (Acts i. 20,) and '*the office of a bishop*,' (1 Tim. iii. 1.)

We were not disappointed in our expectation that Mr. Boyd, with all his range over antiquity, and his power of setting his arguments in the most telling order, and in the strongest light, would find it difficult to convert the single-minded and apostolical Clement into a witness for the sacred right of hierarchical distinctions. Our author prudently inverts the pyramid of ecclesiastical antiquity, and begins at its base, with Jerome, when the seed of spiritual domination, which always had a sufficient depth of soil in the heart of man, had luxuriated in a growth of four hundred years. Mr. Boyd admits that the '*acerbities*' which mark the writings of this father may have been, in part at least, provoked by 'the haughtiness and worldliness of the bishops of his time.' If the practice of the church at this distance from the apostolic age could be regarded as decisive of the question, there would be no doubt of the truth of our author's favourite doctrine of the divine right of diocesan episcopacy; but when he boldly attempts to retrace it upwards to the time of Clement, he certainly draws the argument to so fine a point, that it loses all coherence, and absolutely breaks down. He rests it on two or three passages. In the first, Clement exhorts the church, 'Be subject to your rulers (*ἡγουμένοις*), and render due honour to the presbyters who are among you.' Again, 'let us venerate our guides;' (or leaders, *προηγούμενους*, which Mr. Boyd renders '*prelates*;' but see Rom. xii. 10:) 'let us honour our presbyters.' If these expressions are not merely pleonastic, they might very well, it appears to us, have been addressed, at all events, to a church in which the only officers were the bishops or presbyters, and the deacons; the first clause in each of the two exhortations referring to the church-officers generally, and the latter two clauses to the presbyters, as distinct from the deacons. We shall, however, presently endeavour to explain these exhortations by other parts of the letter. Another passage adduced by Mr. Boyd contains advice to the church at Corinth to the effect that every member should attend to his

own peculiar and individual duty; just as, in the ancient church, every one had his appropriate function, the high priest, the priests, the Levites, and the laity. Our author magnifies this allusion by the high optical power which he always brings to every question, into a proof of three orders and a hierarchy of the clergy. Apparently conscious, however, that the above arguments in favour of the existence of a diocesan see at Corinth are somewhat apocryphal, he adds: 'We can put the views of Clement in a still clearer light, by another passage, to which our opponents are rash enough to appeal.' The quotation is the following: 'The apostles, preaching through countries and cities, constituted their first converts bishops and deacons of those who should hereafter believe.' We are reminded by the turn which Mr. Boyd tries to give to this passage, of a barrister who, coming to a very weak point of his case, should try to hold it up to the jury as a particularly strong one, by stoutly asserting that it is so, and by hitting upon some unexpected and ingenious means of hiding its lameness. We find him now claiming the title 'apostle' for the bishop whom he is so determined to exalt. We have here clearly, he maintains, the three orders in all their genuineness,—apostles, bishops, (whom he of course must now admit to be the same with presbyters) and deacons. The successors of the apostles, he tells us, were '*too modest to assume the proper title, apostle; and appropriated to themselves that of bishop;*' the italics are our own. Now, we know that, in later times, titles were assumed in the church, requiring as much self-possession in the wearers as that of 'apostle;' witness those of the popes. We can hardly, therefore, account for the 'proper title' which Mr. Boyd informs us belongs to the successors of the apostles not having been commonly adopted. The inferior clergy, as they are called, would then have been bishops and deacons; but where we have now 'bishops,' we should have 'apostles'—to wit, the 'apostle of Exeter;' and can any one doubt that, by this time, some of the 'successors' of the original apostles would have learned to bear their titles, as well as their faculties, without the discomfort to their modesty, which, according to Mr. Boyd, Clement and others of the primitive church would have felt in assuming the name which really belonged to them? Let us see what evidence the general tone of Clement's epistle to the Corinthians furnishes of any aim at these high and transcendental prerogatives.

We have already intimated that this important document is written in the name of the 'church of God at Rome,' and not in the name of Clement himself, be his position in that church what it might. Nothing here of authority; nothing in the

style of 'we Clement, by divine permission,' or 'by divine providence:' all is persuasion; all is affection, mourning over the divisions of the Corinthian church, and seeking to heal them by love and fraternal exhortation. '*We learn that you have removed some from their offices who ruled well—your schism has thrown all of us into grief—this rumour has not only reached us, but also those who are ill-disposed towards us.*' Such is the united strain of concern of which Clement was the organ. In how different a tone would an epistle from Rome have been expressed, a century afterwards, by Victor, already so ominous an example of what the development of the third order of the clergy, and the growth of the ecclesiastical spirit, would one day make the Roman church! It is the express object of Clement's letter to conciliate the people towards the ministers (presbyters) of the probably numerous Christian community at Corinth, and to promote order in the body; and we are bold to affirm, after a careful perusal, that, while the official rights of the united presbyters are asserted, *there is not a word in the whole of this long epistle bearing the slightest allusion to any superior presbyter, or bishop*, such as soon afterwards began very widely to exercise an authoritative control over presbyters and deacons, as well as over the people. Now had there existed in the Corinthian church such an officer, it is evident that the divisions which at this time again distracted it, would have outraged his authority more than that of any other person; he would, indeed, have been ostensibly responsible for them; it would have been his duty, above that of any other man, to endeavour to heal them. It is inconceivable, therefore, that the (episcopal) bishop, supposing there were one, should have failed of being in some way noticed. Indeed, this omission would not have been respectful to him. On the other hand, if there was no functionary of such a rank and of such powers above the rest as to require especial mention, if, in short, the third order of the clergy did not exist in this church; then had Clement and the Roman Christians regarded its constitution as deficient, from its not having conformed to a divinely-appointed model, or from having departed from that form, would not this letter have contained exhortations to the Corinthians on the sacred duty of at once complying with the divine ordinance? Clement was evidently well-acquainted with the history of this church from its beginning, and he alludes to its previous order: '*Ye did walk according to the laws of God, being subject to those who had the rule over you.*' How unaccountable, then, that this apostolic and faithful man should make no sort of allusion to the one ecclesiastical supreme, the bishop, while he actually draws arguments from the power with which the 'presbyters' were invested! for he

laments that ‘the firmly-settled church of the Corinthians should, by means of one or two persons, excite factious insubordination against the presbyters.’ How strange in default of the officer of the third order, that Clement, who must, on Mr. Boyd’s hypothesis, have been in his own person an illustration of the divine appointment of episcopacy, and who showed so circumstantial a knowledge of the internal state of this church, did not earnestly entreat the Corinthians immediately to supply a deficiency which, so long as it remained, could not allow them to hope for the divine blessing in the return of a spirit of harmony and peace! Mr. Boyd, in his retrograde examination of the fathers as witnesses, would have done well to stop at Ignatius. Clement, of still earlier date, furnishes no connecting link by which the apostolical appointments and the institution of the next century can be amalgamated together. To seek in Clement’s epistle for arguments to prove the divine right of the (episcopal) bishop, is like attempting to drink out of the cup of Tantalus. The following is the remark of Prebendary Waddington:—‘Till the date of St. Clement’s epistle, the government (of the church at Corinth) had been clearly presbyterial; and we do not learn the exact moment of the change. The episcopal form was clearly not yet here established.’ (Hist. pp. 12, 21.)

Of course, our author rejoices in Ignatius. The epistles attributed to this Father are the shaster of all those who see in the third order of the ministry an essential constitution of the church; and of all who attach importance to stone altars, candleabra, credence-tables, sedilia, preaching in the surplice, and the like, as signs of apostolical catholicism, not known indeed till later ages, but venerable as ancient memorials of the most palmy days of ghostly and hierarchical dominion. The martyrdom of Ignatius is reported as having taken place very early in the second century, according to Gieseler, A.D. 116. The epistles ascribed to him are extant in two forms, a longer and a shorter. The genuineness of the former appears to have met with little support from students of Christian antiquity; and even the shorter form has proved quite a *crux criticorum*, who have not been a little perplexed to know exactly what to make of the strange mixture which there is of piety with a sort of rhodomontade which is almost ludicrous. The shorter form was first published by Vossius, two centuries ago, from a manuscript in the Medicean library at Florence. Many circumstances tend greatly to obscure these epistles as a testimony on which we might depend. Some things are quoted from them by other early writers, which they do not now contain. Latin words are employed which no other Greek writer used till centuries

afterwards: terms which are not, as are those in the New Testament, expressive of Roman office, custom, money, or the like. And as to church-order and prerogative, they are as extravagant as any Tractarian or Romanist could desire. The transition of the style, and of the spirit, from those of Clement is often perfectly confounding. Indeed these epistles remind one of those passionate and imprecatory assertions of some alleged fact, which we sometimes hear in a street-brawl; and which produce an effect on our own convictions quite contrary to that of the calm and unlaboured statements of real truth. From beginning to end of these singular productions, there is an almost incessant obtrusion of homage to the clergy of the three orders. Much more matter on this subject may be found in each of several of these letters in a few pages, than the whole New Testament contains on the duties of church-members to their ministers. Obedience to bishops, presbyters, and deacons (for here first we find them distinguished), is held up as the main obligation; and it is the chorus of every song. We shall give a few specimens for the amusement, if not edification of our readers. One from the *longer* form may suffice, which would satisfy even Hildebrand himself, to his heart's content; not to add any other and more modern hierarch, who, according to Mr. Boyd, ought to be called the 'apostle' of his see. 'Let governors be obedient to Cæsar, soldiers to governors, deacons to presbyters as to priests; and let presbyters and deacons and the rest of the flock, together with all the people, and the soldiers, and Cæsar himself, be obedient to the bishop.'—(*ad Philad.*) We quote what follows from the shorter forms:—

'Give heed to the bishop, that God also may give heed to you. I pledge my soul for theirs who are subject to the bishop, presbyters, and deacons. Let my part in God be with them, (*ad Polyc.*) Let all reverence the deacons as Jesus Christ; and the bishop as though he were the son of the Father, and the presbyters as the Sanhedrim of God, and as though they were the company of the apostles. Without these the name of church does not exist.' (*ad Trall.*) 'Let us be careful that we do not set ourselves against the bishop, that we may be subject unto God. It is evident that we ought to look upon the bishop even as upon the Lord himself.' (*ad Ephes.*) 'In whom (Sotio the deacon) I rejoice; because he is subject to his bishop as to the grace of God, and to the presbytery as to the law of Jesus Christ.'—'It will become you to yield all reverence to him (the bishop) according to the power of God the Father. Do nothing without the bishop and the presbyters. Do not endeavour to let anything appear rational to yourselves, apart Be subject to your bishop.' (*ad Magn.*) 'Without your bishop, you should do nothing: also, be subject to your presbyters as to the apostles of Jesus Christ.

He who does anything without the bishop, the presbyters, and the deacons, is not pure in his conscience.' (*ad Trall*).

According to this doctrine the contemporary Corinthian Christians were not a church of Christ. It is no wonder that these strange and almost ludicrous effusions should be regarded by many writers of great weight as deeply affecting the genuineness even of the shorter forms. Jortin says that,—

'Though preferable (to the longer), he is not prepared to say that they have undergone no alteration'. (*Remarks*, vol. 1. 361.)

Mosheim pronounces

'The whole question relating to the epistles of St. Ignatius, in general, to be embarrassed with many difficulties.' (*Hist.* vol. 1. c. 2.)

Campbell says,—

'It would not be easy to say, how we could with safety found a decision in an author with whose works transcribers, in the judgment of both sides, have made so free.' (*Lect* VI.).

The Episcopalian writer in the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana* before quoted, remarks:

'It is by no means clear that the imposture practised on what we call the *Interpolated Epistles*, was not an after-attempt to carry too far what had been more sparingly, and more successfully effected in the *Shorter Epistles*, so that the genuine epistles themselves have been tampered with. The temptation to such a proceeding was strong, and there are certainly not a few internal marks that it was practised.' (*vol.* x. p. 764.).

Neander represents these letters as

'Interpolated by some one who was prejudiced in favour of the hierarchy.' (*Allg. Geschicht. Bd.* 1. *Abt.* 2.)

Among others who have regarded the epistles ascribed to Ignatius as spurious, or as corrupted in order to support hierarchical pretensions, are Ernesti, Salmasius, Blondel, Daillé Semler, Griesbach, Schmidt, Baumgarten, and Hase. We may add that, contrary to the usage of the first two or three centuries, the term *church* is used in these epistles in relation to a province or nation. They repeatedly speak of '*the church which is in Syria*;' an expression which certainly has no parallel in the New Testament; nor, as we believe, in any other work before Cyprian, who once employs it in a similar manner. It is singular, considering the contents of the others, that, in the epistle to the Romans, there is no single allusion to the bishop or any other church officer, with the sole exception, hardly to be called such, that Ignatius once speaks of himself as '*bishop of Syria*.'

Notwithstanding this latter fact, we must remark, before dismissing Ignatius, that these epistles will serve Mr. Boyd but

indifferently as a prop to *diocesan* episcopacy. Ignatius's bishop is indisputably the chief pastor of a local Christian community. His power is neither exclusive of the presbyters, deacons, nor people. The church at Smyrna sends Burrhus as its messenger. The Philadelphians are exhorted to elect a delegate, a deacon, to go to Antioch: (the larger form has it 'bishop.') 'Where the Bishop is,' says Ignatius, 'there,' it is said, 'must be the people.' 'You ought to do nothing without the bishop. Where the pastor is, there, as sheep, do ye follow him.' 'If the prayer of one or two have so much force, how much more efficacious must that be which is made by the bishop and the whole church.* 'Let your assemblies be held more frequently,' says the epistle to Polycarp: 'Seek out all by name.' We would ask whether such representations of the functions of a bishop accord with the position of a diocesan prelate, the supreme over many churches, but the pastor of none. Could such duties as are involved in the congregational or parochial episcopate of Ignatius have been discharged by a modern prelate, the bishop of Derry for instance, with whose cathedral Mr. Boyd is connected? Such a bishop as Ignatius describes, would, if absent, have required a substitute to attend to the flock among whom he lived and laboured: but, if we mistake not, a bishop of Derry, in recent times, who was an English peer, could reside on the continent, exercising only the episcopal function of drawing the revenues of the richest bishopric in Ireland. We have, even at much later periods than that of Ignatius, similar allusions to the local and congregational duties of the 'bishop.' From Origen, Tertullian, and Justin Martyr, we learn that he preached, prayed, administered the eucharist, and baptised; superintended the christian poor, the orphans and widows, the sick, prisoners, and strangers; and acted as the almoner of the society.† Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, knew every one of the people of his charge.‡ In short, it cannot fairly be doubted that the rise of episcopacy was gradual; and that the first form in which it appeared was congregational or parochial. Least of all have we any satisfactory evidence of divine right for episcopacy, or indeed for the details of any other form of church government.

In the chapter on the testimony of the Fathers, Mr. Boyd passes but lightly over the epistle to the Philippians by Polycarp, the disciple of St. John; remarking that 'its inscription bears evidence to the fact that he was not a simple presbyter endowed with congregational oversight.' This epistle, which was

* Vid. ad Trall.—ad Smyrn.—ad Philad.—ad Ephes. etc.

† Vid. Orig. in Ezek. Hom. 3.—Tertull. de Bapt.—Justin Martyr. Apol. 2. ‡ Epist. 58.

written soon after the time of Ignatius, is entitled : ‘ From Polycarp and the Presbyters with him, to the church of God dwelling (παροικίῳ, cognate with *parish*) at Philippi :’ language which implies certainly that Polycarp took the lead in the church at Smyrna, of which indeed there is little doubt that he was the ‘angel’ mentioned in the apocalyptic epistle. But what might be the *nature* of his superiority to the other presbyters, could scarcely be determined by this inscription ; for such language is perfectly compatible with the principle before stated, on which a certain kind of precedence might arise among co-pastors in a church, without necessarily involving a difference of *order*, marked by specific ordination, or by authoritative and exclusive peculiarity of function. Certain it is that, in this epistle, we get back again to language far more in harmony with that of the New Testament ; and its general tendency on the controversy is the same as that of the epistle of Clement. The latter uses only the terms ἐπίσκοποι καὶ διάκονοι, bishops and deacons ; while Polycarp uses only πρεσβύτεροι καὶ διάκονοι, elders and deacons ; agreeably, in both cases, with the usage of the New Testament, in which presbyters and bishops are one and the same. More than half a century earlier, the apostle Paul had written his epistle to the joint church-officers at Philippi, under the name of ‘bishops and deacons :’ Polycarp now writes to the same church, addressing the officers as ‘*presbyters* and deacons ;’ and neither St. Paul nor Polycarp has left us any trace of inequality among the pastors, not even of that kind which, as we have seen, might so easily arise by seniority or fitness, without the broad official mark of authoritative distinction for which Mr. Boyd contends. In Polycarp’s letter, the duties and qualifications of the presbyters and deacons are separately treated of ; and in the ancient Latin version of that part of the Greek original which is lost, the delinquency of a presbyter is feelingly alluded to* ; but nothing is said, throughout the epistle, of any superior officer. The duties of the Christian body are also continually brought forward ; and they are *once* solemnly exhorted to ‘be subject to the presbyters and deacons.’ Had there existed in this church any *supreme* presbyter, would not the regard due to him have been inculcated in like manner ? Would this omission, which also occurs in the epistle of Clement, have been found in later times, when the ecclesiastical spirit had gained the ascendant ? For aught that appears in either of these two valuable documents, the co-pastors of Corinth and Philippi may have been on an entire equality. If in either, or

* Contristatus sum pro Valente, qui factus est aliquando apud vos presbyter, etc.—*Polycarp. Epistol. cum Annotat.* Oxon. 1709.

both cases, there was a senior or leading pastor, it is evident that his position in the church was not such as to require a special recognition. That the practice of conceding a certain superiority to one among several pastors did gradually prevail, we have already admitted; and by the end of the second century the episcopal principle of three orders in the ministry, growing out of this circumstance, undoubtedly became general; but we have certainly no sign, as yet, even of its earliest germ at Corinth or Philippi.

Mr. Boyd next examines Irenæus, and Tertullian. Irenæus, who belonged to the close of the second century, and was bishop of Lyons, while he sometimes uses the names *bishop* and *presbyter* as wholly synonymous (Adv. Hæres. iv. 26), no doubt, elsewhere distinguishes the bishop from the presbyters. He does so very singularly in reference to Paul's interview with the Ephesian elders at Miletus; saying that the persons whom Paul called together were 'bishops' and 'elders.' (*convocatis in Mileto episcopis et presbyteris.*) Now, in the Acts (xx. 17) it is certain that elders only are mentioned, and they are the elders of Ephesus. (*πίμψας εἰς Ἐφεσον, μετακαλίσατο τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τῆς ἐκκλησίας.*) Mr. Boyd does not allude to the statement of Irenæus (iii. 14); and unless it can be shown that the church officers of some other church or churches were present, of which there is no evidence, we do not see how it would have helped him; for to have had more than one episcopal bishop of Ephesus, would surely be to Mr. Boyd an abomination. Again, in his epistle to Victor, of Rome, of which Eusebius has preserved fragments, Irenæus, having enunciated several of Victor's predecessors, calls them all, together with Victor himself, by the name of 'presbyters.' (*οἱ πρὸ σοῦ πρεσβύτεροι.* Euseb. v. 24.) This varied usage of Irenæus is such as might easily take place, previously to the full and final development of episcopacy. Eusebius records, that when the churches of Gaul sent Irenæus himself to Rome, and gave him a letter of recommendation, the highest title which they bestowed on him was that of '*a presbyter of the church*' (*πρεσβύτερον ἐκκλησίας*) and the presbyters spoke of him as a 'brother and colleague.' On this fact, let us hear an episcopalian of no less name than Stillingfleet:

'It seems very improbable that they should make use of the lowest name of honour, then appropriated to subject presbyters, if they had looked on a superior order above those presbyters as of divine institution, and thought there had been so great a distance between a bishop and subject presbyters, as we are made to believe there was; which is as if the master of a college in one university should be sent by the fellows of his society to the heads of another, and should, in his commendatory letters to them, be styled a senior

fellow of that house. Would not any one that read this imagine that there was no difference between a senior fellow and a master, but only a primacy of order; that he was the first of the number, without any power over the rest?' (*Irenicum*, p. 311.)

The passage which our author quotes from Tertullian (who flourished at the end of the second, and in the early part of the third century,) relates to the pretensions of *heretics*; whom he challenges to show the origin of their churches, as the apostolic churches showed *theirs*, by tracing them back to the individuals to whom the apostles first intrusted the superintendence over their doctrine and discipline:

'Let them declare the original of their churches, let them exhibit the order of their bishops so running down from the beginning by successions, that their first bishop had one of the apostles or apostolic men for his ordainer and predecessor: for in this manner it is that apostolic churches carry down their reckonings.' (*De Prescript. Heret.*, c. 32.) 'It is almost unfeeling,' says Mr. Boyd, 'towards the impugnors of the divine right of episcopacy, and the descendants of the innovators of the sixteenth century, to pause over a passage such as this, which shows diocesan episcopacy planted in several churches by apostolic wisdom, and which pronounces it a thing more than suspicious for a church to want an episcopal succession.'

Reluctant, however, as our author kindly is to 'slay the slain,' he still summons up nerve enough to give to his opponents the *coup de grace*, by deducing from this testimony, 'the stringency of which,' he says, they 'would not see: first, that Tertullian's bishop is a *prelate*; secondly, that *diocesan episcopacy has the sanction of the apostles*; thirdly, that bishops are *necessary for the preservation of the apostolical succession*; and fourthly, that 'whatever difference existed in Tertullian's days, between bishops and presbyters, was by *divine right*.' Now may we not ask, what do Tertullian's statements really assert? We reply, they assert this: that while the orthodox churches could be traced up to the apostles through the succession of ministers who had laboured in them, the heretical churches had sprung off as collateral branches. We say nothing, here, of Tertullian's argument, proving the present orthodoxy of a church by that of its original founders (and Tertullian held some strange notions in his day): but the question still returns, what were these bishops? especially, what were they originally? Some of them may have been the single pastors of the churches. The bare *fact* that there had been a succession of orthodox pastors back to the times of the apostles, whether these pastors were one or more, surely cannot prove three orders in the apostolic church! That in the age of Tertullian, there was a distinction between the bishop and the presbyters, we do not doubt; but as we have

seen already, we have the authority of Bishop Kaye, the recent learned commentator on this father, for maintaining that his writings afford us little assistance in ascertaining wherein this distinction consisted.' Tertullian does not specify the powers which were exercised by the 'bishops' of whom he speaks in such a way as that we can judge how far they were of a superior order to presbyters. He says: 'In our assemblies, the senior tried men (*probati quique seniores*) preside, having obtained this honour by their publicly acknowledged merit.' (*Apol. c. 39.*) Bishop Kaye remarks: 'Tertullian appears to speak of the presidentship as conferred solely in consideration of superior age and piety' (On Tert. p. 223.) Under the above name, '*seniors*,' Tertullian appears to include, as Neander observes, both bishops and presbyters. Archbishop Usher, in his 'Reduced Scheme of Episcopacy,' quotes the same passage; and remarks that these elders 'were no other, as he (Tertullian) intimates elsewhere, (de Coron. Milit. c. 3) but those from whose hands they used to receive the sacrament of the Eucharist.' What evidence we have here of 'diocesan episcopacy,' it is not easy to imagine: as distinguished from that which may be called congregational or parochial, it appears to have been of the growth of the third century. The term 'prelate,' too, in such a sense as would suit the purpose of Mr. Boyd, is by no means justified by anything which we learn of the distinct functions of a bishop from Tertullian. As for divine right, Paley says: 'The divine right of kings is like the divine right of constables;' so we would say, 'the divine right of bishops (in the ecclesiastical sense) is like the divine right of beadles with staves and cocked hats.' The point to be determined is, do they answer a good and useful end on general principles? As for 'apostolical succession,' we think it about as tangible a thing, and about as easy to be proved, in the case of bishops, as of parish-clerks. We should like to know how far Mr. Boyd's reverence for the episcopal order would be put to the test by what Archbishop Whately, of his own Irish church, says on this and the cognate subjects. And as for the idea that bishops are necessary for the 'preservation of the apostolical succession;' it might as well be said that such popes as Boniface the Sixth, John the Twelfth, Benedict the Ninth, or Alexander the Sixth, are necessary as the patrons and conveyancers of pure morals; or that Bonner and Gardiner were necessary as reservoirs of charity and brotherly love! 'As Tertullian,' to use the words of Neander, 'stands, in many respects, at the point which separates between the old and the new time of the Christian church,' we shall not follow Mr. Boyd further down the stream of ecclesiastical history, which only becomes more turbid and devious as it advances; though we could still

corroborate, as we believe, the views which we have taken above. We will only add, that none of our author's references to Clement of Alexandria, throw any further light on the subject: they do not show wherein the distinction between the bishop and the presbyters consisted. Under Cyprian, who flourished about the middle of the third century, a new scene is developed; and, in him, we see the monarchico-ecclesiastical principle struggling amain for ascendancy. Still, even then, the rights of the Christian assembly were far enough from being merged under the authority of the higher clergy, as in later times, and as they now remain. What would Mr. Boyd think of his own diocesan, were he to propose to follow Cyprian's example, and that of the church at Carthage, in matters of discipline? We find that, in this church, offences were judged of by the people; and that the popular principle which had been handed down from the apostolic epistles, still maintained its existence, as might be shown by many references.*

In the chapter on 'Apostolic Succession,' Mr. Boyd charges the adherents to the 'Scottish and Continental schisms' with inconsistency in adopting the rite of ordination at all. The 'succession' is interrupted, so far as schismatics are concerned, it seems; and the rise of Calvin in Geneva, and of Knox in Scotland, dated the 'commencement of a course of schism which has only become more perplexed as it has extended.' We thought it a great chance if our author's opponents were so fortunate as to get off without having a good charge fired at them from what the witty Vincent Alsop calls the 'ecclesiastical culverine of schism, which, being overcharged, and ill managed, recoils, and hurts the canoneer; so that he who undertakes to play this great gun had need be very careful and sponge it well, lest it fire home.†' We would take the liberty of advising Mr. Boyd to study carefully the New Testament, with the view of ascertaining the scripture doctrine on the subject of schism, and whether there is no danger of falling into this sin by enacting terms of communion in the church which Christ and his apostles have not enacted, and by *unchurching* all non-episcopalian Christendom, leaving the true church to be found only among Anglicans and Romanists. As to ordination, Mr. Boyd is in error if he supposes, as he appears to do, that dissenters from his church believe that they can *make ministers* by this rite, in the sense in which he declares that 'true bishops, despite of their personal characters, can make bishops.' So far as our

* Vid. Cypr. Epist. 28. § 2. 59. § 1. 40. § 4. 55. § 16. 72. § 3. 6. § 5, etc.

† *Melius Inquirend.* p. 209.

experience reaches, dissenters regard ordination as a most decent order; a public recognition, on which, if devoutly gaged in, the blessing of the Head of the church may be laid for; but they are far from believing that it confers any powers, or that it can, in any sense, *make a minister*.

Our readers will be somewhat surprised, perhaps amused, to be informed that Mr. Boyd, being obliged to admit the fact that the popular ingredient which existed in the primitive church states that 'the people's province of testifying for or against appointment' to the ministry, is 'still conceded to them in the church of England.' We really should have been much obliged had we been favoured with examples in proof! It was this point, the right of the people to reject the imposition of a minister on them by patrons, which has justly occasioned that memorable and pregnant event, the disruption of the church of England. At this crisis, the Scottish ministers acted nobly in the lead: but on the subject of the rights of the Christian people, the clergy of the church of England are still silent death! We can only afford space to add a few facts from antiquity in reference to these rights during the first three centuries. When Anterus, bishop of Rome, died, about A.D. 465, Eusebius says (vi. 28), all the brethren met together in church in order to choose his successor. Clement of Rome, nearly a century and a half earlier, calls acts of discipline 'things ordered by the multitude' (τὰ προτασσόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ πλῃ Epist. ad Cor.) In Cyprian's time, questions respecting 'reigning the lapsed,' divisions in the church, and acts of discipline in general, were decided by the people; as may be seen in references in a former page. The bishop was elected by the whole church. (Cypr. Epist. 67, § 2; 68, § 6; Euseb. vi. 28.) Cyprian expressly says, that he was made bishop at Carthage 'by the suffrage of all the people.' (Epist. 55, § 6, 7; and 56, § 1.) Alexander was chosen bishop of Jerusalem by the people and the bishops of the neighbourhood gave their approval (Euseb. vi. 11; Cypr. Epist. 68, § 6.) The people were consulted in the ordination of any person of their body. (Cypr. Epist. 68, § 4; Epist. 33.) Clement of Rome testifies that the apostles ordained bishops and deacons 'with the approbation of the whole church.' (συνευδοκησάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας πρὸς Epist. ad Cor.) The ordination service was conducted by the neighbouring bishops; and we read of as many as sixteen being present at the settlement of a brother. (Cypr. Epist. 53, § 1; comp. 55, § 12, and 52, § 16; comp. 55, § 12.) We think our author would find it hard to show that these could have been diocesans. We may learn what some of these bishops were likely to be from other passages. Thus: Paulus Sam

tenus, the heretical bishop of Antioch, in the third century, we are told by Eusebius, refused to give up the 'house of the church;' and that he had many flatterers among the 'bishops of the adjacent country places and cities.' (τῶν ὁμόρων ἀγρῶν τε καὶ πόλεων. Euseb. vi. 28; vii. 30.) Zoticus was bishop of the village, or small town of Comane (ἀπο Κομάνης κώμης. Euseb. v. 16. vid. κώμη N. T. passim); and it is probable that many of the eighty-seven bishops assembled at Carthage in the year 258 (Concil. Carthag. ap. Cypr.), were pastors of obscure village churches: for the very names of the places they came from are unknown to geographers. In some instances, as we learn from Justin Martyr (Apol. 2), who wrote about A.D. 140, the congregation, as was naturally to be expected, came partly from the neighbouring rural districts; and all who composed it, both of city and country, met together; and the '*bishop preached, and administered the Eucharist.*' Now whatever proof these passages afford that, in many places, the term 'bishop' must have been applied to the single minister of a congregation, and in others to one of the ministers who had acquired some kind of precedence by the concession of his brethren, (little, as it appears, in the first ages, in what that precedence consisted): at all events, we are at a loss to see how Mr. Boyd can reconcile many of these facts with diocesan episcopacy, as it afterwards existed, and still remains.

We must state, however, that while we reject the doctrine of the divine right of the episcopal form of church-government, as existing in the three orders of the clergy, and in the presidency of one supreme head over many separate and distant churches; and while we deprecate the absorption of the rights of the Christian assembly by the clergy: we are far from allowing the claim of divine right for the details of any other form of the church as actually administered. We agree with the opinion expressed in Hinds's 'Early Church,' that, in the New Testament, 'principles are given, but no specific rules.' That one form of church-order may be more consonant with those principles than another, we fully believe: but of this consonance, of course, every body of Christians must judge for itself. Into the question relating to the best system, we do not now enter. We are not engaging here in any quarrel with episcopacy as such, not even with that which is diocesan. What we deny is the divine right. Politically, and as citizens, we would say: let those who judge it proper to follow episcopacy for themselves, do so; without demanding that Christians who differ in opinion from them should be compelled, in any way, to support a form of the church from which they dissent; and without inflicting upon such any pains, penalties, privations, or disadvantages, on account of this difference. As Christians, we would say: we are sorry that any one

form of government should be insisted on, to the extent of making it essential to the genuineness and visible unity of the church of Christ; and that we believe, most conscientiously, that whoever does so, holding no fellowship with those who differ from him, and perhaps being accessory to their persecution, is the true *schismatic* of the New Testament. We can only hope that such mistaken professors of Christ's religion, are guilty of this utter violation of its whole genius through sheer ignorance and narrowness of soul. The episcopal church is to them *the church*: it bounds their whole horizon; and their vision is too dim to see any fair fields beyond its pale. About seventy millions profess protestantism in Europe and America; and, nevertheless, there are those who would confine the vineyard of God within the narrow limits of the Anglican church! The apostle Paul, in reference to his persecution of the disciples of Christ, states that he 'obtained mercy because he did it ignorantly, and in unbelief:' let us hope that our prejudiced and bigotted protestant brethren act in equal error; and that so great a sin as wilful hostility to Christians of all other denominations, may not be laid to their charge!

The remainder of our remarks must be confined to Mr. Boyd's chapter on the 'Monarch's Headship.' We quote the introduction to it as furnishing a specimen of the author's manner:

'The connexion of the civil power with the ecclesiastical, or as dissenters please to term it, the headship of the sovereign over the church, is a feature in the church of England as an establishment, on which our opponents rejoice to bestow a generous share of their vituperation. There is scarcely an insulting term in the vocabulary of invective which has not been employed in the work of convicting the church of voluntary slavery. It will be found that the tyranny whereby she is said to be oppressed, lives but in the willing and warm imaginations of those whose interest it is to malign her, or whose discontent and jealousy are roused into action by the contemplation of her superior advantages. The dignity of her position, the extent of her influence, the mating of her chief ecclesiastics with the nobles of the greatest empire in the world, the deference paid to religion in her person by assigning her prelates a seat in the legislature of the nation—all these are incentives to envy, and we know it is the infirmity of envy 'to hate the excellence it cannot reach.'

From the general spirit which we have observed to pervade Mr. Boyd's work, it would be useless, we apprehend, to attempt to convince him, and those who sympathize in his views and tone, that he does injustice to multitudes of pious men, both of past and present times, in imputing their objections to the church of England as allied with the civil government to

nothing better than 'envy.' For, unfortunately, the charity which 'thinketh no evil,' does not appear to form any very conspicuous portion of Mr. Boyd's creed. It is said of the patriarchs that, 'if they had been mindful of the country whence they came out, they might have had opportunity to have returned: but now they desire a better.' It is to be supposed that if those who have, for centuries, dissented from the episcopal church in this country, whether of England or formerly of Rome, had been so envious of its privileges and distinctions, they would by this time have returned to its fold. But if it be true that the established church is so likely to awaken 'envy' in the bosoms of those who belong to other communions, we would wish to ask whether this is not, in itself, a proof that there is something wrong in it? When we read, in the New Testament, of the labours of Christ and his apostles, in the formation of the first Christian churches, and contemplate the whole result, we see nothing that is calculated to excite any of those passions which are blended with worldly self-interest. What sort of envy did the churches in Judæa, Galilee, and Samaria, stir up in the minds of men, when they 'walked in the fear of the Lord, and the comfort of the Holy Ghost?' What sort of envy would be excited by those ministers whose main distinction was expressed in the exhortation: 'watch thou in all things; endure afflictions; do the work of an evangelist; make full proof of thy ministry?' The kingdom which is 'not of this world,' is little likely to produce envy of its privileges in the minds of those that are 'without;' for this would induce them to become members of it, and to share in it. In fact it is, no doubt, a grand objection to all state-alliances of the church, that they involve more or less of plain injustice. The state says, and must say, when she patronises and endows any one form of the church: 'you who are of other communions may be very sincere, and possibly your opinions may be the true ones; but this is not and cannot be our concern; we hold out a *bonus* to those who belong to our church, and all others must submit to pay their share of its cost, without deriving the advantages from it which its own adherents do.' Now when we look at the question of church-establishments in this point of view, a point of view which is undoubtedly a legitimate one, we are at once led to ask, what is the great and preponderating advantage of the alliance, by which what appears on the face of it a piece of political injustice, is to be counterbalanced? Mr. Boyd, however, states that he is 'not now considering the expediency of religious establishments, or determining whether religion would best take hold of a country when left to its native power, or clad in the influence derived from national recognition:' he merely wishes, he says, to show

that 'the acts of the sovereign are not spiritual, that spiritual acts are done by the church itself, although the monarch abandoned the religion of the cross.' But in what light our author would view the measure of leaving the episcopal church, like the other churches in England, to provide for her own increasing wants, and to trust to her own resources, leaning no longer on the arm of the monarch, is of course evident enough :—

'Shorn of temporal power, she would still subsist amid the horrors of national defection and the ruins of national greatness, a maintainer of apostolic institutions. But we have perused the records of Christianity to no purpose, and compared vainly the condition of England as a Christian nation with that of any other nation in the world, if we see not reason to admire that wisdom which has profited by the experience of the past, and placed two such mighty powers as the state and the church in such happy relation to each other, that an equipoise is maintained without violence, and reciprocal benefits extended and received, without sacrilege on the one hand, or subserviency and compromise on the other. In the hasty consideration of this subject there is one point perpetually overlooked. When men speak of the encroachments of the state and the rights of the church, they picture to themselves two distinct bodies radically separate from each other. The facts are different. For the most part, the same individuals who compose the state also compose the church. The two parties consist of the same persons, only appearing in different characters. As members of the church they appear as religionists; as members of the state, as citizens.'

It is obvious that the very idea of such a state of things as a severance of the tie which now binds the episcopal church to the monarch's throne, fills our author's imagination with undefined images of terror. He appears to see nothing in the contemplation but religious apostacy and political ruin. But it is quite easy to conceive that the progress of public opinion, and of more spiritual views and feelings with regard to what religion truly is, in those who profess it, together with long experience of the difficulties in which the principle of state-patronage cannot but involve the government, may at last, in course of time, peaceably bring about even this change. Many churchmen have of late felt what they never did before on this subject, in consequence of the Maynooth Bill. Though conscientiously attached to the protestant establishment as it is, they have been ready to say, and they have said: 'If the endowment of the Romish priesthood in Ireland is to be the price which must be paid for the retention of our own state-connexion, let that connexion be dissolved.' We are but in the beginning, as yet, of the altered policy of the government. One thing is evident—that the

government no longer pretends, in the United Kingdom, to endow religion as protestant truth merely: the principle on which endowments are likely henceforth to proceed, is wholly that of expediency. The state has, in England, been connected with protestant episcopacy; in Scotland, with presbyterianism; and now the leaders of both parties in parliament, and apparently the great bulk of both houses, are ready to take Romanism into the state-connexion, in Ireland. This is on the principle of endowing the largest denomination: and if political considerations alone were to be regarded, we should say that the system was the only one on which a single privileged state-church ought to be formed. It is evident that the present government, and the present parliament, will rather make Romanism a co-ordinate establishment with the protestant church, in Ireland, (though the Irish have not asked for the boon,) than they will seriously go to the work of laying the axe at the root of Irish discontent, by redressing real civil grievances, and removing ecclesiastical exactions, and inequality, against which the voices of millions have been raised, till they have swollen into the almost universal cry of 'repeal.' We know not what view Mr. Boyd has taken of the turn which the affairs of his country have assumed during the late session of parliament; but we feel assured that nothing has transpired, for many years, which has been so calculated to read a lesson to all candid minds, in regard to the difficulties which beset the theory of continued state-grants for the support of religion. It is clear that this theory can only be carried out in practice, with anything like consistency, and to use a whig-phrase, *finality*, by endowing all. For, otherwise, endowments must continually vary with the ascendancy of parties; and, even then, justice to all will not be done; since the fact of a religious denomination being in the minority, is no fair ground for its not having equal privileges with others. The principle, then, of endowing religion by the state evidently tends, in the course of ages, to the endowment of all, even the most heterogeneous and opposite sects. Hence we see this principle extensively obtaining in some parts of the continent. But what is the natural effect, on the popular mind, of the union of the state with various and conflicting creeds—of Judaism and Christianity, Romanism and Protestantism, Unitarianism and Orthodoxy? Surely such multiform alliances must tend to produce the impression, in the popular mind, that there is no *objective* truth in religion, and that one creed is as good as another. Yet this is the only principle on which the state can act without inflicting injustice on all who are not of the favoured sects. We are aware that the evil tendency of endowing all opinions is denied: but we are by no means convinced,

by any argument which we have heard in favour of this principle, that it is reconcilable with any thing like a healthy state of religion in a country.

But Mr. Boyd sees in the vision of a church 'shorn of temporal power,' the 'horrors of national defection;' by which we suppose he means apostacy. Now we feel little less difficulty in realising the idea which we understand our author here to mean, than in realising the idea of a 'national conscience,' of which so much has been said in some quarters of late. Apostacy from the faith of Christ must be the act of the individual; as 'conscience' must be the attribute of an individual mind. Apostacy can only become national when the bulk of a nation, or at least the major part of its inhabitants, are guilty of renouncing the faith of Christ, just as we can only, with propriety, speak of the 'national conscience' when we mean the moral sentiment of the greater part of the people on some question of duty. Mr. Boyd, however, furnishes a probable key to what he means by 'national defection,' when he proceeds to assert that 'the same individuals, for the most part, compose both the church and the state: they only appear in different characters.' This we know is the theory of our established church, and a strange theory it is. The Anglican church is the established church of Ireland: but, in that country, what a fraction of the members of the state does she comprise! Even in England, what a vast body of the people are found without the pale of the establishment! But suppose that the church of England were the sole spiritual curator of all the inhabitants of both countries; that the domain of souls was all her own; and that she could say, like the mariner on the desert island, with none to dispute her reign, 'I am monarch of all I survey:' what are we to think of the principle that the church and the state are one? Will it be affirmed that by so saying, nothing more is meant than the fact that all would then be nominally her members? Does she not then pronounce them 'members of *Christ*, children of *God*, and inheritors of the *kingdom of heaven*?' Here then is one grand evil which has attached to all the established churches we have ever heard of: they have all, more or less, been wont to identify the church with the state. If this has been less the case with the church of Scotland than with some other churches; if, at all events, she has not uttered this theory in the same way as her loftier sister of England has done, it is that she was at the outset more of a reformed church; and the fruits of that reformation have been evident, inasmuch as that she has recently exhibited the memorable spectacle of a vast body of her sons feeling compelled, for conscience' sake, to relinquish all the privileges of her connexion with the state. But how can Mr. Boyd

reconcile with the New Testament his principle of regarding the state and the church as commensurate? He will surely gain nothing by saying that the church of England does not profess to be the church of Christ—even were this the fact. But she does profess it. She avows that all her children are members of Christ; and she pronounces every one whom she buries, be he who or what he may, a 'dear brother, who has died in 'sure and certain hope.'

We must leave our author to harmonize his theory of the church with that model of discipline which we find so plainly exhibited in the writings of the evangelists and the apostles; whatever latitude they may, by their silence on the subject, have left to the *minutiae* of form and order. Failing, as we have endeavoured to show he has done, in his attempt to set up the claim of divine right for episcopacy, we must, in taking leave of him, do him the justice to say that his work is characterized by great industry and research, and by considerable learning. He has explored the Fathers with commendable care, and has spared no pains in the selection of passages. He has, also, shown great tact and judgment in his mode of putting his arguments; and he does not appear to have implicitly followed the method of any of his predecessors in the same path: he has thought and reasoned for himself. We cannot, indeed, commend the spirit in which he has written: it is by no means sufficiently respectful and candid towards his opponents. We believe that, in the diocese of Derry, there is a proportion of presbyterians to Anglicans of full two to one, and Mr. Boyd writes, in this controversy, like a man who feels annoyed at having disagreeable neighbours, whom he would like much better at a distance. But as to the skill and adroitness with which he has laboured to uphold (what we trust we have shown to be an untenable position) the divine and exclusive right of one particular form of the church, there is nothing to desiderate; however little impression this doctrine has made in quarters where Mr. Boyd would wish it to prevail. That *statesmen*, in general, have ceased to be much swayed by any such principle, from the time of King James and Lord Bacon, downwards, is evident; and it seems that our present statesmen bid fair to go still further in the same direction, by discarding in a more decisive way than before, any peculiar claim to state-alliance on the score of doctrine, or of protestantism itself. Come what may, therefore, it would appear that the united church of England and Ireland is no longer likely to retain her proud and exclusive position as the 'lady of kingdoms;' but if her divine right as episcopal, and as entitled to the 'headship of the monarch,' could have been identified with

what is truly divine in her reformed doctrines, she would not have needed a better champion than our author :

Si Pergama dextra
Defendi possent, etiam hac defendi fuissent :

and the most devoted advocates of things ecclesiastical *as they are*, might have given to the winds all forebodings lest *Fruit Itum* should ever be inscribed on the page of ecclesiastical history.

Art. II. 1. *Alfred, A Drama.* By Sir Coutts Lindsay, Bart. London ; Longman and Co.

2. *England Won, a Poem.* By John G. H. Bourne, formerly of Magdalen College, Oxford, author of the *Exile of Idria*, etc. London ; Longman and Co.

3. *Dramatic Sketches and other Poems.* By the Rev. James Wills, A.M. Author of the 'Disembodied,' etc., etc. Dublin ; Curry and Co.

4. *The Spirit of the Vatican, illustrated by Historical and Dramatic Sketches, etc.* By John Turnley. London ; Cunningham.

5. *Legends of the Isles, and other Poems.* By Charles Mackay, author of the 'Salamandrine,' etc., etc. Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London.

6. *Ballads and Poems.* Greenwich ; Richardson.

7. *The Purgatory of Suicides, a Prison-Rhyme in ten books.* By Thomas Cooper, the Chartist. London ; How.

AMID the whole race of men is there any class so singularly lucky as that of printers ? Most men labour and spend themselves for their own benefit, but there is a large class who spend themselves in purse and person, solely for the benefit of printers, binders, and paper-makers. Three fourths of the books published never remunerate, in any shape, the authors, but it may be safely said that more than one half of them are actual losses to the writers. Of all these authors none are so determinedly blind to their own interests, and apparently bent at their own cost on enriching the captivating tribe of printers, as the writers of verse. Every popular mania besides the poetic mania cures itself, and comes to an end in a tolerably short period. The South Sea Bubble broke, and killed and cured its dupes in a style of good despatch. The Railway mania will ere long do the same ; but the mania of writing in numbers, spite of all awful warnings, draws still such numbers daily into the circle of its fascinations as is quite astounding to contemplate. Every

week and almost every day presents a new candidate for poetic honours, who has to climb and stumble over a heap of dead men, or rather dead books, that would be enough to startle and set thinking any other class of moon-struck mortals. Let any one of these daring men, so prodigal of their time, their energies, and their money, look back, if they can do such a prudent thing, and behold the piles of new poems, so-called, that from year to year and month to month rise to view only to sink as speedily away again into the trunk-makers' and the grocers' clutches, for which good hard cash has been paid to printer and publisher, and which has brought nothing in return for the most exalted hopes, but hard knocks from the critics—and pause ere they add to the fatal number of the disappointed, of the simpletons who have given away their good coin to make the world wide awake to the fact of their failure.

But we write and speak in vain. Every light has its foolish flies that will buzz into it, and go off with singed wings and noses, and none so much as the light of poetry. Of the seven volumes that we have taken from the seventy and seven of recent appearance, and placed at the head of this article, we may most safely predict, that not more than two will pay expenses, and that four at least will be dead losses.

How many times has Alfred been dished up into an epic or a drama; yet here he is again, under the hands of no less than a baronet. John Bourne has given us 'England Won,' that is, a versification of the Norman conquest, and Mr. Wills has gone so far back as Nero, and joined him in his fiddling while Rome was burning. 'The Spirit of the Vatican,' has more apparent reference to our present sympathies. It is, no doubt, in the author's opinion a shrewd hit at the topic of the times, and in truth if it were a blow launched by the arm of genius at the great striving and plotting spirit of popery, might not only be well-timed but most useful. But genius is an endowment as rare as the desire of it is universal, and we are bound honestly to set down these four volumes as *very respectable*.

They are of that class to which there can be but one objection, that they are dull. They are well printed, handsomely bound, ushered into the world under the hands of most respectable publishers, a class of men as soberly awake as the authors are drunken and blinded by the fumes of their own vanity; a class, who would just as soon think of writing verses themselves, as of purchasing any thing in the shape of verse; but are most happy to *publish on commission*. Oh that commission! it is the commission, on the part of authors, of the maddest action that can be committed, next to self-destruction, for it is the suicide of the purse, the fountain of life's ease and family comfort. To say

that there is not talent in any one of these volumes would be too harsh. There is talent, much talent; talent that in a bank, an office, a shop, or a pulpit would win wealth, praise, and satisfaction, for it would be employed for the public good, and the happiness of wives and children; would light the evening lamp, pile the evening fire, bring in the evening tea-tray, and the book, rare of its kind, fraught with the living soul of the real genius, who, if he spend himself to little earthly gain, dies with the consolatory feeling that *his* pangs and poverty have sent into the hearts, and over the hearths of thousands, joy, and the spirit of a great resolve for virtue and humanity. But to the authors of such clever, gentlemanly, regular, mechanical volumes as these, and thousands of such of perpetual growth, these consolations never come, but instead of them, they hear their neighbours whisper, 'He is a bit of a poet;' and feel in their shrinking purses the remorseless finger of the fat and merry publisher.

What is most melancholy in authors of this class, is, that like gold-hunters and gamblers, one loss only spurs them on to effect another. We see it on most of these title-pages stated that they are the authors of still previous works, of which nobody but themselves, their printers, and publishers probably ever heard, as 'The Disembodied,' 'The Exile of Idria,' etc., etc. Mr. Wills has however, figured in Blackwood, in the Dublin Penny Journal, etc., a sufficient testimony that his articles possess some merit. In these media, where it is to be hoped that he was paid for them, they were most respectably and rationally disposed of; the irrational act was in collecting them into a volume, for which the author himself in his preface states that he scarcely expects readers. What, indeed, *do* nine-tenths of the writers of volumes of verse expect? The only *certain* results are mortification and the printer's bill.

Mr. Mackay has, however, claims to a surer circulation. He has sought and has already won it, for he has more in him than the mechanical; he has fancy, feeling, a conception of the great work of the world, human progress for human happiness, and probably with these, powers and qualities that he has yet scarcely shown, or is perhaps conscious of, but which, if he follow that great path of which he shows in this volume that he has got some stirring glimpses, will grow in him till they are too great to remain in him, but must out for God and the world.

Here it is that we come upon the true burden of our theme; on the true sense and object of poets and poetry. Here it is that we come too upon the grand mistake which many of those poetic writers, who really have the 'vision and the faculty divine,' daily commit to their own irreparable loss. The true

poet to seize on the full advantages, and to reap the full reward of his glorious vocation, must work in the better spirit of his time. It is not enough that he can gracefully dally with the flowers, and the breezes by the wayside; that he can feel and make felt the glories of nature, and weave into his lays the beams of sun, and moon, and stars. These the genuine poet must and will recognize in all their beauty, and appropriate them as costly material in building the house of his fame. He will fashion them into a rainbow that shall span the weeping vale of earth, and make it radiant with the hues of heaven, even when darkest with storms. But this is not enough. Man is the grand work of nature, or rather of God; and it is in man, and his destinies and struggles that the poet must find his noblest theme. The true vocation of the poet unquestionably is to animate the human race in its progress from barbarism towards virtue and greatness. He is appointed by Providence to arouse to generous exertion, and to console in distress. There is nothing so full of the elements of poetry as the fortunes and aspirations, and achievements of the vast human family. Its endeavours to escape from the sensual into the intellectual life; its errors, its failures, its sorrows, and its crimes, all are prolific of poetic and dramatic matter of the intensest interest. To guide and encourage humanity in its arduous, but ever onward career; to assist it to tread down despotism and oppression; to give effect to the tears and groans of the suffering; to trumpet abroad wrong in all its shapes; to whisper into the fainting soul the glorious hopes of a still higher existence—these are and have ever been the godlike tasks of the true poet, and therefore has he been styled a prophet, and a priest.

There never was an age in which the magnificent developments of human genius and intellectual energy, in which too the social position of society presented to the mind of the poet such stirring and magnificent themes as the present. We have advanced, in Europe and America at least, out of the first periods of barbarism and semi-barbarism. The religion of Christ has done a great work upon the earth in establishing as civil and as national principles the grand doctrines of human right, and in opening the general mind to the perception of the fact that virtue, happiness, and immortality, go hand in hand. We have uttered our judgment against slavery and war and priestcraft, and have given deep and incurable wounds to those enemies of the earth's repose, if we have not been yet able utterly to remove them to their true place, amongst the monstrosities which are only matter of memory and of wonder. But we see daily in the mind not merely of private society, and

of enlightened men in their writings, but in the mind of nations, and its expression through the press, that the leaven of peace and liberty is fast leavening the whole popular mass in most countries, and will ere long present glorious fruits. The energies which once manifested themselves in war, are now turned into the noble channels of moral investigation and scientific discovery. Steam, electricity, and chemistry are from day to day luminously revolutionizing all our modes of life and manner of thinking. By means of them 'many already run to and fro on the earth, and knowledge is increased.' But still,—there is a vast mountain of ignorance, of prejudices, and of crime and suffering to remove. The very light which is poured upon us only lays more bare to our astonishment, the social evils that have long walked about in the darkness. We see the multitude thronged together in misery, and the few only 'faring sumptuously every day.' With growing knowledge we must have more equable comfort, and means of virtuous and intellectual enjoyment. From factories and pits and dense allies, the weak and young cry out of oppressions that destroy body and soul, and they are the poets with the words of fire and feeling, at the head of preachers, literary and public men, who must be the great prophets of social sympathy, the heralds of justice, and christian kindness between man and man, if they do not desert their heaven-appointed post. One true word from them goes like an electric flash through all the joints and sinews of society. It is on the great subject of human right and christian love that they are only great to their possible extent. By this they seize at once on the whole world, and become famous in the same moment that they are the eternal benefactors of their fellow men. It is not the particular evil which they strike at and destroy, which measures the limits of their benefaction. They propagate a spirit which goes on operating the same moral changes from age to age. By the single poem of 'the Shirt,' Hood acquired more fame than by all the previous labours of twenty years. He became in an instant, the poet of the million, and instead of the smile which had illumined the face of jaded luxury at his puns, ten thousand blessings from the hearts of the wronged and afflicted rose up to heaven on his behalf. What is it that has given to Burns and Ebenezer Elliot, such a living place in the souls of the people. It is because, with all their love of nature, they had a still livelier love of man, and gave utterance to those great truths which became as soon as uttered, the property, the language, and the watchwords of the million in their grand quest after liberty and knowledge.

Let then those who will dally with barren fancy, or loitering on river banks, and in woodland dells, sing to the moon, or

apostrophize the wild flower, or the dewdrop,—the sagacious and the generous will see the great signs of the times; and the truly intellectual will gaze over the whole field of busy and struggling humanity, and pour forth their song of defiance to the banded tyrannies of social convention. They will join in rooting out the still strong evils that oppress our millions, and in the acclamations of grateful men yearning after a better life, in every sense of the word will find their proudest and their most lasting fame.

We are glad to see that Mr. Mackay has a decided tendency towards this true poetic track. The 'Legends of the Isles,' of which nearly the half of this volume consists, though written with great beauty, we leave, therefore, for 'the Voice of the Time;' 'the Death of Pan;' 'the Arriving Train;' 'Real and Ideal, a Colloquy;' 'the Feast of the Despots;' 'the Cry of the People;' 'the Coming Time,' and 'the Old and the New.' These are all imbued with the genuine spirit; they have the prophetic voice in them. Let us hear

THE CRY OF THE PEOPLE.

I.

Our backs are bowed with the exceeding weight
Of toil and sorrow; and our pallid faces
Shrivel before their time. Early and late
We labour in our old accustomed places
Beside our close and melancholy looms;
Or wither in the coal-seams dark and dreary;
Or breathe sick vapours in o'er-crowded rooms;
Or in the healthier fields dig till we weary,
And grow old men ere we have reached our prime,
With scarce a wish but death to ask of Time.

II.

For it is hard to labour night and day,
With sleep-defrauded eyes and temples aching,
To earn the scanty crust, which fails to stay
The hunger of our little ones, that waking
Weep for their daily bread. 'Tis hard to see
The flowrets of our household fade in sadness,
In the dark shadow of our misery.
'Tis hard to have no thought of human gladness,
But one engrossing agony for bread,
To haunt us at our toil and in our bed.

III.

And many of us, worn with age and pain,—
Old withered leaves of men, who, fading, cumber,
Long for that pleasant fosse, six feet by twain,
Impervious to all grief, where we may slumber.

And others of us, more unhappy still,
 Youthful, warm-blooded, with a life to cherish,
 Offer in vain our sinews and our skill,
 For starving recompense, and yet must perish,
 In our young days, and on a fruitful soil,
 Because our food is dearer than our toil.

IV.

Oh, it is bitter-hard to roam the earth,
 Aliens to joy, with sad thoughts overflowing ;
 To hear the young birds carol in their mirth ;
 To feel the sunshine and the warm winds blowing ;
 To see the beauty in the fields and floods ;
 The plenty of the meadows green or golden ;
 The full, fair orchards, redolent of buds,
 And know that we, by a hard fate withholden,
 Must keep our appetites aloof, nor dare
 To taste the stores which happier birds may share.

V.

'Tis hard to know that the increase of wealth
 Makes us no richer, gives us no reliance ;
 And that while ease, and luxury, and health,
 Follow the footsteps of advancing science,
 They shower no benefits on us, cast out
 From the fair highways of the world, to wander
 In dark paths darkly, groping still about,
 And at each turn condemned to rest, and ponder,
 If living be the only aim of life—
 Mere living, purchased by perpetual strife.

VI.

We rise in grief—in grief lie down again ;
 And whither to turn for aid in our deep anguish
 We know not—yet we feel that we are men,
 Born to live out our days, and not to languish
 As if we had no souls ; as if, stone blind,
 We knew not spring was fair ; and that the summer
 Ripened the fruits of earth with influence kind ;
 That harvest ought to be a welcome comer,
 To us and ours ; and that in Nature's face
 Were smiles of joy for all the human race.

VII.

We ask not much. We have no dread of toil ;—
 Too happy we, if labour could provide us,
 Even though we doubled all our sweat and toil,
 Raiment, and food, and sheltering roofs to hide us
 From the damp air, and from the winter's cold ;—
 If we could see our wives contented round us,

And to our arms our little children fold,
 Nor fear that next day's hunger should confound us.
 With joys like these, and one sweet day of rest,
 We would complain no more, but labour, blessed.

VIII.

But these we sigh for all our days in vain,
 And find no remedy where'er we seek it ;—
 Some of us reckless, and grown mad with pain,
 And hungry vengeance, have broke loose to wreak it :—
 Have made huge bonfires of the hoarded corn,
 And died despairing, Some to foreign regions,
 Hopeless of this, have sailed away forlorn,
 To find new homes, and swear a new allegiance.
 But we that stayed behind had no relief,
 No added corn, and no diminished grief.

IX.

And rich men kindly urge us to endure,
 And they will send us clergymen to bless us ;
 And lords who play at cricket with the poor,
 Think they have cured all evils that oppress us.
 And then we think endurance is a crime ;
 That those who wait for justice never gain it,
 And that the multitudes are most sublime,
 When rising armed, they combat to obtain it.
 And dabbling in thick gore as if 'twere dew,
 Seek not alone their rights, but vengeance too.

X.

But these are evil thoughts ; for well we know,
 From the sad history of all times and places,
 That fire, and blood, and social overthrow,
 Lead but to harder grinding of our faces
 When all is over ; so, from strife withdrawn
 We wait in patience through the night of sorrow,
 And watch the far-off glimpses of the dawn,
 That shall assure us of a brighter morrow.
 And meanwhile from the over-burdened sod,
 Our cry of anguish rises up to God.

The spirit of true social philosophy is finely developed in 'the Old and the New,' in which the genius of classical antiquity and of Christianity are made to discuss their peculiar merits and demerits. We regret that we are not able to transcribe this poem, but we may select a few verses. The classical spirit taunts that of Christianity :

Though great thy triumphs, greater still
 The aggregate of human ill ;—

And narrow, narrow is the span
On which, to bless the sons of man,
The tide of effort ever ran.

'Look round the nation, and compare—
Examine, that thou mayest declare
What vast improvement has begun,
And what two thousand years have done
For those that toil beneath the sun,

'The people grovelled in my prime,
They grovel in thy happier time;
And suffering then, they suffer now;
And if I left them slaves, hast thou
Imprinted freedom on their brow?

'Hast thou given virtue to the base,
Or flashed thy knowledge in their face?
Hast thou conveyed to every shore
The tidings thy Messiah bore,
That thou should reign for ever more?

'Hast thou, e'en in the lands most bless'd
With thy refinement, done thy best
To ease the ills thou canst not cure,
To teach the wretched to endure,
And shower thy blessings on the poor?'

'I am but young,' the spirit said;
'But yesterday I raised my head,
And late began to understand—
A mere new comer in the land,
What was expected at my hand.

'Thy mission, unfulfilled by thee,
Has gained some impulses from me;
And every triumph of thy mind,
Not forgotten for mankind,
Has been led further and refined.

'Though narrow yet the sphere of thought,
It has been widened since I wrought;
And every seed that thou hast sown
For human benefit has grown,
And larger leaves and branches thrown,

'Beneath my care, and though dark night
May spread a veil o'er human sight,
I see far off the dawning ray;
I labour to prepare the way,
And watch the coming of the day.'

' And as the spirit spoke, his eyes
 Flashed heavenly fire, and to the skies
 Pointing his hand, he turned to me,
 And said, 'Thou dreamer, wake, and see
 The paradise that earth might be.' "

The great fault of Mr. Mackay's poetry is that it is too often an imitation of that of Alfred Tennyson. Alfred Tennyson has so beautiful and peculiar a music in his versification, that it should not be injured by imitations. Every writer of any power should moreover be too proud to imitate. He should follow his own bent, and aim at establishing a character of his own; but Miss Barrett copies to extravagance Tennyson, and Mr. Mackay seems to copy both Tennyson and Miss Barrett. This should be carefully avoided.

In the last volume on our list we come to a striking illustration of that theory of modern poetry which we have been propounding. Here we have a genuine poem springing out of the spirit of the times, and indeed out of the heart and experience of one who has wrestled with and suffered in it. It is no other than a poem in ten books, by a chartist, and who boldly sets his name and his profession of chartism on the title-page. It is plain that he glories in his political faith more than in his poetry, nay his verse is but the vehicle of that faith. Yet nevertheless it is a vigorous and most efficient vehicle. We must candidly confess that we have read the whole with a feeling of unfeigned astonishment. Mr. William Howitt, in his 'Rural Life of England,' has asserted that it is out of the rich, unploughed ground of the popular mind, that our literature is to look for its renovation; and volumes like this certainly go far to prove that the assertion is a truth.

Thomas Cooper, who was incarcerated at Stafford, and there tried on a charge of inciting the people of the potteries to incendiarism, and condemned to two years imprisonment in the jail of that place, there sits down, and like another John Bunyan, dreams. As to the *truth* of the charge from which he most eloquently defended himself on the trial, we must refer the reader to his own statement by way of preface to the book itself. We believe that he had no desire for, and no conception of the actual results of his fervid appeal to the colliers and potters of Hanley. But the fervour of his address had an effect something like that of John Knox on the Scotch; his hearers were excited to a degree of frenzy; they went away, attacked the house of a clergyman whom they regarded as one of their worst enemies, and, inflamed by the contents of his well-stored cellar, proceeded to outrages that ended in the destruction of several houses, and in the manifest injury of their own cause.

Though we believe that Thomas Cooper is quite innocent of any intentions that such should be the result of his harangue, —we believe him, after reading his volume, to be too sensible and too philosophical a man,—yet we are by no means surprised, having read his poetry, at the effect of his eloquence on the people. It is that of a soul full of thought, full of a burning zeal for liberty, and with a temperament that must and will into action. The man is all bone and sinew. He is one of those '*Terræ filii*,' that England, more than all the other nations of the earth put together, produces. One of the same class as Burns, Ebenezer Elliot, Fox, the Norwich weaver-boy, to say nothing of the Arkwrights, Smeatons, Brindleys, Chantry's, and the like, all rising out of the labour-class into the class of the thinkers and builders up of English greatness. What is moreover singular is, that he is another of the shoemaker craft, that craft which has produced such a host of men of talents—as Hans Sachs, George Fox, Drew, Gifford of the '*Quarterly*,' and others. 'Till three-and-twenty,' he says of himself, 'he bent over the *last* and the *awl*, struggling amidst weak health and deprivation to acquire a knowledge of languages,—and his experience in after life was, at first limited to the humble sphere of a school-master, and never enlarged beyond that of a laborious worker on a newspaper.'

Here, then, we have a striking instance of what are, and are likely to be, the fruits of general education and mechanics' libraries. Genius, freed from the heavy clogs and bonds of ignorance, thus does and will more and more develope itself in the labouring class, and not only distinguish its possessors, but add rich treasures to the national literature. If it were needful to convince us what a mass of information men of this description will glean up, the present volume is a striking evidence of it. The author tells us that he has spent years in mastering languages as the keys of that knowledge which he thirsted after; and the book abounds with proof of the success of his endeavours. He appears to have revelled in history, ancient and modern. His acquirements in this department are quite amazing. It is probably this propensity to historic research which has suggested to him his subject—'*The Purgatory of Suicides*,' certainly a singular one. As a subject, we should say that it is rather curious than poetical; and although he has contrived to invest it with features and circumstances of grandeur, yet we must at the same time declare, that it is not the legitimate matter of the subject, but the introductions to each book, which are the truly poetical portions of the volume. These are full of passion, and sentiment of the highest poetical character. They are, as we have said too, full of the spirit and

tendencies of the present times. They are the actual produce of that spirit and tone of the great mass of the population of this country, which, under the influence of circumstances, good and evil, and of intellectual advance, are so interesting and so important for us to contemplate. They speak out to us what is passing in the depths of the popular mind. We do not hesitate to affirm, that these introductions stamp Thomas Cooper as a genuine poet of a high order. They place him at once beside that man of iron, Ebenezer Elliott. They are fraught with fire, power, tenderness, and a deep spirit of speculation on man and his prospects. We will briefly enumerate these striking exordia. The first is a call on the enslaved to free themselves, couched in terms such only as those who feel the wrongs and the oppressions of life are stimulated to use; and in pursuing the review of which, the poet is tempted to ask himself, 'Is life worth having?' This is the natural prelude to the great theme of his volume; and he soon finds himself voyaging through strange scenes, in company with a host of suicides. Like John Bunyan, he repeats the dream at will, and thus enters into the society of all the celebrated suicides of all ages. It is not till we are led by his demonstrations, that we become fully sensible of what a mighty host the suicidal portion of our race consists, and what a startling number of great names it includes. From the earliest age to the present, and in every country of the globe, men, and some, too, of high genius, fortune, and powers, have laid violent hands on themselves. Sardanapalus, Saul, Zimri, Achitophel, Eleazer Maccabæus, Ajax, Lycurgus, Charondas, Themistocles, Zeno, Demosthenes, Cleombrotus, Appius Claudius, Marc Anthony, Nero, Otho, Maximian, Mithridates, Lucretius, Brutus, Pompey, Lucan, Cato, Curtius, Caius Gracchus, Juba, Hannibal, Apicius, Sophonius Tigellinus, Petronius Arbiter, Atticus the friend of Cicero, Vibius Virius, with Sappho, Dido, Porcia, Arria, the wife of Asdrubal the Carthaginian, and numbers of other women. These names, taken without regard to order of time, and merely as they present themselves to the memory, are but a mere indication of the thousands in ancient times who fled from life by their own hand. The Greek and Roman annals abound with distinguished suicides. In every succeeding period, down to our own day, spite of the grand truths and awful warnings promulgated in Christianity, the case is the same. Pontalba, Villeneuve, Condorcet, Roland, Marshal Berthier, Pétion, Chatterton, Castlereagh, Romilly, Whitbread, etc. These have their numbers swelled to vast hosts by being—

‘ With sages blended,
 Uncrowned, unsceptred, all their haught looks ended,
 With bards, and workers out of human weal,
 And patriots who in lofty deed transcended
 Their fellows. Ghosts of erring zeal
 For faiths fantastic, creeds incomprehensible,

‘ And cruel idol-worship, whom I saw
 Climbing the mount of vanity,—the wild
 Lone dweller in the cave, whose rage with awe
 I witness’d ’mong his snakes—the poet-child
 With his lamenting harp, who wept, exiled
 To forest-solitude,—the tuneful choir
 Of bards who walked the grove—the band who toiled
 For aye, to kindle the fierce fatal fire
 Of soul wherewith France lit the devastating pyre

Of Liberty,—a moiety of the ghosts
 Who idly lay along the beach i’ th’ land
 Of sloth and devastation,—sorrow’s hosts.’—book x. p. 327.

‘ Of every age, and every mortal clime
 They were; and ’twas appalling their array
 To view, and think of nations choosing crime
 Of suicide,—hastening themselves to slay,—
 Rather than be their butcherous brethren’s prey!’—
 book viii. p. 271.

But this awful spectacle has led us from our immediate object. The introduction to the second book is an invocation to the poetic spirits of England, and contains a splendid eulogium on Milton, one of the noblest to be found in any author. The next is an apostrophe to the sun, but turns into a pathetic and beautiful tribute to the author’s mother. The fourth book is opened with a very poetical address to the robin, but speedily turns, as the poor man’s thoughts, especially those of the agricultural labourer now do, from the amenities of nature to the crushing miseries of his condition.

‘ Alas, poor bird! thy lay
 And all its sweetness is forgot; their want
 Of bread hath banished thoughts of Robin’s chaunt:
 The children plenty know no more; and Love
 And Gentleness have fled from hunger’s haunt:—
 Fled is all worship for fair things that rove
 Among fair flowers—worship in young hearts sweetly wove.

Fair Nature charms not; fellowship of song
 And beauty,—germs from which grow, for the good
 Reverence, and for the frail—though wrong—

Pity and tenderness ;—all these the rude
 Chill breath of Want hath stifled in the bud ;
 And beggar quarrels for their scanty crust
 Now fill the bosoms of the lean, dwarfed brood,
 The peasant-father—sprung from sires robust—
 Beholds at home, and wishes he were laid in dust !

Ah ! darling Robin,—thou wilt soon behold
 No homes for poor men on old England's shore :—
 No homes but the vile gaol, or viler fold
 Reared by new rule to herd the ' surplus poor.'—p. 131.

Book the fifth opens with an apostrophe to night, and what is the night to which the mind of the poor is irresistibly turned ? It is not that of the fair moon, and the deep blue vault of heaven brilliant with stars, but the night of short rest from the wheel and the ill-paid loom.

' Darkness ! thy sceptre still maintain,—for thou
 Some scanty sleep to England's slaves dost bring :
 Leicester's starved stockingers their misery now
 Forget ; and Manchester's pale tenderling,—
 The famished factory-child,—its suffering
 A while exchangeth for a pleasant dream !
 Dream on poor infant wretch ! mammon may wring
 From out thy tender heart, at the first gleam
 Of light, the life-drop, and exhaust its feeble stream !'

Book the sixth begins with an execution, and calls forth the anathemas of the poet of the poor on the state of the criminal laws, and on capital punishment. London, with its splendour and its misery, its mammon worshippers and its strange regions of wretchedness and guilt, opens with a powerful but lurid picture the seventh. The commencement of the eighth book is a grand hymn to the progress of knowledge, religious information, and to the glory of the great men who have been the devoted labourers of love and human happiness. This one portion is a superb and beautiful outpouring of a poetry worthy of the highest name in the art, making us almost unjust to its real author, by causing us to forget that he is a poor and self-taught man, the son of a poor woman who

toiled to win her child a crust,
 And fainting, still toiled on.

Book the ninth begins with an address to woman, of equal beauty, and in its first stanzas presents another wringing reality, not uncommon in the life of the poor.

'Tis woman's voice ! woman in wailful grief,
 Joined by her babe's scarce conscious sympathy.
 Thy wife hath come to take her farewell brief,
 Gaunt felon ! Brief and bitter must it be
 For thy babe's mother, since the wide salt sea
 Must roll, for life, its deep, dark gulph between
 Thee, convict, and that form of agony !
 Poor wretched thing ! well may she wail, I ween,
 And wring her hands, and wish that she had never been !
 ' ' Let me have one last kiss of my poor babe ! '
 He saith, and clingeth to the grate. Oh ! how
 The turnkey's answer will his bosom stab !—
 ' Away ! we open not the bars ! ' and lo !
 They push him rudely back ! he may not know
 What baleful bliss it is to clasp a child
 Or wife, ere one must yield them to life's woe.
 Oh ! little had that kiss his grief beguiled,
 But rather, filled his soul with after throes more wild.
 She fainteth ! yet awakes to moan and weep !
 How little didst thou think that smiling morn
 Thou didst, so early and so eager, peep
 Into thy mirror, and thy breast adorn
 With virgin-rose, so soon the sorrow-thorn
 Would there have pierced, and thou, in two short years,
 Would see thy husband in that dress of scorn,
 And thou, a widowed bride, a thing of tears,
 From that stern grate, forlorn, to meet the world's rude jeers !

p. 2

The tenth and last book opens with an invocation to liberty in which, after a scarifying appeal to Lord Brougham, as the author of the New Poor Law Act, by the apt epithet 'Harlequin Demosthenes,' he breaks out into a jubilant assurance of the triumph of freedom. This we must take as the last quotation because it demonstrates the operation of the salutary change of opinion amongst the Chartists, which has led them to abandon the fatal dream of physical force, and to rely like enlightened men, on the omnipotence of moral power and knowledge.

O ! not by changeling, tyrant, tool, or knave,
 Thy march, blest liberty ! can now be stayed !
 The wand of Guttemberg—behold it wave !
 The spell is burst ! the dark enchantments fade
 Of wrinkled ignorance ! 'Twas she betrayed
 Thy first born children, and so oft threw down
 The mounds of Freedom. Lo ! the Book its aid,
 Hath brought ! the feudal serf—though still a clown,
 Doth read ;—and where his sires gave homage, pays,—a frown.

The sinewy artizan,—the weaver lean,—
 The shrunk stockinger,—the miner swarth,—
 Read, think, and feel ; and in their eyes the sheen
 Of burning thought betokens thy young birth
 Within their souls, blythe Liberty ! That earth
 Would thus be kindled from the humble spark,
 Ye caught from him of Mentz, and scattered forth,—
 Faust,—Koster,—Caxton !—not ‘the clerk,’
 Himself could prophecy in your own mid-age dark !
 And yet, O liberty ! these humble toilers,
 The true foundation for thy reign begun.—
 Aye, and while throne-craft decks man’s murderous spoilers,
 While feverous power mocks the weary sun,
 With steed throned effigies of Wellington,
 And columned piles to Nelson,—Labour’s child
 Turns from their haughty forms to muse upon
 The page by their blood-chronicle defiled ;—
 Then, bending o’er his toil, weighs well the record wild.
 Aye, they are thinking,—at the frame and loom,
 At bench, and forge, and in the bowelled mine ;
 And when the scanty hour of rest is come,
 Again they read,—to think and to divine,
 How it hath come to pass, that toil must pine
 While sloth doth revel ;—how the game of blood
 Hath served their tyrants ; how the scheme malign
 Of priests hath crushed them ; and resolve doth bud,
 To band—and to bring back the primal brotherhood.
 What though awhile the braggart-tongued poltroon,
 False demagogue, or hireling base, impede
 The union they affect to aid ? Right soon
 Deep thought to such ‘conspiracy’ shall lead,
 As will result in a successful deed—
Not forceful, but fraternal : for the past
 Hath warned the Million that they must succeed
 By will, and not by war. Yet to hold fast
 Men’s rage when they are starving—’tis a struggle vast !
 A struggle that were vain unless the Book
 Had kindled light within the toiler’s soul,
 And taught him though ’tis difficult to brook
 Contempt and hunger,—yet he must controul
 Revenge, or it will leave him more in thrall.
 The pike,—the brand,—the blaze,—his lesson saith,
 Would leave Old England as they have left Gaul—
 Bondaged to sceptred cunning. Thus their wrath
 The Million quell, but look for right with firmest faith.

p.p. 307—8.

The number of works that we have here brought under review have precluded our giving so much notice of Thomas Cooper as

we think the importance of his volume deserves. Greatly as we estimate the power of the author, we must at the same time state that the work is by no means devoid of faults, on the contrary it is crowded with them, and some of them of a very serious nature. There is a great obscurity frequently in working out the story and the dialogue; an odd jumbling of ancient and modern personages together. The versification is often rude and prosaic in the extreme, betraying great haste, and culpable neglect of retouching and polishing. But what is of far graver moment is the tendency of certain theological opinions, which as a volume likely to fall into the hands of the working and little educated classes we cannot too severely denounce. The author has evidently advanced in his political notions, which though extreme, cannot now be termed unconstitutional. We trust earnestly that he will see cause to revise some of his religious notions, and that if he have occasion to issue a new edition of his poem, it may have the highly desirable benefit of the change.

If he steadily hold on in single-heartedness towards the fount of true wisdom, there can be no question that he has before him not only a certain and high reputation, but what is of far more consequence, may become a real benefactor to his fellow countrymen of the million in their pursuit of sound knowledge and sound liberty.

Art. III.—*The Hexaplar Psalter. The Book of Psalms: Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and English: the Hebrew text after Vanderhooght; the Greek of the Seventy; the vulgate Latin, Jerome's Hebrew Latin; the English liturgical version, and the English authorized version; in six parallel columns.* London: Samuel Bagster and Sons, Paternoster-row.

2. ספר תהלים. *The Book of Psalms, Hebrew and English, arranged in parallel columns.* London: Samuel Bagster and Sons. 1843.

3. *The Interlineary Hebrew and English Psalter. In which the construction of every word is indicated, and the root of each distinguished by the use of hollow and other types.* London: Samuel Bagster and Sons. 1845.

WHEN we remember that, with the exception of Aldus's unique page of Genesis preserved in the *Bibliothèque du Roi* at Paris, the Psalter was the first portion of scripture printed in polyglott, it is surprising that there should have been so

few separate polyglott editions of it subsequent to the commencement of the sixteenth century. This is the more remarkable because the Psalms are, for various reasons, more generally and habitually read than any other portion of the Old Testament; a circumstance which has caused it to be frequently selected as a praxis reading-book in the study of Hebrew. From this cause we have, indeed, numerous *diglotts*, some in Hebrew and Greek, others in Hebrew and Latin, and others in Hebrew and English, or some other modern language; as we have some in which the Hebrew is not included, e.g., the Arabic and Latin of Scionati, and the Syriac and Latin of Dathe. But as far as our memory now serves us, no *separate* polyglott Psalter was published from the date of Hutter's *Psalterium Harmonicum*, in 1602, until the appearance of Messrs. Bagster's *Hexaplar*, whose title we have given above. We do not except the volume containing the Hebrew Psalter, and several versions of it, which the same enterprising publishers issued, we believe, some years since, for this, if published with a separate title, was, in fact, part of their entire polyglott bible. And we omit, for similar reason, the '*Psalterium Davidis et quinque Libri Sapientiales*, Heb., Chald., Lat., and Gr., *fol.*,' published at Paris in 1645, as this was from the Parisian Polyglott of Le Jay.

The first printed polyglott, excepting, as already noticed, the unique leaf, printed by Aldus Manutius, at the very close of the fifteenth century, and which contains the first fifteen verses of Genesis in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, was the Pentaglott, or octaplar Psalter of Agustino Giustiniani, bishop of Nebbio, in Corsica. This was printed in 1576, in medium folio. It was followed in 1518, by one entitled, '*Psalterium in quatuor linguis, Hebræa, Græca, Chaldæa, Latina*,' published at Cologne, in small folio, by John Potken, the editor of the first Ethiopic Psalter in 1513. In 1530 appeared the '*Psalterium Sextuplex. Hebræum, cum tribus Latinis, viz., Divi Hieronymi, R. P. Sanctis Pagnini, et Felicis Pratensis. Græcum septuaginta interpretum, cum Latina vulgata*.' This was printed by Sebastian Gryphius, at Lyons. In 1645, Peter Becker published one at Basel, in 8vo., under the title, '*Psalterium Davidis trilingue. Additis aliquot doctissimorum virorum correctionibus juxta hebraicam veritatem per Petrum Artopœum*.' This Psalter, which, following Münster's first edition, deviates very widely in the Hebrew from the received text, was reprinted in 1548. In 1602, Hutter published his '*Psalterium Harmonicum, Ebraicè Græcè, Latinè, Germanicè*,' at Nuremberg, in 8vo.

Baumgarten in the seventh volume of his '*Nachrichten von merkwürdigen Büchern*, [*Accounts of Remarkable Books*] gives an interesting relation respecting the Pentaglott of Giustiniani.

Having recited the Latin title-page, the printer's colophon, and Gustiniani's dedication to Leo the Tenth, in which he declares that he had prepared the whole Bible in the same way, and that it was his intention to put it to press if the Psalter met with due favour, he adds:—In the *Annali de Genoa per Agostino Giustiniani*, Genoese, Vescovo di Nibbio, Lib. v. p. 224, etc., the author relates very plainly and circumstantially how much he had been deceived in his hope of obtaining some remuneration for the publication of this Psalter. For when, through the interest of Cardinal Santi, his cousin-german, he had, in 1514, been appointed to the Bishopric of Nebbio, in Corsica, he had ordered two thousand copies of this Psalter to be printed on paper, and fifty on vellum, the latter of which he had distributed in presents, without being reimbursed even for the cost of printing, notwithstanding which, he had not been able to sell more than a fourth part of the other copies. That he, therefore, had presented the manuscript of the whole New Testament, which he had prepared in the same manner, with other books, to the Republic of Genoa, and had left the Old Testament uncompleted.

We hope, for Messrs. Bagster's sake, that the cool reception Giustiniani's Polyglott Psalter met with, as described in the preceding account, which so vividly recalls the memory of poor Castell's sufferings and disappointment over his stupendous Heptaglott Lexicon, will not be exemplified again in reference to their new Hexaplar. The progress of sacred learning has doubtless brought with it a large increase in the number of purchasers of such books. It is, indeed, equally true that this age, like all others, runs after what is specious and pleasing, rather than what is solid, and spends its money rather to pamper the imagination, than inform the intellect. Psalters—especially Polyglott Psalters—have, even in this age, so remarkable both for its religion and its utilitarianism, no chance in competition with romances. Messrs. Bagster's perseverance in their peculiar line of publishing intimates, however, that it is not so profitless to them as it was to the Bishop of Nebbio; and we are confident that if their new Polyglott Psalter needs any thing, in addition to its intrinsic merits, to recommend it to public favour, its remarkable cheapness will have that effect.

The Psalter is a Quadruglott, presenting the original Hebrew, the Septuagint, two Latin, and two English versions to view at every opening. We transcribe from the editor's preface his account of the texts and versions selected, with such reasons for the selection as he has thought proper to give:—

'The Hebrew is accurately taken from the edition of Vanderhoogt, 1705, and verified by a comparison with more recent reprints

of that edition, so as to avoid any continuance of typographical errors.

'The Greek exhibits the Vatican text of the Septuagint, as edited by Bos, 1709.

'One of the Latin translations is the Vulgate, the character of which is too well known to require any explanation, but which certainly does not exhibit so close a connection with the Hebrew text as the other Latin version, which is called the *Versio Hebraica Hieronymi*. By means of the former of these, we may gain much help in understanding the Greek translation, from which it was evidently taken; but the Latin is the more close representation of the Hebrew, and, as such, the more valuable as a guide to the translation, and as a token how the Hebrew text stood in Jerome's time. This version is found in Jerome's works, in the *Psalterium Quincuplex*, and in Sabatier's collection of the old Latin translations.

'Of our own two translations, and of the advantage of having them both under the eye at one glance, and of the interest of comparing them with each other, it is unnecessary to speak. Of their correspondence with the best editions of our Bibles, the student may be assured by examination; by which means, also, he will gain much useful insight into the necessity of watching against those little variations and minor inaccuracies, which, after the lapse of many years, often occasion a reprint to require a diligent collation with its original.—*Preface*, p. 2.

The selection of versions was of course made with a view to satisfy the tastes and wishes of those who were expected to purchase the volume. To this cause we probably owe the insertion of the English version incorporated into the Anglican Liturgy, but which is of no critical importance. For critical purposes, the selection would have been much improved, had the Chaldee, or some other ancient version been substituted for that from the Liturgy, but we doubt if the volume would have been more generally acceptable, or even *more generally* useful with that selection than it is at present. It is but justice to say that the whole is very clearly and correctly printed; that the Hebrew and Greek types in particular are remarkably distinct and beautiful; and that the scholar must be fastidious indeed who, wanting a Polyglott Psalter for purposes of biblical study, is not satisfied with this.

Not in any respect to detract from the character already given of the work, but really and truly to improve it, we shall mention a few oversights which ought to be corrected in a second edition. The work is introduced with an English title-page and preface. The whole of the 'setting' should have been in harmony with this. On the half-title, however, we have '*Liber Psalmorum*,' and while the Hebrew and Greek columns are headed respectively תהלים or ΨΑΛΜΟΙ, the rest are headed in Latin—*Psalterium Liturgiae*; *Versio Vulgata*; *Versio Heb. Hieron.*

Versio Anglicana (1611.). This is surely affectation and pedantry. Why not head them: Original Hebrew: Septuagint, or, (if preferred,) Alexandrine Greek version: English version from Craumer's Bible: Latin Vulgate: Jerome's Latin from the Hebrew: English version from King James's Bible, (1611.). As to the titles *Psalterium Liturgiae* and *Versio Hebraica Hieronymi*, they are calculated to mislead. A reader would suppose that the former denoted a version peculiar to the Liturgy and prepared for it, rather than one taken from Tyndale's and Coverdale's translation of the whole scriptures, as corrected by Cranmer's authority. He would also suppose, but for the specimen appended, that '*Versio Hebraica Hieronymi*' meant rather Jerome's Hebrew Version than Jerome's Version from the Hebrew. These oversights, though we cheerfully admit that they do not detract, even in the smallest degree, from the usefulness of the book, are really blemishes, and should be corrected in another edition. We trust also that, in the next edition, Coverdale's authorship of the older English version will be duly recognised. To suggest this to the Messrs. Bagster seems almost needless, for no publishers have done so much to adorn his memory as they have. We sincerely wish the present edition such success that the next may speedily appear.*

And now a few words for the two diglots. It is sufficient recommendation if the Hebrew text of the ספר שמואל , (the volume marked No. 2, in our enumeration at the head of this article) that, corresponding line for line, and word for word, indeed in every thing except length of page, with the Hebrew column of the Hexaplar, it is equal to it in correctness and beauty. With the authorized English version, printed in paragraphs at the side, in the manner of Messrs. Bagster's Critical Greek Testament, it might be considered a companion to it, but that the page is larger. The Kri and Khetibh are given at the end of the book, and the various readings of the English at the foot of each page. It is a truly elegant and captivating volume.

The object and character of the '*Interlineary Hebrew and English Psalter*,' (No. 3 in our enumeration) is generally described in the title page. To give an adequate idea of it, however, to such of our readers as may be interested in knowing more exactly what the volume is, we shall quote, in part, the explanation given in the preface:—

* It may seem hypercriticism, and, doubtless there are many who would consider our remarks very unnecessary, but we cannot help observing that the arrangement of the columns on the page is somewhat arbitrary and unscientific. Why should Coverdale's version come between the Hebrew and the Vulgate? or all the Latin and English versions divide the Hebrew and the Septuagint? The chronological order would, it seems to us, have been highly preferable on every ground.

'The Hebrew text is printed with care according to Vander Hooght. The servile letters are distinguished by hollow types, the root remaining black: and in all cases where a radical letter has been dropped from a word, it is supplied in small type above the line.

'The English translation has been made as literal as seemed practically useful; and the greatest possible *uniformity* in rendering the Hebrew has been preserved. Every needless variation of the translation, when the original remained the same, has been avoided.

'In many instances, however, strict uniformity of rendering would have altered the true sense: as in the case of verbs having both transitive and intransitive meaning—in words applied to God—and when the context affected the signification. These peculiarities have been observed.

'Words which cannot be expressed in English are marked with) (. This is almost exclusively confined to *res*.

'Words which the idiom of the English language has required are enclosed between [].* All supplied words are enclosed within ().

'The Hebrew article, when prefixed to substantives, has been distinguished thus 'the'; but this was not always practicable before participles and adjectives. The interrogative ׀ is marked by a prefixed (?).

We can hardly conceive of more care being taken, or of pains more judiciously applied to attain the object in view than this interlineary Psalter exhibits. The professions of the preface are adhered to throughout, and the clearness which results from this is well seconded by the neatness and distinctness of the press-work. In this respect the interlineary Psalter is far before any other interlineary book we remember to have seen. We cordially recommend it to those who approve, as to a certain extent we do, of the use of such helps at the commencement of the study of a language. Those persons will assuredly not think their money ill laid out in the purchase of such an edition as this.

Both this and the last noticed Psalter are finished on good but fine paper, in order to bind in a thin pocket volume with Messrs. Baxter's new Hebrew English Lexicon which we recently noticed. Hebrew students owe no small thanks to the enterprising firm which has supplied them with so many admir-

* This must be a misprint. A few examples from the book will shew that the editor meant to say: 'words which the idiom of the English language has *not* required, are enclosed between [].' The following are a few instances taken at random from the book. 'Not they believed [to] his word,' (Heb. לֹא אֵמְנוּ) Ps. cvi. 24. 'Not they heard [in] the voice (Heb. לֹא שָׁמְעוּ) of Jehovah,' Ps. cvi. 25. 'I said in my haste every [the] man (Heb. כָּל אִישׁ) is a liar,' Ps. cxvii. 11. 'Thou hast understood [to] my thought (Heb. דָּעִיתָ) afar off' Ps. cxxxix. 2.

able aids at so cheap a rate, and we hope that their gratitude is being rendered, not, like the approbation of critics, in mere praise, but in the substantial form of a steady and increasing demand for the books.

It will be obvious to all who are acquainted with the Englishman's Hebrew Concordance which we reviewed a short time since, that the works here noticed have in view precisely the same end with that concordance, viz. : to facilitate an acquaintance with the inspired treasures of divine revelation. In closing the present notice we take the opportunity it affords us of offering a suggestion respecting that concordance and its Greek companion, which we omitted in its proper place. We regretted, when the article in question had been put to press, that we had neglected to draw the attention of missionaries and missionary societies to those concordances. To all missionaries who are engaged in preparing translations of the holy scriptures into the languages of the heathen, those works are calculated to render very important aid ; and it is our deliberate opinion, and one which we are anxious to express, that the missionary station which is destitute of a copy of them, wants one of the most convenient aids which literary diligence has ever contributed to the great enterprize of communicating the word of life to the heathen.

Art. IV.—*Heidelberg, and the way thither.* By Nil. London : Dyer and Co., Paternoster-Row. 1845.

IN this little book, there are so many good and practical remarks on German travels, and German society ; and so much beauty in many of its descriptions of German scenes, that we regret to be compelled to notice several rather serious superfluities in its contents, and a few deformities in its style. But we would willingly make it a valuable little companion to our wandering countrymen, the more valuable because even more portable, by suggesting a few improvements in the future editions, to which we predict it will run.

Even taken as it is, some half dozen observations make it well worth buying by all who would prepare in their winter's select reading for as pleasant and profitable an excursion next summer near home, as the whole world offers, viz., one *through Holland* to Heidelberg, as the author advises ; but returning home by a new route, which we will venture to offer as in more respects than one, a welcome addition to his book.

Having given some useful rules how a family may best establish themselves at Heidelberg, the place of his residence, the

author recommends two or three other things necessary to be observed, to 'get on comfortably':—

'Do not allow your servants to borrow any thing of other people in the house. Pay for every thing in ready money, and pay it yourself, not through your servants. Bills are unsafe things any where, but particularly abroad. If you have any complaint to make to your landlord, make it yourself, and not through your domestics.

'The main thing, however, is the agreement; without it, every other precaution will fail to secure your comfort.'

The form of such an agreement is accordingly given by Nil in German; and he adds a wise recommendation to have every thing in 'black and white,' *even down to the agreed price of any article of dress.* (pp. 215—16.)

We add to our author's cautionary motives for this practice, that it gradually accumulates a stock of authentic information, sometimes important to be had at hand, and always calculated to improve the journals of those who keep them, or to instruct inquisitive friends.

The advice as to the stock of clothes and other personal conveniences to be carried out from England, is generally sound; but an exception must be made in at least one article, *German stockings, all kinds of which the author stoutly condemns.* We could tell him of more than one village near Heidelberg, where he may get better and cheaper *shooting and walking hose*, than can be found in any lane in Nottingham.

For Nil's enthusiastic descriptions of some of the numerous sweet scenes about Heidelberg, we must be content to refer generally to the book, in pages 146 to 148, 162 to 176, 194 to 206, including an amusing and useful story to those who may be disposed to follow his steps in a trout-fishing excursion. These and several other passages abound in poetical images, expressed in refined language, and the book has further merits in numerous details, about steamers, and inns, and lodgings, which will fully repay its price.

We turn to its faults; which are somewhat formidable, if indeed our opinion be just that, in a volume of two hundred and seventy-six pages, the whole of chapters iii., iv., vii., viii., and xi., and very large portions of chapters ix., x., xii., and xiii., amounting, altogether, to one hundred and fifty pages, either do not concern '*Heidelberg, and the way to it,*' at all, or are expressed in terms altogether beneath the general style of the book.

What, for instance, can the condition of Belgium*, through which country Nil *does not even pass*, have to do with a resi-

* pp. 155 and 172.

dence in Heidelberg, and the journey thither through Holland? Nil is conscious of his error. He 'cannot get on without digressions.' He says he rambles into Belgium when he 'ought to have been in Baden.' (p. 157.) His excuse is, that *he is not used to writing books.*' (p. 32.) Our vocation of critic permits us to observe, then, for his instruction, that it is a golden rule to preserve an *unity* in authorship. Above all, in a book of travels, it is indispensable to write about the country you are travelling in, and as much as may be *about this country alone.*

Again, the discussion about *Puseyism* and the Church of England, when the author is at Mainz, is sadly out of place. (pp. 84—91.)

Liking for Nil's book, which treats admirably of many things, people, and places about Heidelberg, familiar to us, is the motive for our thus advising him to correct it; and we insist on his unsparingly striking out all such trivial jokes as those about Ned Sheety, the Irishman, and the Scotchman's pigs. (p. 157.)

We share the author's preference of the *Moselle* to the Rhine. At least, we advise all travellers to Heidelberg to come home either that way through Trèves, and Luxembourg, or by Zweybruck, or Deuxponts, and Richard Cœur de Lion's famous place of confinement, towards Lille—Cassel, and Calais. The voyage out should be made through *Holland*, as Nil recommends. But the return should be in October by this new way among the most delightful scenes in Old Europe, Celtic Europe, Roman Europe, and Europe of the middle ages, and of modern times—rich in every recollection of history, and in every variety of nature, and ending in the *shortest* possible sea voyage, that from Calais to Dover.

Art. V.—*Memoirs of Prince Charles Stuart, (Count of Albany), commonly called the Young Pretender; with Notices of the Rebellion in 1745.* By Charles Louis Klose, Esq. 2 Vols. London: Colburn.

Just one hundred years have passed away, since our great-grandfathers, and grandmothers, in the midst of their steady, quiet, prosperous, though somewhat common-place avocations; in the midst of their formal tea-drinkings, and sober club-meetings; in the midst, alas! even of their boasts of 'liberty and property,' of 'Protestant ascendancy,' 'our glorious constitution,' and the undoubted right of Britannia to rule the waves—were startled by the incredible intelligence, that the young

Pretender, had not only landed in Scotland, and been received by the Highland clans with enthusiasm, but had actually crossed the border, and was marching, with no one could tell how many thousand wild Highlanders, direct upon London! It is indeed curious, and to those who at the distance of a century view the progress of the rebellion of 1745, even amusing, to observe how after determinately refusing to believe that there was the slightest truth in the existing rumours, the good people of England when convinced, though bitterly against their wills, of the contrary, starting up in a paroxysm of terror so great as almost to prevent their helping themselves, passed within the short space of two or three days, from the one extreme of confirmed scepticism, to the opposite one of indiscriminate belief.

When a short time since we passed some pleasant mornings turning over several volumes of the leading papers of the long-remembered 'year forty-five,' we were forcibly struck with this. At the very period of the young Pretender's landing—even a fortnight later, when the Duke of Newcastle was sending the most urgent letters into Scotland, and his brother Henry Pelham—the actual prime minister, remarked in a confidential note to Lord Hardwick, 'I never was in so much apprehension as at present,' the leading papers still keep on prosing about 'the balance of power in Europe'—that darling topic of our great-grandfathers—about 'reasons why Marshall Saxe should not have won the battle of Fontenoy,' with eulogies on the Queen of Hungary, and occasional grumblings about Hanover. Even when the fact that the heir of the Stuarts had actually landed could no longer be unknown, the whole newspaper press with perverse unanimity agree in viewing the account as apocryphal, and as being doubtless one of those convenient falsehoods, which the Jacobites were accustomed from time to time to put forth. The truth really was, that, thanks to Walpole—who of all men was most indebted to the Pretender, for the good service his dreaded name had done, as 'a word of fear,' both to a stubborn king, and a timid parliament,—the cry of 'wolf' had been raised so often, that, just as in the fable, when he was actually at the door, no one believed it. It was this perverse popular disbelief which added so largely to the anxieties and responsibilities of the ministry, and doubtless, greatly encouraged the hopes of the young adventurer as to a re-action throughout England in his favour.

At length—'a change comes o'er the spirit' of those daily papers; and they all suddenly find that the country is likely to fall a prey to 'a horrid popish, devilish, Jacobitical plot,' as one of them expresses it, for the second city of the empire is

actually in possession of the young Pretender, and 'James VIII. of Scotland, and III. of England, has been proclaimed king at the Cross of Edinburgh! And now, most curious and amusing is the change of tone and feeling. The 'Daily Advertiser,' the 'General Evening Post,' the 'Westminster Journal,' leave, with one accord, the balance of power, the Queen of Hungary, even Hanover, to shift for themselves, and forthwith flaming letters, brimful of loyalty, from some half dozen Juniuses and Scaevolus appeared, intermixed with wretched doggerel setting forth the pleasure of dying for 'Great George our King,' and our 'glorious constitution;' and exhibiting historical parallels about as veracious as many of those of the British Reformation Society. Among the minor papers this newly awakened enthusiasm displays itself most laughably, sometimes by stirring addresses to all 'beef-eating Britons,' sometimes by pathetic exhortations to 'Protestant boys,' or 'jolly tars,' while the 'London Penny Post,' forthwith places in bold type at the foot of the first page, 'No wooden shoes,' 'No arbitrary power.'

Happily for our forefathers, indeed, even for us, this violent re-action saved our country from a third infliction of the house of Stuart; for these extravagant fears did good service by their very violence, in thoroughly arousing the public mind, which in those quiet and prosperous days had slumbered so soundly as actually to require being most vigorously awakened. But the shock of this awakening was long felt, and some of our readers can doubtless remember the solemn earnestness with which old men would relate their reminiscences of 'the forty-five.'

The work before us, which, as we learn from the preface, is translated from the German, appears to have been published a few years since: though neither the place where it was published, nor the time, are told us. It is on the whole, a well written and tolerably correct work; but it aims rather at being a biography of the last prince of the Stuart race, than an historical memoir of that stirring episode, which forms the only portion, worthy record, of a life lengthened out to almost fourscore years. In the career of Charles Edward, except as connected with his wild and romantic expedition to England, our readers can feel little interest; we shall, therefore, confine our attention chiefly to this event, correcting or supplying in the course of our narrative the occasional mistakes or deficiencies of the author, by notices drawn from more authentic sources.

To any one who looks over the history of our country from the time of the Revolution, to the period we are now entering on, the utter want of principle in successive ministries must excite the utmost disgust. When we read,—not in histories

written to subserve the purposes of a party, but in letters, never intended to meet any eye but that for which they were written,—the shameless bargainings for places and pensions; the undisguised contempt of high principle, even of truth; the constant coquetting, nay, sometimes actual collusion with the family to whose expulsion these very men owed their places of trust and responsibility, we can with difficulty believe that scarcely two—in the earlier instances, but *one* generation, separated these degenerate Englishmen from the noble spirits of the Commonwealth; and we feel half angry at the eulogies pronounced on such a state of things, by a Watts, a Doddridge, and even by a Bradbury. It is, therefore, most important when viewing this period, not only to bear in mind the outrageous tyranny of the two later Stuarts, from which, with all its imperfections, the Revolution of eighty-eight delivered our fathers, but also the *general* character of the succeeding governments. While the *men*, Whig and Tory, with scarcely a single exception, may be most justly denounced, many of their *measures*—in their *home* policy, especially—are deserving of much praise. Commerce, which under the Stuarts had always languished, received a fresh impulse from the period of the Revolution; and under the protection of our triumphant navy, our merchant vessels swept from Hudson's Bay to the Spanish Main, and visited the farthest East, laying the foundation of that mightier empire than the sons of Timour could ever establish. Trade too, was protected, for there were few vexatious imposts—the excise laws, not having been past until 1742, and manufactures were greatly encouraged; so that with the exception of the crisis denominated the 'South Sea Bubble,'—in itself a proof of prosperity, since it is only where money is abundant, that such wild speculations have any chance of success—England may be considered to have been gradually rising to wealth and importance, hitherto unattained. Indeed some political economists incline to view the earlier half of the last century as the most *steadily* prosperous period of our history.

As a natural consequence, the mercantile interest rose in importance, and even in documents of Queen Anne's days, we can perceive the growing attention paid by each ministry to 'the merchants and bankers,'—the attention to the latter class, probably, however, growing out of the circumstance of the national debt.

Meanwhile, many of the ancient nobility, and the country gentlemen generally, found themselves comparatively neglected; and as a matter of course directed their anxious thoughts 'over the water.' Now although the ministers might occasionally cast

a glance thither themselves, this was not to be allowed to others, and the very men therefore who were engaged in secret correspondence with St. Germain, exhibited the most patriotic activity in arresting some junior branch of an old catholic family, or in sending some Jacobite gentleman to the Tower. We, who have the advantage of comparing their private thoughts with their public conduct, are naturally indignant at such treason, —not against reigning families, or governments, as such,—but against truth and principle; yet to our forefathers, who could only judge of these men by their overt acts, we may easily imagine that they appeared true patriots. They protested their interest in the prosperity of the country, and England certainly was prosperous; they reiterated their professions of attachment to religious liberty, and those who had been years ago imprisoned for nonconformity, looked complacently on their commodious meeting-houses, and admiring a king who received their addresses with his own hand, and gave them that hand to kiss, naturally believed all that was told them.

Nor are we inclined to believe that *all* the protestations either of king, or minister were hollow. The house of Brunswick from its accession stood pledged in the eyes of Europe to the two grand principles of civil and religious liberty—the right of a people to choose its own rulers, and the right of every subject to choose his own religion. With many ‘short comings’ on these all important subjects, they were still in the main adhered to, during the reigns of the first two Georges; and that it was indispensable thus to adhere, seems to us emphatically proved by the whole career of that minister of thirty years standing,—Walpole, who though he scrupled at few things, never dared to attack these.

Although it would be asserting too much to say that the first two Georges were *popular*, still, we are inclined to believe that they were more so than either Charles, or James. The merchants, traders, and manufacturers, together with their numerous dependents, were wholly in their favour. The old Whig nobility, and their tenantry were also; while that large class of gentry, or small landholders, who had no violent political predilections, would quietly fall in with the system of ‘things as they are, as a matter of course.’ The strong hold of Jacobitism in England, was, therefore, among those few noblemen, who though they had not risked the forfeiture of their estates, still professed sympathy with the exiled family; among the Roman Catholic families, and their tenantry in the north, and north-western parts of England, and among that certainly too numerous class of country gentlemen, whose pleasant occupa-

tion under the Stuarts had been to hunt hares, and nonconformists, but who being now strictly confined to the smaller game, were loud in their abuse of 'Hanover rats.'

Such, we think, was the state of parties in England about the period we have now to consider. In Scotland, however, the case was widely different. Ever since the Restoration, the majority of the Scottish nobility had adhered to the Stuarts, not only from political predilection, but from national feeling. They were 'their ain kings,' and with the spirit of clansmen they followed their banner. The inhabitants of the whole of the Highlands were at this period considered by the Lowlanders as a different race; but these were all bound to the house of Stuart, not only from the principle of clanship, but by the stronger bond of a similar religious faith. Among the inhabitants of Scotland, the house of Brunswick could count, therefore, upon few beside the Lowland gentry and the traders in the towns. These might have done much as a counterbalance; but the Act of Union, which deprived Scotland of her ancient parliament, and which after violent opposition was passed in 1707, greatly alienated the minds of this class from England. By them, no less than by the decided Jacobites, it was viewed as a degradation; and the very protection which it afforded appeared only as part of a deeply-laid scheme to deprive them of their liberty.

The first attempt to re-establish the Stuart dynasty, grew out of the general discontent expressed at the Union, and it failed rather from bad management than from want of encouragement, so far as Scotland was involved. Thirty years passed ere a second attempt was made, and then the grandson of James II., the eldest son of the Pretender, was the leader.

Charles Edward, the Young Pretender, as he was generally called, was born at Rome on the last day of the year 1720, amid the thunders of artillery of the castle of St. Angelo, and the gratulations of the Pope and Cardinals; the former presenting the father and mother, each, with 10,000 scudi. The infant, immediately after his birth, was exhibited to a crowd of Italian prelates and nobles, among whom mingled a few Scotch and English, upon a state-bed, under a splendid canopy, while in the pope's own chapel, and in his presence, a solemn *Te Deum* was chanted. All this was, we think, sufficiently un-English; nor was the education of the young prince conducted in a less foreign manner. His first instructors—if by such a name they could be called—were the Earl, and the Countess of Inverness, the openly avowed mistress of his father, and a Miss Sheldon. Subsequently he was taken under the care of his injured mother, a princess descended from John Sobieski, and by her committed to

the superintendence of the Chevalier Ramsay, and afterwards of one Thomas Sheridan. The writer of the work before us complains of Lord Mahon's remark, that Charles Edward was 'deficient in the most common elements of knowledge,' but he altogether fails to disprove it. In 1735, Charles lost his mother, and the father now led a more retired life than ever,—spending his morning in prayers at the tomb of a wife, whose days had been shortened by his infidelity, and then partaking dinner 'with ten persons attached to his court,' whom he left early in the evening. This mode of life must have been sufficiently monotonous and wearisome to a spirited boy; but in his fourteenth year he was sent, under the protection of the Duke of Berwick, in order that he might be initiated into the art of war, at the siege of Gaëta. Before his departure, Charles had an interview with Pope Clement XII., by whom he was always recognised as heir-apparent of the British throne, and as such honoured with an arm-chair; and from the hands of the ruler of papal Christendom, the young aspirant, on whom the eyes of so many episcopalians were fixed in longing affection, received the payment of his military outfit.

That a 'true prince,' even at the age of thirteen and three-quarters, should exhibit marvellous wisdom and marvellous intrepidity, was a matter of course: but that his cousin Don Carlos, of Spain, should have presented him with a valuable jewel, and saluted him by the title of 'Prince of Wales,' shows, we think, that the boy, even at that early age, possessed an energy of character which the enemies of England rejoiced to behold.

In September young Charles returned to Rome, waited on the pope, and on this occasion received from him 'a special bull, declaring him qualified to enjoy all spiritual benefices, and conferring on him the general expectancy of the same.' The wording of this is very obscure, probably arising from a double translation; still it shows plainly enough by how many links the Pope sought to bind the aspirant to the British throne to him. A second time young Charles 'smelt gunpowder,' during the campaign of the allied army in Lombardy. The time, however, approached, when it was resolved that he should make a tour through the principal cities of Italy. This took place in 1737; when he adopted the title of Count of Albany, and set out with a suite of about ten persons.

'With this view he left Rome on the 29th of April, and passed through Loretto, Bologna, Parma, Genoa, Milan, and Venice. At the last named city he made some stay, and returned by Padua, Bologna, and Florence, to Rome, where he arrived again on the 9th of July. During this tour the young prince had been the object of much

respectful attention. In Bologna, the Cardinal Legate and a deputation of four senators, came to wait upon him; in Genoa, the same compliment was paid him by the Spanish envoy and the heads of the noble houses; and at Milan he was visited by the aged General von Traun, then governor of Lombardy. In Venice, he was not only invited to the senate, but the seat was assigned to him that had usually been reserved for crowned heads when they visited the city. At Venice also he had an opportunity of conferring, for about an hour, in the Church of St. George, with the young Elector of Bavaria, who afterwards wore the imperial crown of Germany, under the title of Charles VII. In Florence a variety of balls and entertainments were given in honour of the Count of Albany's visit; and at the court he would likewise have been an object of the most marked attention, had it not been for the jealous interference of the English minister. This interference was perfectly in accordance with the steps to which the prince's Italian tour gave rise in London. The British government, without the least reserve, required of Guastalli, the Genoese resident secretary at London, that he should intimate to the authorities of the republic, that its interests would be better consulted by showing respect to the reigning dynasty in England than to the family of the Stuarts; and the reception which Charles had met with in Venice was taken so much amiss, that Businiello, the Venetian resident in London, was directed, without ceremony, to leave England within three days'—vol. i. pp. 112—114.

The conduct of the British administration on this occasion was, however, strictly in accordance with international law.

Our author, on this part of his subject, indulges in much sentimental twaddle, such as the eager glances of his hero 'toward the open sea,' and his anxiety to 'distinguish the British flag.' Now these are no proofs of his love for England. Indeed, for her, her institutions, and her people, how *could* he have any? The resident at Rome from his earliest years, the favorite *protégé* of the Pope, the son of a foreign mother, of a foreign-born father—surrounded, too, by friends who viewed the restoration of his family as a conquest, what sympathy could he possibly have with England?

We have thus minutely traced the early career of Charles, because, for want of contemplating their hero before he appears on the stage of public life, many historians have altogether mistaken his character, and consequently his motives. It has been forgetfulness of this, that has exhibited Cromwell as the *personal* enemy of the king; whereas a reference to his early history will prove, that of all the agents in the great civil war, he stands freest from such a charge. It has been forgetfulness, or neglect of this, that has, in the case before us, induced many writers to believe that the young Pretender actually felt a love for Britain; whereas, from the circumstances of his early years,

he must have felt quite as much love for Sweden or Denmark. That he was anxious to become king of Great Britain is evident, and the reasons are evident also; but as to true English feeling, the young Pretender, and the 'wee German lairdie,' might just shake hands about it.

Up to 1741 Europe had enjoyed tolerable repose. At this period the war of the queen of Hungary, as it was in England popularly called, began. In 1743, England took the part, and it certainly was the side of justice, of Maria Theresa; and France, of the king of Prussia. To take advantage of this war, to advance the claims of the Stuarts, seemed to the Scottish Jacobites most desirable; and they accordingly formed an association for the purpose. Almost simultaneously an association of English Jacobites was formed; and both the Scotch and English urged upon the old Pretender the necessity of securing the aid of France. Cardinal Fleury, in answer to James's application, promised 13,000 men to be landed in the Scottish Highlands, and 10,000, under Marshal Saxe, to be landed near London. We think this alone sufficient to throw discredit on the Jacobite statement, that the country was ready to hail the return of the Stuarts. Preparations went on, young Charles was invited to France, and the old Pretender put forth two proclamations appointing his son regent, and calling on the people of the United Kingdom to take up arms. These proclamations are not given; but they should have been, since to us their animus is certainly that of a man who considers himself robbed of his property, and determined to recover it by all means.

Early in 1744 Charles set out for Paris. Fifteen ships of the line and five frigates soon after made their appearance in the Channel; and a message from the king to the parliament, and addresses from both houses full of loyalty, showed that the nation was aware of the enterprise. By a singular intervention—may we not call it—of Providence, this fleet was dispersed by a violent storm, in which several transports with troops were lost, many vessels dismasted, and the project was abandoned. War was now declared against France; the alarm at the intended invasion subsided; and, occupied in the queen of Hungary's war, as it was called, all expectation of a renewal of the attempt seems to have passed away.

Not until the next spring did the young adventurer make his second attempt; and then, wearied at the delays of the French government, he actually embarked without their aid. For the necessary expenses he pawned his jewels, which seem to have been very valuable; two of his adherents raised him 180,000 livres; and Antony Walsh, a Jacobite settled at

Nantes, and one Rutledge, supplied the two vessels, together with arms and powder, in which he was to sail for Scotland. Again delays took place, but at length, about the middle of July, they left Belle-Isle. On the fourth day of the voyage the two vessels fell in with the *Lion*, a fifty-eight-gun ship, commanded by the gallant Captain Brett, well known to the readers of Anson's Voyage. The larger vessel engaged the *Lion*, but was compelled to put into Brest; while the *Dentelle*, on board which Charles was, escaped. The following day, however, the little vessel was chased by an English man-of-war; but at length it safely anchored in the small island of Erisca, one of the Hebrides, on the 2nd of August.

'On the following morning, Charles sent a messenger to Macdonald of Clanranald, the proprietor of that and the neighbouring islands, and whom he knew to be devoted to his cause. Clanranald happened to be absent on the mainland; the prince, therefore, despatched a second messenger to Clanranald's uncle, Macdonald of Boisdale, who chanced at the time to be in the vicinity, and whom he invited to repair immediately on board of the *Dentelle*. Boisdale appeared, but only to express his firm conviction that the enterprise must necessarily end in disaster; without the least reserve, he called it one verging on insanity; assured the prince that, as he had arrived in Scotland without French aid, he must neither reckon on Clanranald, nor on Alexander Macdonald, nor the Laird of MacLeod, two chiefs on whose devotion to his cause Charles had placed the firmest reliance. The old man urged the immediate return of the whole expedition, as the only course that remained open. It was in vain that Charles employed all his powers of persuasion to represent his affairs in a more favourable light to the ancient partisan of his family; Boisdale remained inflexible, and went back to his isle in a boat.'—*ib.* p. 182.

The little vessel, bearing what the Jacobites fondly called 'Cæsar and his fortunes,' next anchored on the coast of Inverness, and a messenger was sent to Clanranald to invite him on board, but he declined taking any part in the coming contest.

'During their conversation, Charles and the chiefs had been walking up and down the deck. A Highlander stood near them, armed at all points, according to the custom of the country. He was a younger brother of Kinloch Moidart, and had come into the vessel without the slightest knowledge as to who was on board. The conversation, however, to which he had been a witness, had made him aware of the truth, and had evidently thrown him into the greatest agitation. When he gathered from the discourse that the stranger was the Prince of Wales, and when he heard his chief and his brother refuse to take arms for their rightful sovereign, as they believed him, his colour went and came, his eyes sparkled, he shifted his

place, and instinctively grasped the hilt of his sword. Charles observed the excitement of the young mountaineer, and suddenly turned upon him with the words, 'Will you, at least, assist me?' 'I will, I will!' cried Ranald; 'though no other man in the Highlands should draw a sword for you, I am ready to die for you.' Charles eagerly thanked the warm-hearted youth, saying that he only wished all the Highlanders were like him. The implied reproach was scarcely needed. The enthusiasm of Ranald immediately communicated itself to the chiefs. The voice of prudence was no longer listened to. They at once declared themselves ready to make every sacrifice, and to use every exertion to arm their countrymen once more for the house of Stuart, if the prince was not to be shaken in his resolution to hazard everything on a desperate throw.—*ib.* pp. 184—186.

Charles now landed. He was conducted to Borodale, and was entertained with his followers by Angus Macdonald. While here the highland chieftains flocked to him; and when he went on to Kinloch Moidart, he was met by Murray of Broughton, the chief agent of the Lowland Jacobites. The time had now arrived for a more open manifestation, and accordingly, on the 19th of August, Charles unfurled his father's banner in the vale of Glenfinnan.

Meanwhile, it may well be asked what was doing in England, and the answer must be, just nothing at all. The case was, that although Henry Pelham and his brother, the Duke of Newcastle, were leaders of the ministry, they were far from possessing even the usual power, much less that power which was necessary for men with such responsibilities, and at such a crisis. It was only in the spring that they had been able to surmount the opposition of Lord Granville, and his party; but although in the House of Commons they were triumphant, it was well known that the king viewed them with absolute hatred. Although, too, on the whole, they had a majority among their colleagues, still there were some that hampered them greatly. One of these was Lord Chesterfield, who it was believed would willingly give in his adhesion to 'James III. of England,' for a due 'consideration;' and the Marquess of Tweeddale was another, a warm friend of Lord Granville, and of course a bitter opponent of the Pelhams, and he held the important office of secretary of state for Scotland.

From the Pelham correspondence we learn that Mr. Trevor, minister at the Hague, sent notice to the Duke of Newcastle, even at the time of the young Pretender having set sail; and in consequence, the proclamation, offering £30,000 for him if he should land, appeared. But the proclamation excited no attention, and a fortnight passed away, in which nothing was

done save an urgent message to the king, who was in Hanover, entreating his return. This message the king seems to have viewed as some official trick—Walpole had sufficiently accustomed him to such—and he therefore did not hurry himself to comply. In the mean time, the Duke of Argyle was in daily correspondence with the ministers, praying for a greater military force to be sent to Scotland. This was ridiculed by the Marquess of Tweeddale; and about this time Mr. Pelham writes, 'I am not so apprehensive of the zeal and strength of our enemies, as of the inability or languidness of our friends.' The first news of the young Pretender's landing, does not seem, indeed, to have awakened fear in any part of the country. Meanwhile, the Highland clans were flocking to the adventurer, and his army was daily increasing: and at length King George, on the 31st, returned from Hanover. He received the Pelhams very coldly, expressed his disbelief of the extent of the rebellion, and it was with the greatest difficulty they could obtain his consent to the return of four regiments from Flanders.

On the 3rd of September part of the Highland army entered Perth, and proclaimed the old Pretender king at the cross, and his son regent; and the news of this seems at length to have convinced the king that the Pelhams had not been alarmed without cause. From Perth, the young Pretender's progress toward Edinburgh was unopposed. He proceeded, crossing the plain of Bannockburn, to Falkirk, and thence to Linlithgow. To Edinburgh his march was now directed, and the magistrates who only ten days before had sent up a most loyal and dutiful address to the king, saw the city gates opened, and the troops of the Pretender quietly admitted. 'It passed as quietly,' says Home, 'as when one guard relieves another.'

At day-break, the Camerons marched up to the cross, and there they remained until mid-day.

'At noon, another striking spectacle was presented to the inhabitants of Edinburgh. At the old Cross, already so renowned in Scottish annals, the heralds and pursuivants, in their ancient and gorgeous official costume, came forward to proclaim King James VIII., and to read the royal declarations and commissions of regency, which were received by the populace with the loudest acclamations. The wild music of the pibrochs mingled with the shouts of the crowd; a thousand fair hands waved with white handkerchiefs in honour of the day, from the neighbouring windows and balconies; and Mrs. Murray of Broughton, a lady of distinguished beauty, sat on horseback near the Cross, with a drawn sword in one hand, and with the other distributing white cockades, the symbol of attachment to the house of Stuart.'

'The excited multitude, however, had not yet beheld the hero of the day. It was not till noon that Charles set forth to take possession of Holyrood House, the palace of his ancestors. To arrive there, it was necessary to make a considerable round, in order to avoid the guns of the castle. He entered the King's Park by a breach which had been made in the wall, and proceeded towards the palace by the Duke's Walk, so termed because it had been the favourite resort of his grandfather, James II., when he resided in Scotland, as Duke of York, some years before his accession to the throne. Thus far Charles had proceeded on foot, but the gathering and impatient crowd pressed around with such eagerness to kiss his hand or touch his garments, that he was forced to mount on horseback, when he continued his way, with the Duke of Perth on one side and Lord Elcho, who had joined him the preceding night, on the other. His noble mien and his graceful horsemanship, says Mahon, could not fail to strike even the most indifferent spectators; and they were scarcely less pleased at his national dress—a tartan coat, a blue bonnet with a white cockade, and a star of the order of St. Andrew. With fonder partiality, the Jacobites compared his features to those of his ancestor, Robert Bruce, or sought some other resemblance among the pictures of his ancestors that still decorate the gallery of Holyrood. The joy of the adherents of his house knew no bounds. The air resounded with their acclamations; and as he rode onward, 'his boots were dimmed with their kisses and tears.' The palace of his ancestors was found by Charles nearly in the same condition in which his grandfather had left it, with the exception of the catholic chapel, which had been destroyed by the populace in 1688. The long deserted chambers were that evening enlivened by a ball; and, as on the eve of another great battle,

"The lamps shone o'er fair women and brave men;
A thousand hearts beat happily; and when
Music arose with its voluptuous swell,
Soft eyes looked love to eyes which spake again,
And all went merry as a marriage bell."

'The fatigues of the preceding days, and the anxiety that could not but be felt with respect to the coming battle, were alike unable to depress the boyant spirits of Charles, or to impair his natural vivacity and power of pleasing. The enthusiasm of the ladies was unbounded, and many a fair waverer was perhaps confirmed in her devotion to the house of Stuart, by the graceful dancing of so handsome a representative of Scotland's rightful kings.'—*ib.* pp. 262—265.

On turning to the newspapers of the period, it is curious to see how rapidly the fears of all classes in England now increase. Advertisements from the different London parishes appear, offering bounties of five pounds a head for each able-bodied man who will enlist; the train bands are summoned to attend, that the oath pledging them to war &

Poutrance against popery and Jacobitism may be duly administered; the address of the Corporation of London denounces in good set terms, 'this unnatural rebellion, and the Archbishop of York urges the gentry throughout his diocese to form an association, not only to withstand the pope, and the pretender, but 'to uphold our rights and liberties against the encroachments of arbitrary power'—rare words these, from an archbishop! And influential words were they, for £90,000 were soon subscribed by the gentry, in support of the government.

A more important aid was offered by the London merchants, who consented to take bank notes instead of specie; and when on the 26th of September the agreement was prepared for signature, no less than *eleven hundred and forty** signed, in the short space of *three hours*. All these names are given in the Gazette, and on looking over them, we were struck with the number of 'old familiar names' that appear. Full half, we should say, on the most moderate computation, are still well known names in the city. It has been traditionally asserted, that this was arranged by the leading dissenters, and from the anxiety with which they naturally viewed the invasion of a Stuart, we think it probably was the case.

But their anxieties were to be farther awakened, and their indignation raised to the highest point, when the rumour that a battle had been fought, and that English soldiers had actually fled, was confirmed by the extraordinary Gazette of September 28th, and the name of Colonel Gardiner appeared in the list of the slain at Prestonpans. Colonel Gardiner, long recognised as one of the most gallant veterans in the English army, was claimed as the peculiar property of the dissenters, and the death of the disciple of Dr. Calamy, and the warm friend of Doddridge, was viewed as a martyrdom. Many were the funeral sermons preached on the occasion in the meeting houses of London, and earnest were the exhortations of the ministers to their flocks to act worthy of their forefathers. The cry through all London now seems to have been 'to arms.' Troops of horse were raised, volunteer companies formed, the trained bands were regularly drilled, and while exhortations to loyalty in papers, and speeches and pamphlets abounded, due care was taken to denounce the principles of the Stuarts; and once more, even in the government papers, the names of Pym, Hampden, nay of Cromwell himself, were pronounced with warm eulogy.

Among those who particularly distinguished themselves at this crisis, were the Spitalfields silk manufacturers, who, grate-

* The whole number of signatures were more than fifteen hundred.

ful for the protection afforded them, not only entered into a liberal subscription, but 'considering the great and many blessings we enjoy under his most sacred and illustrious majesty,' agreed to raise, and arm at their own cost, a body of soldiers, from among their own workmen. The French extraction of these worthy men may be recognized in the reverential terms in which they approach the throne. In their address there is no mention of liberty, or of rights secured by the English constitution. For the religious freedom they enjoyed, they appear most grateful; but of civil freedom, the only basis of the other, they seem to have no idea. They raised, however, nearly *three thousand* men, who, if ignorant of *civil* liberty, would assuredly have stood fast against the encroachments of that religion, which had murdered their pastors, burnt their dwellings, and cast them forth as homeless exiles. On the 2nd of October the bishop of London, and the clergy of his diocese, went up with an address to the king at Kensington palace. In this address, although there is much rigmarole about popery and church and state, they declare 'that there is no safety for the religion and liberties of this country, but in the protestant succession.' It was certainly almost worth the fears of a rebellion, to find the established clergy taking the name of liberty on their lips.

In far better style is the address of the three denominations of protestant dissenters, which was presented by the Rev. Joseph Stennett at the same palace the following day. Our limits will not permit us to copy the whole of this well written address, in which, neither the contemptible phrase 'sacred majesty,' nor the degrading word 'toleration,' find a place; but we must give the concluding paragraph:—'As the religious and civil liberties, the happiness and honour of the nation, have been always your unwearied care, we cannot but detest and abhor the present unnatural and rebellious attempt, nor shall we ever cease to offer our fervent prayers for the preservation of your majesty's invaluable life, the tranquillity of your reign, and the conveyance of our liberties under the protection of your royal house to the end of time.'

The king's answer is short*; it might, we thought, have been more courteous; but on turning to his answer to the address of the university of Cambridge a few days before, we found that with the exception of 'constitution in church and state,' it is almost the same. We learn from the papers of the day, that the deputation was most courteously received, and intro-

* 'I thank you for your loyal address, and have a firm dependence on your steady attachment to my person and government. You may be assured of the continuance of my protection.'

duced into the king's presence by the Duke of Newcastle. The numerous accounts which now filled the papers of the disastrous defeat at Preston Pans, still farther increased the feeling against the young Pretender. Was England to be invaded by troops of barbarians, who rushed to battle with savage yells, and armed with scythes and pitchforks? Was the crown of the Plantagenets to be placed on the brow of him who had marched at their head in Highland brogues, dressed in tartan, and wielding a Highland broadsword? We cannot indeed wonder that the circumstances of this first battle should strike men's minds forcibly, for Colonel Gardiner received his death wound from a scythe; and this dwelt upon the minds of the troops even at the battle of Culloden, and many a Highlander was there sacrificed to the memory of that gallant leader.

The exultation of Charles and his followers was excessive. Messengers were dispatched to France and to Rome with the tidings, and preceded by a hundred pipers, playing that peculiarly Cavalier air, 'The king shall enjoy his own again,' he made his triumphal re-entry into Edinburgh. While here, he exercised every regal function. He gave patents of nobility, issued proclamations, and among others, one denouncing 'the pretended parliament of the Elector of Hanover,' and warning the English not to attend it. He also issued another, arguing with the people upon their hostility to the Stuarts, and promising 'full enjoyment of their laws and liberties!' This, in time of need, had too often been done by his great uncle and grandfather, for any one to believe it.

The stay of Charles at Edinburgh continued until the 31st of October. This was partly owing to the defection of many of the Highlanders, who, loaded with plunder after the battle of Preston, returned to the Highlands to secure it: but we think it was much more owing to the unwillingness of his Scottish adherents to advance into England, until the Jacobites there had committed themselves with the government, by some overt act. Meantime the popular feeling against the Pretender deepened in England; while not improbably, the partiality he expressed for the Highlanders, and his willingness to play the king at Holyrood, rather than advance, damped the ardour of his English adherents.

On the 9th of October, the city trained bands were ordered to mount guard at the Royal Exchange, St. Dunstan's in the West, St. Sepulchre's, and Devonshire Square; and the Tower Hamlets were ordered out for the same duty, along the eastern boundary. Money from various associations, and from the city companies, was poured into the Treasury, and even the Quakers, precluded by their religious tenets from directly aiding war-

fare, raised a subscription to supply the troops with 'flannel waistcoats for the winter.' That the writer of the work before us should believe that, had Charles boldly pressed on, London might have fallen into his hands, may be excused; but that Lord Mahon, accurate and well informed as *he is generally*, should think so, is to us astonishing, and could, we think, only arise from his not having sufficiently examined those ephemeral documents, which, far beyond every other, give 'the very form and pressure' of the passing day. Let the reader take up the newspapers of this period, and read not merely the letters and addresses, but the short bits of information, and the advertisements, and he must be convinced that the general popular feeling, even had the Pretender penetrated so far, must have been an effectual barrier.

At length, at the head of Scottish troops, furnished with money from France,—at this period a hostile country—supported and surrounded by a staff of Highland, Irish, and French officers, the most conspicuous among the latter being the Marquis d'Eguilles, who had been sent expressly from Louis xv. with a letter of congratulation, Charles, on the 31st of October, at six in the evening, quitted Holyrood, to achieve the conquest of England:—

'He slept the first night at Pinkie House, as on the night after the battle of Preston, and on the following morning the two columns parted. The whole army consisted of scarcely 6,000 men, including 500 cavalry, well clothed and equipped, and furnished with provisions for four days; but many superstitious notions that prevailed among his troops made the common men as much averse as their leaders to the English campaign, and many of the Highlanders quitted their ranks during the march. According to some, the deserters amounted to no fewer than a thousand men, and one morning it cost Charles a parley of nearly an hour and a half to prevail on his troops to move forward. The weather too was so unfavourable that any troops but Highlanders would have been completely discouraged by it. After a halt of two days at Kelso, orders were sent to Wooler to prepare quarters for his troops, by which the intended effect was produced of alarming Wade, and drawing off his attention from Carlisle. This having been done, Charles suddenly marched westward and down Liddisdale, entering Cumberland at the head of his troops on the evening of the 18th of November. As the clans crossed the border, they drew their swords, and raised a loud shout of exultation; but, in hastily unsheathing his claymore, Lochiel accidentally cut his hand, which was immediately looked upon as an unlucky omen, and spread consternation throughout the whole column. On the following day, however, the two divisions effected their intended junction, and marched forward immediately upon Carlisle'—*ib.* pp. 322, 323.

Carlisle, which was only guarded by a garrison of invalid

soldiers, capitulated ; but it was here that differences first broke out between the rival parties in the young Pretender's little army. Hopes of the landing of French troops, alone prevented a portion of his followers from returning to Scotland, and it was not until the 20th that they set out for Penrith, through Shap, Kendal, and Lancaster to Preston, where they arrived on the 26th. It was here that he first received a welcome ; the people hitherto having either fled away, or gazed with stupid surprise on a prince, who, in his Highland costume, and with his target slung across his shoulder, usually marched at the head of one or other of the clans.' Surely the perverse obstinacy of the Stuarts must have been strong in their descendant, to induce him even when on English ground, to persist in wearing a dress, and adopting habits, which proved he could have no sympathy with his English subjects.

At Wigan and Manchester, he is said to have been received with acclamations ; but, as very few joined his standard, we may well doubt whether these acclamations were called forth by aught but personal fear. At Manchester, however, two hundred men were persuaded to enlist, under the command of the unfortunate Colonel Francis Townley. These received for their uniform, blue coats, with a tartan sash, and the white cockade. What had English soldiers to do with tartan ? This was given evidently in compliment to the Highland clans ; but it must have emphatically proved to the English who were willing to join the Stuart banner, that they were to be considered but as subordinates in the great enterprise.

Lancashire, Cheshire, and North Wales, were the strong holds of the English catholics, and consequently of the Jacobites. As the invading army, therefore, moved onward, it was welcomed with somewhat approaching to enthusiasm. They forded the Mersey near Stockport, and,—

'On arriving at the other side of the river, Charles witnessed a scene characteristic of the enthusiasm and devotion of the adherents of his house, which is thus described by Lord Mahon, on the authority of the late Lord Keith :—' On the opposite bank of the Mersey, Charles found a few of the Cheshire gentry drawn up ready to welcome him, and amongst them Mrs. Skyring, a lady in extreme old age. As a child, she had been lifted up in her mother's arms, to view the happy landing at Dover of Charles the Second. Her father, an old cavalier, had afterwards to undergo not merely neglect, but oppression, from that thankless monarch ; still, however, he and his wife continued devoted to the royal cause, and their daughter grew up as devoted as they. After the expulsion of the Stuarts, all her thoughts, her hopes, her prayers, were directed to another restoration. Ever afterwards, she had with rigid punctuality laid aside one-

half of her yearly income, to remit to the exiled family abroad, concealing only what, she said, was of no importance to them—the name of the giver. She had now parted with her jewels, her plate, and every little article of value she possessed, the price of which, in a purse, she laid at the feet of Prince Charles, while, straining her dim eye, to gaze on his features, and pressing his hand to her shrivelled lips, she exclaimed with affectionate rapture, in the words of Simeon, ‘Lord! now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace!’ It is added that she did not survive the shock, when, a few days afterwards, she was told of the retreat.—*ib.*, pp. 331—333.

Happily for the honour as well as the safety of England, such instances of enthusiasm in a worthless cause, were rare.

The government, meanwhile, directed a large force of horse and foot, under Sir John Ligonier, to march direct into Lancashire, which was followed by the Duke of Cumberland, who put himself at their head. The weather had now set in most severely; the flannel waistcoats, therefore, the gift of the kind quakers, and which were sent after the army to Coventry, were most acceptable. Fearing lest these forces might fail to intercept the rebel army, the government proceeded to direct a camp to be formed on Finchley Common, consisting of the guards, part of Ligonier’s regiment of horse, Sir Robert Rich’s dragoons, and the ‘associated regiment,’ made up of barristers, under the command of Chief Justice Willes—another proof, and a rather singular one, of the general feeling against the Pretender—and a park of artillery, under the direction of the oldest and most experienced officers. In the midst of all their anxieties, the capture in the Downs of the *Soleil* privateer, with the Earl of Derwentwater, his son, and several French officers, gave them cause for rejoicing. Derwentwater’s son, on his arrival in London, was mistaken by the mob for the younger brother of the Pretender, and was with difficulty rescued from being torn in pieces.

Nearly every day now produces an extraordinary Gazette; and interesting is it to follow in them the progress of these exciting events. On the intelligence being received that the rebel army are advancing into Derbyshire, the panic became great, and when the news actually arrived that the young Pretender had entered Derby, all business was at a stand, the shops were closed, and the orders issued to the train bands and to the regular troops that guarded the metropolis, prove that the citizens viewed themselves almost as the inhabitants of a besieged city*. On Friday the news reached London, and the day was henceforward called ‘Black Friday.’

* The story told by Horace Walpole that a severe run on the Bank was the consequence, and that to gain time, payments were made in sixpences, we disbelieve. That the London Jacobites, some days before, attempted to create a run on the Bank, is certain, and Sir John Hinde Cotton is alluded to in the papers, as being the most active.

Great was the panic among the inhabitants of those towns which lay nearest the rebel army. All valuables and money were buried, the few clothes that could be most easily conveyed away were packed in bundles; and horses and carts stood ready, even through the night, to convey the affrighted inhabitants to some more distant asylum. In Leicester, as we have heard from those, among the recollections of whose boyhood, 'the rebellion' occupied the foremost place, the confusion was extreme. Not only were valuables, even to the silver spoons, buried, but the pewter also; and but for the wooden trenchers and horn spoons, the good people would have been reduced to eat their dinners in a most primitive manner.

As far as we can judge, the followers of the young Pretender seem to have behaved themselves better than might have been expected from half-clothed savages, who until this, their first campaign, had never seen a watch, or a looking-glass. Still, surrounded by so many luxuries, and certainly under a discipline much less strict than that of the English troops, that they made free with most articles which on their march they took a fancy to, is tolerably certain. Indeed, it is to the position occupied by the Highland clans, that we are inclined to believe the reluctant aid of the English Jacobites must after-all be attributed. In London the eye of the government was indeed upon them; but in the north of England, where town after town opened its gates to the young adventurer, what was to prevent them from joining his banner, even as their grandfathers had joined that of Charles I.? What could it be? save that while in the latter case they saw a king, bred, although not born in England, surrounded by English gentlemen, and supported by English yeomanry; in the present case they saw, not only a foreign prince—for this they were prepared—but one, un-English in his manners, tastes, and very dress; and he, encompassed, not by bold English yeomen, but by foreigners who looked upon England as field for plunder, and were alike ignorant of her language and her history.

Two days Charles remained at Derby, exulting in the success that had hitherto attended him; and on the first night, 'turning his whole conversation to the triumphal entry into his father's capital, and deliberating whether he should appear *in the English or a Highland dress.*' (!) But even at that moment his adherents were determining on an immediate retreat to Scotland.

Lord George Murray put himself forward as spokesman for the rest. He began by observing, that the English Jacobites had displayed none of the zeal that had been expected from them; that the looked-for landing of a French corps had not taken place; that

longer to act upon the hope of either of those events would be inconsistent with their own safety, as Marshal Wade was already marching through Yorkshire, to occupy their rear, while the Duke of Cumberland was before them at Lichfield; that, in case of a farther advance, they would have to encounter a third army, assembled at Finchley; that the prince had only five thousand fighting men to oppose to these three corps, whose joint force could scarcely fall short of thirty thousand; that the army at Finchley, formed of the guards and new levies, was said to consist of twenty thousand men, and that, however exaggerated such an estimate might be, yet, even supposing the prince could break through it and enter London, his own force was too small to enable him to assume a commanding position there, or to afford protection to his own friends. He next endeavoured to show how much more might even yet be hoped for from a retreat to Scotland, than from a rash and hopeless march to London. 'Already,' continued Lord George, pointing to the despatches which the prince had received that morning, 'we learn that Lord John Drummond has landed at Montrose, with the regiment of Royal Scots and some piquets of the Irish brigade, so that the whole force under Lord Strathallan, ready to join us from Perth, is not less than three or four thousand men.'

'It was in vain that Charles, after having listened impatiently to these arguments, still sought to encourage his followers with the hope that his English friends would all declare themselves as soon as he arrived in London, and that a landing of French troops would still take place on the coast of Kent or Essex. He held out the prospect of mutiny and desertion among the troops at Finchley, and reminded his friends that bold measures had often made up for the numerical inferiority of an army. He bade them remember in how marked a manner Providence had so far blessed his enterprise, and, repelling all considerations of personal security, he cried, 'Rather than go back, I would wish to be twenty feet under ground!' The other members of the council assented to the arguments of Murray, either in words, or by a not less expressive silence. Charles summoned all his powers of eloquence to make his friends view the case in this light; and, when he saw his arguments of no avail, he had recourse to entreaties, conjuring first one and then another not to desert his prince at his utmost need. He is even said to have shed tears of vexation on finding himself unable to overcome the repugnance of his followers to a farther advance; and at last, after a stormy discussion of several hours, the council broke up without coming to any determination.

'During the afternoon, Charles endeavoured vainly to induce individual chiefs to come over to his views, and in the evening a second council was held, when not one voice was raised in support of the prince's views, and even his proposal to march into Wales, that the numerous Jacobites of the principality might have an opportunity to declare themselves, was unanimously disapproved of. O'Sullivan and Secretary Murray pointed out to him that the army would never

fight well, if all the chiefs acted with unwillingness; and, finding that he could not prevail upon one of his officers to yield to his wishes, he at length reluctantly consented to a retreat, adding, that in future, as he was accountable for his actions only to God and his father, he would call no more councils of war.'—*ib.* pp. 337—341.

Deeply mortified, the young adventurer had now to retrace his steps. He quitted Derby on the 6th of December for Ashbourn, and thence proceeded through Manchester to Carlisle. The Highlanders were violent in their expressions of anger and disappointment; and even Tory writers are forced to confess, that on their retreat they not merely spoiled, but attempted to set fire to some villages. Justice demands that this should be borne in mind, when the conduct of the victorious army at Culloden is considered. At Penrith the little army had a narrow escape from the Duke of Cumberland's dragoons, who overtook the rear. In the conflict, however, the dragoons were defeated, and Charles arrived at Carlisle on the 17th. Quitting Carlisle on the following day, he crossed the Esk with some difficulty, and re-entered Scotland, closely followed by the Duke of Cumberland's forces. As soon as the troops found themselves on Scottish ground, they rent the air with their cheers—cheers that smote like a knell on the ear of the young adventurer.

The news of the retreat of the rebel army seems scarcely to have been believed in London. It is first mentioned in the Gazette, as a rumour; and the extraordinary Gazette, published the next day, hardly takes the tone of certainty. Meanwhile, whether to reassure their friends, or to intimidate the government, the Jacobites appear to have been very active. Copies of the Pretender's proclamation were dropped about in various parts of London; and rumours of a French fleet having appeared off the coast, and of a plan to set fire to London, agitated the public mind. Even when the young Pretender had actually retreated to Manchester, we find orders, 'that alarm posts should be appointed, and proper signals for the several guards'—the signal of danger being, 'seven cannon are to be fired every half minute at the Tower, and to be answered by the same signal from St. James's park.'* At length, the certainty of the retreat was made known; and on the fast-day, appointed for the 18th of December, thanksgivings were mingled with the service.

The progress of the young Pretender in Scotland was disastrous. Unable to return to Edinburgh he proceeded to Glasgow, a city which having found the benefits of the union, was indis-

* London Gazette, Dec. 14th. This Gazette contains eight pages closely filled with proclamations and military intelligence.

posed to hail the representative of the Stuarts. The inhabitants were, therefore, amerced £10,000, chiefly in clothing for the troops, who then marched onward to Stirling, where the siege of the castle, under the direction of French engineers, was commenced. In order to raise the siege General Hawley was dispatched from Edinburgh (which was now wholly in the hands of the government), to give battle. This was fought on the 17th of January, and Charles, who had partly recovered from his disappointment, rode through the ranks, with the Marquis d'Eguilles, addressing words of encouragement to the troops, among whom were some French regiments. In this battle the English were defeated, chiefly in consequence of the fatiguing march which they had undergone, and the hopes of the Jacobites were in England, almost revived again, when news was brought of the victory of Falkirk. This triumph was however disastrous in its results. The Highlanders who had been stimulated by hopes of plunder, after having loaded themselves with the spoil, set off in crowds to their native mountains; while an unfortunate occurrence, which forcibly exhibits their semi-barbarous character, still farther reduced the numbers of the rebel army.

' A clansman of Clanranald's was examining a musket, part of his booty, at an open window, when the piece went off, and killed a son of Glengarry, who was passing through the street. The prince, conscious of the unfavourable effect likely to be produced by this unfortunate accident, neglected nothing that might serve to soften the anger of the offended clan. The body of the slain man was placed in the same vault in which reposed the body of John Graham, who died in battle under Wallace, and Charles himself attended the funeral as chief mourner. The tribe of Glengarry were not, however, appeased, but, in the spirit of feudal vengeance, demanded life for life. Clanranald reluctantly yielded up his follower, who was taken out and shot, his own father joining in the fire, that the youth's sufferings might be the sooner terminated. Even this wild act of vengeance did not satisfy the Glengarry men, the greater part of whom abandoned the prince's standard and returned to their mountains.—*ib.* pp. 382, 383.

Soon afterwards, the siege of Stirling Castle was raised, and greatly against the wishes of Charles, the remains of his army retreated northward. Irritated at the defeat of Hawley, the Duke of Cumberland, offered to take chief command of the army in Scotland, and on his appointment he set out at one in the morning, and never stopped day or night until he arrived at Edinburgh.

Respecting this young prince, great difference of opinion has, as our readers are aware, prevailed. We have too far exceeded

our limits, now, to enter on the question. The same want of space compels us to pass over the progress of the young Pretender, until his hopes were finally crushed on the 16th of April, at the battle of Culloden. His subsequent escapes, and vicissitudes, until he at length embarked for France, are well known. As a romantic portion of history, they possess much interest, but for the purposes for which history ought to be written, the period to which we have directed the attention of our readers, is the most important.

In tracing the course of English history, it is very interesting to observe, how, from time to time, circumstances have arisen, which have compelled our countrymen to take their stand on the great principles of liberty. Sometimes a political revolution has been the result; sometimes the effects can only be traced in the firmer stand, and bolder tone that has been taken; and the actual, tangible, issue has, perhaps, not appeared until the next generation, or even the next century. Such, unquestionably, was the case with the rebellion of 1745. Men had almost settled on their lees, and finding rest pleasant, began to lose sight of those great principles for which their forefathers had battled and died. The approach of a descendant of the Stuarts, compelled them to call to mind what Stuart principles were, and although in their denunciation of those principles, they were far from taking the lofty ground which might justly have been taken, still a 'movement' which set quiet citizens talking of the patriotism of Hampden, and the public spirit of Cromwell, and which made even deans and prebendaries, 'abjure and abhor;' in their addresses to the throne at least—arbitrary power, was not without its use. The arousing of an indolent age by the stirring watchword 'civil and religious liberty,' produced an important effect upon the youth of that period, and gave an impulse to many noble spirits. The speeches of Chatham, the letters of Junius, and many a less known, but influential work, were the result—even those importunate yearnings for political reform,—which though deriving fresh impulse from the French Revolution, had originated long before,—may all be traced to 'the forty-five.'

Alas! for our non-conforming forefathers! they knew not their day! Influential as they were found to be in town and country—courted as they were by king's ministers, and church dignitaries, what prevented them from demanding, and from obtaining too,—perfect religious freedom? What, but that strange fatuity, which, with the failures at the Restoration, at the Revolution, and at the accession of the house of Brunswick, before their eyes,—made them fall into the self-same snare, and with suicidal liberality, postpone insisting on their claims until

that 'more convenient season,' which 'Church and State' determined should never arrive. What a picture of almost childish trustfulness does the history of our people present; and yet, untaught by the four times repeated lesson, some, even now, in this age of fierce and eager conflict—of violent and persisting demands, would have us sit quiet, and again await the 'more convenient season.' But let us prove that we have not read our history in vain. Let us be wiser!

Art. VI. *Journey to Ararat. By Dr. Friedrich Parrot, Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Dorpat, &c. With Maps and Woodcuts. Translated by W. D. Cooley. 8vo. London: Longman.*

THIS volume forms the first of a series entitled, 'The World Surveyed in the 19th Century,' to be published under the able editorship of Mr. Cooley. The work is intended to comprise a selection from the contributions to physical geography made by continental travellers in the present century. Travelling has become an intellectual pursuit and pleasure of the highest order to a class of scientific men, and it is to the honour of many European governments that they have assisted in carrying out the design to which science in its most useful and practical forms has given birth. The chief of them have despatched expeditions to explore various regions which were but partially known, and in the reports rendered are to be found some of the most interesting and valuable contributions to natural history which the present century has witnessed. The facts and results of these expeditions are however but little known to the English public. Existing only in a foreign tongue, frequently voluminous, and sometimes cumbrous in style, they have been a sealed book to our countrymen, to their serious detriment and to the injury of public interests. 'This mine,' says the editor of the present work, 'it is our intention to lay open—to work its richest ore; and rejecting the dross, to lay the pure metal among the treasures of our national literature.' In this design we unfeignedly rejoice. Such a book has long been needed; and the high qualifications of Mr. Cooley for the post assigned him, and the admirable selection made in the case of the present volume, and of that by which it is to be followed, are an earnest of its being executed in a manner worthy of itself, and fully entitled to the cordial patronage of our countrymen.

The volume before us is most judiciously chosen for the commencement of the series. Mount Ararat is associated with the earlier and most interesting events in the history of our race,

and stands in the midst of a region of which little is known. Professor Parrot was eminently fitted to explore it, and to bring back to civilized Europe an intelligible report of its mysteries. To all the scientific attainments which his mission required, he added a power of endurance, a persevering earnestness, and a passionate attachment to his pursuit, of which the instances are rare. His volume is in consequence one of the most interesting which we have read for years. The information supplied is solid and useful; the views broached are distinguished by sobriety and sound judgment; whilst the perils incurred and the indomitable energy with which they were encountered give a character of romantic interest to many parts of his narrative.

By the peace of Turkmaushai, concluded in 1828, between Russia and Persia, Mount Ararat became the extreme boundary of the Russian empire on the side of Turkey and Persia. The war which subsequently broke out between Russia and the Porte extended the dominion of the former beyond the sacred mountain, and thus afforded an opportunity for the long cherished design of M. Parrot to visit and explore the unknown region. The design was approved by the Imperial government, which appointed a *feldyäger*, or military guide, to accompany the expedition, and advanced 1600 silver rubles for the purchase of scientific instruments, and to defray the expenses of M. Fedorov, a student of philosophy belonging to the Imperial Academy, who was appointed to attend it. The whole expenses of the mission were subsequently discharged by the emperor, and the order of St. Anne was conferred on M. Parrot. The distance to be travelled over was 2330 miles, and the accommodations furnished for the journey were the very opposite in point of speed and comfort to those enjoyed by English or even continental tourists. No difficulties, however, could deter our adventurous traveller. 'So fully determined was I,' he says, 'that nothing should divert me from my purpose, that the mere gratification of beholding the sacred mountain, with the eye of a sincere Christian and inquiring traveller, was enough to make me bid defiance to all the perils of a journey of 2330 miles.'

The enthusiasm of the traveller was well maintained throughout the journey, and materially contributed to its successful issue. It commenced on the 11th of April, according to our reckoning, and did not terminate till the close of the year 1829. In the early part of it, various Kalmuk tribes were fallen in with, whose habits are represented as precisely similar to those which marked the earlier inhabitants of the earth.

'The Kalmuk mode of life is systematically nomadic; and to this they cling with all the tenacity of inveterate habit. What in another age, and under different circumstances, would have been but com-

mon necessity, has, at present, when neither opportunities nor inducements can be wanting to tempt them to adopt a settled mode of life, become a keenly felt want, and a source of gratification. The peculiarities of their religious notions, language, and manners, are too distinctive to justify any expectation that they could be so far influenced by the example of neighbouring nations as to establish themselves in fixed habitations. So great is their attachment to a roving life, that I was assured by one of their priests, that it would be looked upon as a sort of violation of religious principle if they were even to attempt to provide a supply of hay in summer to secure their horses and oxen from the danger of perishing of hunger in the winter, because it would seem an approximation to habits to which their national practices are too obstinately opposed.'—p. 12.

They make no use whatever of vegetables, not even of the herbs of the steppe, or of fruits, but subsist entirely on animal food. Their existence is monotonous in the last degree, the migration from their winter to their summer pasture being the only change of which they have experience. 'This want,' remarks our author, 'of all social excitements for the mind, this uniformity in his intellectual and physical life, renders it in a great degree comprehensible how a people, endowed with so many estimable qualities of mind and body, should become the votaries of the idle and fantastic religious dogmas which prevail, at least among the hordes occupying this quarter of the steppe.'

On the 17th of June M. Parrot entered Tiflis, the capital of the trans-Caucasian provinces of Russia, which he says would be one of 'the most delightful spots on the earth,' were it not that the mountains around it are totally devoid of wood, and that there is an entire absence of rivers and fountains. His remarks on the character and habits of the Georgians must be received with some allowance from the Russian medium through which they were observed: but of their substantial accuracy we see no reason to doubt.

'The personal beauty of the Georgians would naturally attract the attention of Europeans, and secure a lively interest in their favour, if their intellectual condition were only in keeping with their outward bearing. The Georgian would win the esteem of all the world did he but unite, with the symmetry of his person and the energy of his character, a taste for useful occupation, and the laudable improvement of the faculties of his mind; while the women of Georgia would be admitted on all hands to have a just claim to the possession of the highest order of female loveliness, did they not prematurely impair the advantages which nature has so lavishly bestowed upon them by the immoderate use of cosmetics, of apparel prejudicial to their health, and by their reckless licentiousness, instead of directing their thoughts to the regulation of their households, to economy,

cleanliness, the education of their children, and the other duties proper to their sex.

‘It must be confessed that in this, as in all other cases, some praiseworthy exceptions will be found ; but I only speak here of the general impressions which are made by Georgian society upon a stranger, and am therefore obliged to aver, that there is a total want of industry, activity, and domestic feeling everywhere apparent ; and though cleanliness, and a love of order have, in a few instances, gained a footing among the higher class, it is yet only as objects of imitation and luxury, not of necessity and habit.’—pp. 32, 33.

As in other parts of the East, ancient habits struggle against modern improvements. ‘The Georgian still adheres to his own primitive agricultural implements, and defective system of cultivation in the field, the vineyard, and the garden. He is not even so far advanced in the construction of his mills, as to supply himself with a good quantity of flour ; this has to be produced from the Russians. His antiquated wheel carriages are still as clumsy and rude as they were in the golden age. He still, as of old, shaves off all the hair from his head, which he covers when he goes into the broiling sun, with a heavy cap of sheepskin, well calculated, when aided by excesses in the use of wine, to produce a constant determination of blood to the brain. The native of Tiflis still makes it a daily practice to indulge, as of old, in the use of his disgusting, filthy, sulphureous warm bath, where he exposes his body for hours to the heating and enervating influence of the vapour.’

The presence, however, of numerous strangers from Russia, Germany and France, is not without its influence on the habits of the Georgians, which is seen in the stiff collar and oriental robes of some of the merchants, the French capote of the ladies, and the high sloped tiling of many of the houses. The people and their city are evidently undergoing a change which betokens the downfall, at no very distant period, of the whole system of Georgian customs.

M. Parrot’s progress was now arrested by the breaking out of the plague in the course of his intended route. The authorities forbid his advance, and he was therefore compelled most reluctantly to remain at Tiflis, where he employed himself in ascertaining its geographical position, and in observations on the atmosphere. Referring to the latter subject, he says—

‘The heat and aridity of the atmosphere begin to be oppressive as early as the month of May, and they continue to increase through June, July, and August, till they become intolerable ; so that, for three hours before, and six after mid-day, during these last two months, no one will willingly leave the house in which, by dint of excluding the light of the sun, and sprinkling the apartments with

water, some degree of coolness may be maintained. If Tiflis had the advantage of trees, the plan adopted in Bengal for cooling the dwellings might be introduced there. This plan consists in filling the open windows with green boughs, the evaporation from which will, as we are assured, reduce the temperature some 10 or 14 degrees. The Persian fans are, however, a very effective substitute for this: they are formed of some very light material, about a foot square, and so contrived as to be readily turned with the hand like a vane; this produces such a motion in the air that, when it is kept up for an hour or thereabouts, the increased evaporation from the skin will produce a very sensible, and in irritable subjects even a painful impression of cold.

There is one circumstance which, in my opinion, also contributes not a little to maintain a degree of coolness in the apartments of an eastern house; that is, the peculiar roof, if we may be allowed to give this name to the uppermost floor or terrace of their houses. This is formed of a layer of earth and stiff clay, about two feet thick, quite even, but inclined by about two inches to one side; so that, during a heavy shower of rain, the water may not run off at all sides, but be directed through a couple of openings in the parapet, which rises about a foot above the level of the roof. This bed of earth acts hygrometrically upon the atmosphere, imbibing the damps by night, which are again evaporated in the heat of the day, and, by a known law of physics, has a perceptible effect in cooling the air; whereas, under the usual European roof, which has been most unadvisedly introduced by foreigners into Tiflis, an actual reverberation of the heat takes place. These flat terraces are, moreover, usually overgrown with weeds; it is said to be particularly the *Lepidium vesicarium* which is there met with. This becomes scorched in summer, and then is set on fire, to get rid of the dry stalks, so that the fire, which soon seizes on this inflammable vegetable matter, will often present the startling and beautiful spectacle of a wide body of flame sweeping over the city in the night.

This terrace is also the place to which the Georgians of the ancient stock resort, when the sun has set, and the heat of the day has declined, to enjoy themselves with their family and friends in the cool air, taking a look into the streets of the town, admiring the magnificent snowy peaks of Caucasus, or indulging themselves with tea or wine, and often passing the entire night on it in song and music. This is the place where many a one, exhausted by the heat of the day, and anxious to escape from the scarcely less intolerable heat of the night in the apartments below, tries to court the respite of a little refreshing repose under a tent: the place, too, where, upon all occasions of solemn processions through the narrow streets, the Georgian fair, enveloped from head to foot in their thick and snowy veils, find a convenient stand, from which they may see and be seen.—pp. 46—48.

Excursions were also made during this period into the pro-

vinces immediately around Tiflis, and much interesting information was collected. Of one of these, Kakhethi, we are informed that its chief productions are wine, corn, silk, and honey; and a singular mode of preserving the first is named, which we transcribe for the benefit of such of our readers as are connoisseurs in these matters.

'There is an active export of wine: for the Kakhethi wine is duly, unfortunately sometimes unduly, prized throughout all Georgia as the very best; though it cannot admit of any doubt that the art of making wine is still but very imperfectly understood in this province, the esteemed produce of which is totally destitute of the true aromatic flavour of wine, and will not keep more than five or six years. Stories of ten-year-old wine are looked upon as suspicious by the initiated. However this may be, there is certainly enough of it drunk beyond Caucasus to afford a knowledge of its properties. Their mode of keeping it, not only here but in every other district of Georgia, seemed to me both instructive and interesting. They have no casks, but keep it in earthen jars and leathern bottles. These latter are made of the skins of goats, oxen, and buffaloes, turned inside out, clipped with the scissors, washed, and rubbed over with warm mineral tar, or, as it is also called, naphtha. The openings are closed with a sort of wooden bung, except at the feet, where they are only tied up with a cord. The wine is drawn at one foot, merely by opening or closing the noose. It is a very strange and whimsical sight, for the new-comer, to see oxen and buffaloes full of wine lying in the wine-booth, or about the streets, with their legs stretched out. These skins, however, are very convenient for home use, or for carriage; for they may be found of all sizes, some very small—the skins of young kids—holding only a few bottles; at the same time, these latter come very rarely into requisition.'—pp. 58, 59.

At length the travellers recommenced their journey towards Ararat, on the 1st of September, the distance from Tiflis being about 186 miles. Regular post stations kept by Kossaks are established along the road, but the only accommodation which could be procured were riding and pack-horses. On the return of the party, teleggas or posting cars were occasionally met with, for which, however, horses had to be hired of the peasants. The villages which lay in their route, whether Armenian or Mohammedan, had little that was attractive in their external appearance. The houses, constructed of clay, have flat roofs, with here and there a small square opening for a window looking into a court-yard surrounded with a clay wall. Savage dogs render the approach to these habitations somewhat hazardous, and the disposition of the Tartar population is by no means friendly to Christian visitors.

On the evening of the 8th of September, M. Parrot arrived at the Monastery of Echmiadszin, situated at the foot of Mount

Ararat, and exultingly expatiated on the prospect which its noble outline and vast elevation furnished. From the Armenian patriarch and clergy little sympathy was experienced, in the object of his mission. Their replies to his inquiries were apathetic and chilling, arising partly from the utter want of enlightened curiosity, and partly from the superstition of their country, which led them to regard with hostility any attempt to penetrate into the mysteries of the sacred mountain. 'The former political connexions of the monastery, its alternate dependence, now upon one and now upon some other potentate, to whom for the sake of the very existence of the establishment it was necessary to observe a blind submission and elaborate deference, have, in the lapse of centuries, had the effect of destroying all candour and openness in the monks, and introducing mistrust, disingenuousness, and a selfish devotion to personal interests in its stead; so that it is impossible for a stranger to overpass those bounds of oriental formality and cold politeness which are here so strictly drawn and observed.' The usual result of seclusion was visible in the intellectual stagnation which pervaded their society. They wondered at the enthusiasm of their visitor, and were obviously uninterested in any matter beyond their own immediate affairs.

'In the evening, several of the archimandrites spent some hours with us, over a cup of tea, with which our kind host, Father Joseph, regaled us. Still I saw that it was impossible to give that turn to the conversation which it might be expected to have taken when persons from distant countries, and of so many various conditions and sentiments, come together. With the exception of the Deacon Abovian, there were only the Archimandrite Manuel, and the librarian, the Archimandrite Ohannes, who could speak Russian; but all other European languages were unknown in the monastery. This, however, is not to be wondered at, if we reflect upon the retired and sequestered life passed by these ecclesiastics, many of whom have never been beyond the walls of Echmiadzin, during a monastic life of half a century. Still, this makes it rather the more extraordinary, that they should have totally neglected the study of the ancient tongues; so that I was completely disappointed in the supposition I had entertained, that, in my ignorance of the oriental languages, I might have recourse to my Latin.

'This total indifference to the study of the Greek and Roman classics, several of whose works are preserved in their library in the monastery, is no less to be deplored than wondered at: as such pursuits would seem more calculated than any others to relieve lassitude and dissipate those worldly anxieties so likely to engender the vices which too often beset men living under the restrictions and confinement of a cloister. Their only literary occupation was the study of the history of their country; if it really can be deemed

literary employment for an Armenian monk to read the histories of his nation in the Armenian tongue, without the least idea of intelligent criticism, and to receive with blind submission all that their authors assert, either upon their own authority or that of worthless traditions, with all the errors and variations of careless transcribers; or, at least, to represent them to the people as positive and undoubted truths, whenever it suits their interest or hierarchical policy to do so.'—pp. 104, 105.

The whole attention of the party was now directed towards the mountain, which consists of the Great and the Little Ararat, the former having an elevation of 17,210 and the latter of 18,000 feet perpendicular above the level of the sea. The ascent was soon planned, and the following brief account of their mode of passing the night will give some faint idea of the hardships encountered by the travellers.

'From this chapel, we ascended the grassy eminence which forms the right side of the chasm, and had to suffer much from the heat, insomuch, that our Kossak, who would much rather have galloped for three days together through the steppe, seated on horseback, than climb over the rocks for two hours, declared that he was ready to sink with fatigue, and it was necessary to send him back. About six o'clock in the evening, as we too were completely tired, and had approached close to the region of snow, we sought out a place for our night's lodging among the fragments of rock. We had attained a height of 12,360 feet; our bed was the hard rock, and the cold icy head of the mountain our only stove. In the sheltered places around still lay some fresh snow; the temperature of the air was at the freezing point. M. Schiemann and myself had prepared ourselves tolerably well for this contingency, and our joy at the enterprise also helped to warm us, but our athletic jäger Sahák (Isaac), from Arguri, was quite dispirited with the cold, for he had nothing but his summer clothing; his neck and legs from the knee to the sandal were quite naked, and the only covering for his head was an old cloth, tied round it. I had neglected, at first starting, to give attention to his wardrobe; it was, therefore, my duty to help him as far as I could; and as we had ourselves no spare clothing, I wrapped his nakedness in some sheets of grey paper which I had brought with me for the purpose of drying plants; this answered him very well.'—pp. 145, 146,

On the first dawn of morning their journey was continued, and the state of the ice, with which the upper part of the mountain is perpetually covered, requiring that steps should be cut in order to their ascent, the day wore away before the summit could be gained. They were therefore compelled, at three o'clock in the afternoon, having then attained the elevation of 15,400 feet above the sea, to consider where they were to pass the ensuing night. 'I do not believe,' says M. Parrot, 'that

there existed any insuperable obstacle to our further advance upwards; but the few hours of daylight which still remained to us for climbing to the summit, would have been more than expended in accomplishing this object; and then on the top, we should not have found a rock to shelter us during the night, to say nothing of our scanty supply of food, which had not been calculated for so protracted an excursion.'

The result of their deliberation was a return to the plain, but here a fresh danger presented itself, from which they narrowly escaped with their lives. The account must be given in our author's own words.

'Satisfied with the result, and with having ascertained that the mountain was by no means wholly inaccessible on this side, and having made our barometrical observations, we turned about and immediately fell into a danger which we never dreamt of in ascending. For, while the footing is generally less sure in descending a mountain than in ascending it, at the same time it is extremely difficult to restrain one's self and to tread with the requisite caution, when looking from above upon such a uniform surface of ice and snow, as spread from beneath our feet to the distance of two thirds of a mile without interruption, and on which, if we happened to slip and fall, there was nothing to prevent our rapidly shooting downwards, except the angular fragments of rock which bounded the regions of ice. The danger here lies more in want of habit than in real difficulty. The active spirit of my young friend, now engaged in his first mountain journey, and whose strength and courage were well able to cope with harder trials, was yet unable to withstand this: treading incautiously, he fell; but, as he was about twenty paces behind me, I had time to strike my staff before me in the ice as deep as it would go, to plant my foot firmly on my excellent many-pointed ice-shoe, and while my right hand grasped the staff, to catch M. Schiemann with my left, as he was sliding by. My position was good, and resisted the impetus of his fall; but the tie of the ice-shoe, although so strong that it appeared to be of a piece with the sole, gave way with the strain; the straps were cut through as if with a knife, and unable to support the double weight on the bare sole, I also fell. M. Schiemann, rolling against two stones, came to a stoppage, with little injury, sooner than myself; the distance over which I was hurried, almost unconsciously, was little short of a quarter of a mile, and ended in the debris of lava, not far from the border of the glacier.'—pp. 148, 149.

An attack of fever, consequent on the exertions made, compelled M. Parrot for a time to desist from the renewal of his attempt; but having speedily recovered, he recommenced his preparations with unabated zeal. The party, consisting of twelve persons, set out on the morning of the 18th of September, and essayed the north-west side of the mountain, where the way

though longer was much less precipitous. They passed the night at an elevation of 13,070 feet, not far from the borders of perpetual snow, and resumed their ascent early in the morning. Of the difficulties encountered some idea may be formed from the following extract, which describes their course during the early part of the second day. It must have required no ordinary share of determination and bodily strength to persist in the face of such obstructions.

‘For an instant we halted at the foot of the pyramid of snow which before our eyes was projected with wondrous grandeur on the clear blue sky: we chose out such matters as could be dispensed with, and left them behind a rock; then serious and in silence, and not without a devout shuddering, we set foot upon that region which certainly since Noah’s time no human being had ever trodden. At first the progress was easy, because the acclivity was not very steep, and besides it was covered with a layer of fresh snow on which it was easy to walk; the few cracks in the ice, also, which occurred, were of no great breadth, and could be easily stepped over. But this joy did not last long; for, after we had advanced about 200 paces, the steepness increased to such a degree, that we were no longer able to tread securely on the snow, but, in order to save ourselves from sliding down on the ice beneath it, we were obliged to have recourse to that measure, for the employment of which I had taken care to equip myself and my companions, namely, the cutting of steps. Although that which is called ice in such mountains, is in reality snow converted into a glacier, that is to say, permeated with water and again frozen, in which state it is far from possessing the solidity of true ice, yet like this it does not yield to the pressure of the foot, and requires, where the slope is very rapid, the cutting of steps. For this purpose some of us had brought little axes, some bill-hooks, while others, again, made use of the ice-staff. The general rule in the ascent was, that the leader should only cut the ice just enough to allow himself to mount, and that each as he followed should enlarge the step; and thus, while the labour of the foremost was lightened, a good path was prepared for the descent, wherein much firmer footing is required than in ascending.

‘Through this proceeding, dictated off-hand by necessity and frequent experience, and which, moreover, could not be dispensed with for a single step, as well as through manifold hindrances of a new sort, which obstructed the carrying up of the cross, our progress suffered so much delay, that though in the stony region which was by no means easily traversed, we had been able to gain about 1000 feet of elevation in the hour, we could now hardly ascend 600 feet in the same time. It was necessary for us to turn a bold projection of the slope above us, and having come to it, we found on it, and straight across the direction in which we were proceeding, a deep crack in the ice, about five feet wide, and of such length that we could not distinctly see whether it was possible to go round it. To

our consolation, however, the drifted snow had in one place filled up the crevice tolerably well, so that with mutual assistance we got safely over, a feat rendered somewhat difficult by the circumstance that the edge of the ice which we wanted to reach was a good deal higher than that on which we were standing'—pp 160—162.

For a second time the travellers were doomed to disappointment. At an elevation of 16,028 feet they were compelled to abandon the enterprise, as the day was far advanced, and clouds were gathering in the sky. The attempt, however, was repeated, and on the 9th of October, 1829, 'we stood,' says our narrator, 'on the top of Ararat!'

We cannot indulge in further quotation, but must be content with simply adverting to the fact that M. Parrot's statement of his having reached the summit of Ararat has been questioned, though, as we think, without sufficient ground. He has furnished the evidence pro and con, and those of our readers who are interested in the question may determine the probabilities of the case for themselves. We strongly recommend his volume to the early perusal of all.

Art. VII.—*The Necessary Existence of God.* By William Gillespie, Edinburgh: Philalethean Publication Office.

It will be interesting to our readers, first, to receive some account of the circumstances which have led to the appearance of the present remarkable work. Some few years ago, there existed, perhaps exists still, a society at Glasgow, called 'The Areopagus or Zetetic Society.' Mr. Gillespie, having seen atheistical publications exposed for sale in Edinburgh, had been induced to challenge any atheist who might be found in that city, to refute a demonstration he would produce of the Being of God. His challenge was accepted, and a copy of his demonstration forwarded accordingly; but, after waiting a considerable time, he was informed that the person who had undertaken the task, could not answer it. To make amends, however, for the disappointment, he was informed that there was a society of atheists in Glasgow more numerous, clever, and learned, who would, no doubt, accept the challenge. Accordingly our author presently forwarded a letter to the whole society, calling upon them to undertake the task, which had been declined by the atheists of Edinburgh. The only conditions laid down on the one side, and accepted on the other, were (1) that the answer should be on paper: (2) that it should point out some (alleged)

specific fallacy in the alleged demonstration. The terms being agreed to, Mr. Gillespie's demonstration was forwarded. The reply Mr. Gillespie received contained the following paragraph: 'Relative to your challenge, it is hereby accepted upon your own terms. A reply to your 'argument' will be commenced forthwith; but as the writer has not much time to spare, it cannot be expected to proceed very rapidly. But as the society intend publishing it at their own charges, and are anxious that the thing should be proceeded with, you may rely on no time being lost. A copy will be forwarded to you as soon as it comes out of the press.'

The promised 'refutation' accordingly appeared, with the signature of *Antitheos*, about eight months after. Mr. Gillespie feeling that no impression had thereby been produced upon the 'Demonstration,' speedily prepared an 'Examination of Antitheos's Refutation.' In a postscript, to the *third edition* of which, he says,

'Three years have now elapsed since this *Examination* was first given to the public: and as *Antitheos* has not brought out any reply, it may be presumed, 'tis intended that no reply shall appear.

'Indeed, in a private communication to the author of the *Examination*, '*Antitheos*,' in so many words, lets it be understood, that he does not propose to publish any reply. . . .

'In short, the silence of *Antitheos* before the public is expressive; it informs us, as well as any words could inform us, of his inability to controvert the reasonings of the '*Examination*.' No question but that so keen a controvertist would have replied, had a passable reply been reckoned at all practicable.

'This controversy may, therefore, be viewed as closed. The champion of the *Zetetics* having retired disgraced from the lists, may be proclaimed recreant. The atheists of *Scotland* have cried, through the medium of their representative's silence.—'Hold, enough!'

Since Mr. Gillespie wrote the foregoing statement, two more years have elapsed, and, so far as we have heard, neither the Atheistic gentleman who wrote the 'Refutation,' nor any of his fellow '*Zetetics*,' has courted further notoriety. Discretion has curbed their zeal, and Mr. Gillespie is fairly entitled to a Pæan.

'Palmam qui meruit, ferat.'

The work, now appearing in the third edition, comprises the following articles, all bearing on the great subject:—'An Inquiry into the defects of mere *à posteriori* Arguments;' 'Reviews of the Demonstrations,' by Mr. Locke, Dr. S. Clarke, the Rev. Moses Lowman and Bishop Hamilton, of the Existence and Attributes of a Deity;' 'The (Author's own) Argument *à priori* for the being and attributes of a great First Cause;' 'An Examination of *Antitheos*'s Refutation of the above Argu-

ment';—which occupies nearly three-fourths of the entire volume.

An Appendix containing various miscellaneous matters, and among the rest, the entire contents of the 'Refutation', by Antitheos, which professed to point out the alleged fallacies of Mr. Gillespie.

The reader of Mr. Gillespie's work is thus put in possession of a complete account of the whole affair, and will be thereby enabled to judge how far the objections of the Atheist tended to impair the argument, as well as how far Mr. Gillespie has succeeded in their demolition.

We shall now proceed to lay before our readers as succinct and fair an account as we can of Mr. Gillespie's reasoning. If, in so doing, we should find it necessary to pass any strictures upon the execution of the work, we trust we shall not be misunderstood, as if we disapproved of the attempt, or could not appreciate the eminent ability and acuteness, which the author has, in many parts, displayed.

His inquiry, into the defects of all *à posteriori* arguments for the infinity, eternity, and unity of God, displays great logical acuteness. The principal defect he points out is, that from the contemplation of a finite effect, you cannot infer an infinite cause; and further, that, from unity of design, you may infer unity of counsel, but cannot logically prove unity of substance in that cause. So far, however, as the argument goes, he assents to it without hesitation. Yet thinks that, though the argument clearly proves design in the Author of nature, it cannot prove that the designer was the Creator of the *matter* in which the design appears; for that argument does no more than infer a designing cause from certain appearances; in the same way as we should infer, from finding some well-contrived machine in a desert, that a human being had left it there.' The point which he thinks is wanting in the *à posteriori* argument is 'proof of design in gross untractable matter itself.' Here we think the author has failed to do justice to the argument he was criticising, by overlooking the fact, that 'gross untractable matter,' as he calls it, does as clearly evince design as any of the individual objects or phenomena which he had, without hesitation, pronounced to be proofs of design. Do the chemical properties of matter evince no design? Do its mechanical properties evince none? The adaptation of the chemical properties of earth, light, air, and water to the organization of plants and animals, is as satisfactory proof of design, as the adaptation of the organism to the elements. The intelligence which in thought designed the plants and animals, before they were brought into existence, must have possessed a perfect knowledge of the chemical and

mechanical properties of the 'gross untractable matter;'—since chemical analysis is, at the present moment, showing such knowledge to have been previously essential to the design of constructing those plants and animals, which were to make use of them. Thus constituting those systems of organization perfect laboratories for analyzing matter and appropriating it to their own uses. Yea, even designing to construct the laboratories themselves out of the very materials on which they were afterwards to work, and by the assimilation of which they were to be conserved. Moreover the system of resolution and reproduction, complicates the proof of design to a far higher degree. The inorganic is transmuted into the organic—the organic is again resolved into the inorganic—supplying the very elements necessary to the production and continuance of the organized systems. Moreover those qualities seem to have been imparted to matter at first, which fitted it to subserve the organic creation, and of which that creation could make use—without deficiency and without redundancy. Design appears as clearly in first preparing the appropriate pabulum that the subsequent creation would require, as in the ordering of that creation itself. If we choose to pause at the production of the 'gross untractable matter,' and say it shows no design, because we do not yet perceive the end it is to answer, nor its perfect adaptation to it, we act irrationally. We judge of the architect's wisdom from his rough materials, before he has laid them together or erected the superstructure. But if we view matter as a preliminary step to the organic creation, then there is evidence enough of design from first to last—and of design most elaborate and complicated.

But this is not the only fault we find in Mr. Gillespie's criticism upon the *à posteriori* argument. We think it a very serious defect not to have noticed—that, though it is perfectly true, from a finite object you cannot fairly infer an infinite cause, and an infinite designer, yet it ought to be admitted that under these terms finite effect, and finite object, we are liable to contemplate a very inadequate and even insignificant idea: whereas those terms do properly represent *the whole creation*, which assuredly contains such a multiplicity of separate objects, such an inexhaustible mine of objects—of objects in succession interminably—of objects rising from the elements, and coming forth perpetually—of new objects revealing themselves to our senses just in proportion to the growth of our powers of discovery, that it may be said fairly, the objects of science, and consequently the proofs of design, are practically interminable: and though confessedly still in thought, finite, do so approximate to infinity, that for all practical and popular purposes, they may be treated as inexhaustible proofs of design—which is near akin

to proof of an infinite designer. Perhaps they lead our minds on as near toward the conception of such a cause as we can ever reach. If we have not yet arrived at the limit of creation, neither have we yet felt the necessity of inferring that its cause must be finite. It may be perfectly true that we have not yet reached that comprehensive knowledge which warrants us directly and logically to infer an infinite cause:—and how can we, without possessing infinite knowledge?—yet if all our knowledge of the objects tends to the same inference of design, and unity of design—and if every new advance of knowledge does but aggrandize such proof—every ascent of the wing of science does but open to us a wider and still a wider prospect—and convince us that we are but yet upon the frontier of regions where similar objects will still multiply upon us, without limit and without end—then to us practically, though certainly not metaphysically, this is adequate proof of an infinite designer. The observer of phenomena can no more exhaust the mine of those objects which Mr. Gillespie admits prove design, than the metaphysician, in his department, can exhaust the idea of expansion and duration.

We cannot but fear that Mr. Gillespie's attachment to his own *à priori* argument has led him to depreciate unduly, those proofs of design which it is the province of the *à posteriori* reasoners to develop; at least, in our opinion he has not done them full justice.—His next section contains a review of the professedly *à priori* arguments by the several authors before named. The principal of these are Mr. Locke's and Dr. Sam. Clarke's.

It is chiefly against Mr. Locke, that our author directs the whole force of his criticism, though he alleges that both Clarke's and the others, are chargeable with several serious imperfections. Mr. Locke's reasoning begins at the point,—some being (as myself) now exists—nothing cannot produce a being—what was not from eternity, had a beginning—what had a beginning must be produced by something else—whatever begins to be, must have a cause. Thus far, he says, even atheists will admit; and indeed, no reasoning can be less liable to objection than this: *if nothing cannot produce the being which is, from eternity there has been something; since what was not from eternity had a beginning*, etc. Locke continues:—

'This *Eternal Source*, then, of all being, must also be the source and original of all power, and so THIS ETERNAL BEING must also be the most powerful.' It is to this Mr. Gillespie objects. He says, 'here lies the sophism, and a mighty sophism it is.' 'He *inferred* that from eternity there has been *SOMETHING*. The nature, however, of the something, was not determined. Something indeed there was proved to have always been, but it was only a vague something. But in this

fourth step, the vague something is secretly held to be, not a succession, from eternity, of things or beings, but an '*eternal source*' of all other beings, or, in other words, an eternal being, the cause of all other existences. Before, however, the author could have legitimately arrived at such an eternal source, or being, it behoved him to have demolished the hypothesis of the infinite succession of things—the grand hypothesis of atheism, the hypothesis, we may say, into which all atheism must run at last.'

We must say that we think Locke has been misrepresented, because he does not properly set out with *something*, but with the existence of an intelligent *being*, and of course, if his intermediate reasoning was sound, as Mr. Gillespie admits, he was entitled to infer that the intelligence which was a property of the thing assumed to exist, came from that source from which came the thing, or being, called man. Besides, he goes at length into the proof that non-intelligence can no more be the cause of intelligence, than nothing can be equal to two right angles, or the cause of something. After all the *mighty sophism* Mr. Gillespie charges upon Locke, is, we think, rather in appearance than reality, or if it exist at all, it exists in the omission to destroy the atheistic idea of an eternal succession of finite beings and things, that is to say, the fault is not so much in the reasoning Locke constructed, as in his not meeting a certain supposition which might seem to admit his reasoning, but supersede his conclusion, by drawing from his arguments another conclusion, and that quite adverse. So far, it might be admitted, that Locke failed to fortify his conclusion by showing that the atheistic supposition could not rest upon his premises, nor attach to his reasoning, or to any other. But after all, it appears that Locke's '*mighty sophism*' consisted not in any thing he did, but in what he omitted to do, and that was to demolish the theory of *eternal succession*. Accordingly Mr. Gillespie does this at one part of his own argument, thus:—

'Should it now be asserted that any succession, or successions of substances, *finite in extension*, for a succession of substances of infinity of extension were, we know not what: should it be asserted that any successions, or any one succession of substances—say of minerals or vegetables, or animals, or all together, or of worlds, or of systems of worlds, is of infinity of duration; the falsity of the assertion is immediately and abundantly apparent. For, seeing that the whole material universe, itself, is finite in duration, every succession of substances which are in the material universe (and know you of substances finite in extension, which are out of it?) must therefore be finite in duration, too.'—p 23 of the *Argument à Priori*.

This is the thing done by Mr. Gillespie which Locke omitted

to do, and for which omission alone he charges him with a *mighty sophism*. But what, upon Mr. Gillespie's own shewing, is this said doctrine of succession but a *false assertion which is immediately and abundantly apparent*—for Mr. Gillespie's conclusion is, that *every succession of substances in the material universe must be finite in duration*. For the proof or rather demonstration of this he refers to a previous proposition in which he had shown that the material universe was finite in duration. The upshot of the whole is that Mr. Locke did not demolish an absurdity—an unintelligible and impossible supposition. It would have been more candid to suppose that Locke either overlooked the absurdity Mr. Gillespie has demolished—or that he imagined, the absurdity of it was, as Mr. Gillespie says, *so immediately and abundantly apparent*, that he might leave it altogether unnoticed—to fall by its own want of coherence.

But it is now time that Mr. Gillespie should be allowed to state his own *à priori* argument. It will not be possible to extract the whole course of his reasoning in support of his proposition, since that extends to some twenty-six pages, but we shall lay before our readers the scheme of the demonstration as the author has himself presented it.

DIVISION I.

PART I.

- PROPOSITION. I. Infinity of Extension is necessarily existing.
 II. Infinity of Extension is necessarily indivisible.
 III. There is necessarily a being of infinity of extension.
 IV. The being of infinity of extension is necessarily of *unity and simplicity*.
 V. There is necessarily but one being of infinity of expansion.

PART II.

- PROPOS. I. Infinity of duration is, necessarily, *existing*.
 II. Infinity of duration is necessarily *indivisible*.
 III. There is necessarily a being of infinity of duration.
 IV. The being of infinity of duration is, necessarily, of *unity and simplicity*.
 V. There is, necessarily, *but one* being of infinity of duration.

PART III.

- PROPOS. I. There is necessarily, a *being* of infinity of expansion, and infinity of duration.
 II. The being of infinity of expansion and infinity of duration is, necessarily, of *unity and simplicity*.
 III. There is necessarily, *but one* being of infinity of expansion and infinity of duration.

DIVISION II.

PART I.

PROPOS. The simple, sole, being of infinity of expansion and of duration, is, necessarily, *Intelligent and All-knowing*.

PART II.

PROPOS. The simple, sole being of infinity of expansion and of duration, who is all-knowing, is necessarily, *all powerful*.

PART III.

PROPOS. The simple sole being of infinity of expansion and of duration, who is all-knowing, and all-powerful, is, *necessarily, free*.

DIVISION III.

PROPOS. The simple sole, being of infinity of expansion and of duration, who is all-knowing, all-powerful, and entirely free, is necessarily, *completely happy*.

SUB PROPOS. The simple, sole being of infinity of expansion and of duration, who is all-knowing, all-powerful, entirely free and completely happy is necessarily *perfectly good*.

This series of propositions is arranged with considerable ability and argued mostly with much acuteness. If it shall be found to bear the test of the metaphysicians, and in all the links of the chain be proved inseparable, the author will have accomplished an invaluable service to the cause of theism—and though the age, which has little taste for such ratiocination, should fail to do him justice, yet his Argument will live and he shall reap his reward.

It can hardly be said that the work has yet attracted that attention, at least in England, which the importance of the subject demands; nor is this to be wondered at—the atheists of course will not give it publicity, since it has discomfited their brethren of the north—and to the mass of Christian readers, the perusal of such an elaborate treatise would be an irksome as well as a needless task. There are, however, as Mr. Gillespie hints, exceptions to the general rule of superficiality:—and ‘no age receives those impressions which are to be lasting, and to influence the sentiments of posterity, from any but the more profound thinkers.’

The truth of this observation has been well illustrated in that eminent man Bishop Butler whose remarkable sentence, which we shall immediately quote, has, if we mistake not, supplied the germ of the *à priori* argument which is now on its trial. In the fifth letter to Dr. Samuel Clarke, at the end of the volume containing his demonstration, are to be found the following words—‘but did it plainly appear that they (viz. space and

duration) were properties of a substance, we should have an easy way with the atheists, for it would at once prove demonstrably an eternal, necessary, self-existent being; that there is *but one* such; and that he is needful to the existence of all other things.' The writer proceeds—'which makes me think that though it *may* be true, yet it is not obvious to every capacity, otherwise it would have been generally used, as a fundamental argument to prove the being of a God:—'he had previously said 'I must own my ignorance, that I am really at a loss about the nature of *space and duration*.'

Those of our readers who will now refer back to Mr. Gillespie's *First Division*, Part i. will perceive that he has essayed to prove, from our necessary conception of the infinity and indivisibility of space or extension, the existence of a being of infinite extension, and that it is on his third proposition that the whole strength of his argument depends. His demonstration runs thus;

'1.—Either infinity of extension subsists, or (which is at bottom the same thing) we conceive it to subsist, without a support or substratum: or, it subsists not, or, (which is the same thing) we conceive it not to subsist, without a support or substratum.

'*First*, If infinity of extension subsists without a substratum, then it is a *substance*. And if any one should deny, that it is a substance, it is subsisting; to prove beyond contradiction the utter absurdity of such denial, we have but to defy him to show, *why* infinity of extension is not a substance, *so far forth as it can subsist by itself without a substratum*.

As, therefore, it is a contradiction to deny that infinity of extension exists, (Prop. i. § 3.) so there is, on the supposition of its being able to subsist without a substratum, a *substance* or *being* of infinity of extension necessarily existing, though infinity of extension, and the being of infinity of extension are *not different*, as standing to each other in the relation of mode and subject of the mode, but are identical.

'*Secondly*. If infinity of extension subsist not without a substratum, then, it being a contradiction to deny there is infinity of extension (Prop. i. § 3.) it is a contradiction to deny there is a substratum to it.

'Whether or not men will consent to call this substratum, *substance* or *being*, is of very little consequence. For, 'tis certain that the word *substance* or *being* has never been employed, can never be employed, to stand for anything better entitled to the application of the term, than the substratum of infinity of extension. But to refuse to give such substratum that name, *being a thing obviously most unreasonable*, let us call the substratum of infinity of extension, by the name *substance* or *being*.

'There is, then, necessarily, a being of infinity of extension.

The author goes through a similar train of reasoning in Part ii. concerning infinity of duration, coming to a parallel conclusion 'there is then of necessity a being of infinity of duration'—and but one—he then unites these two conclusions in his third part

—and proceeds to complete his work by connecting with his previous inferences *intelligence*—almightiness—entire freedom—happiness and goodness. The peculiarity of our author's work, consists in representing infinite expansion or infinity of expansion and duration as properties of God. This was the doctrine maintained by Clarke, and contested by Leibnitz in the correspondence which was published. So that, in fact, with the exception of the concise and logical form into which Mr. Gillespie has reduced the argument, and the more orderly and graceful edifice into which he has shaped his materials, we find nothing new. The solidity of the whole is quite another matter. The question to which Butler alludes in the passage we have cited, shows how incapable that distinguished man felt himself, of forming any decisive opinion of the nature of space and duration; and assuredly the long and subtle controversy between Clarke and Leibnitz has not relieved us of our difficulties. It is with extreme reluctance we insinuate any hesitation in admitting Mr. Gillespie's demonstration—but we should be still more reluctant to admit, what his argument requires—that infinite space and duration are *properties* of the infinite being. If finite space and finite duration cannot with any propriety be contemplated as properties of finite beings, though all finite beings have an essential relation to them, we cannot imagine how infinite space and infinite duration can be described as properties of the deity. It is very possible to rebut the observation by demanding if space and duration are not properties of the infinite being, what are they? It is very easy to adapt the metaphysical axiom to space, and say, it must be either a substratum or the quality of a substratum—because so our science distributes the objects of our thought—but yet it is true, that our metaphysics have not yet determined whether space can be classed under either category. Mr. Gillespie has made up his mind upon the subject, but he knows perfectly well that the philosophers are not few who are in the predicament of Butler—at a loss to determine the nature of space and duration—because every theory that has been started concerning them leaves us in apparently insurmountable difficulties.

We waive many minor exceptions to Mr. Gillespie's reasoning, which have occurred to us in reading his book. Sometimes we think he has inadvertently called in *à posteriori* reasoning—As for instance in the proof that the material universe is finite in extension, p. 14, he appears to us to depend entirely upon our *experience*:—our observation that some parts of the material universe are divisible from each other, is made the basis for the inference, that all the parts are in the same predicament—and this is the conclusion, he says, to which, by the rules of philo-

sophy, we are entitled to come.' That may be admitted—but still this is not *à priori* reasoning—it is a little bit of inductive philosophy. There are other similar instances of the mixed reasoning which has been charged upon most of the *à priori* demonstrations.

We have read the work with more than usual interest, and with the sincere wish to find every step of the demonstration as clear and unimpeachable as any in geometry—but we stumbled at the outset over his fundamental propositions, and though we have endeavoured to reconcile our minds to the proof that infinite space is a property of God, yet we have not succeeded in the attempt. We do not pronounce the argument bad—but we yet lack the knowledge which might enable us to take that step at which Butler halted—and which we believe has never yet been made firm. The work of Mr. Gillespie, however, displays both ingenuity and logical acuteness in no ordinary degree. It deserves the closest attention and will supply matter for the profoundest thought. As an exercise for minds of a metaphysical turn, we heartily recommend it. Many, we have no doubt, will deem it a clear accession to our rational theology, and should it only succeed in silencing gainsayers and confirming believers, it will have accomplished an important end.

The attempted 'Refutation' by the atheists of Glasgow, if we may judge by the chapter which professes to point out Mr. Gillespie's *fallacies*, though evidently the work of a subtle mind, is anything but a fair and manly attempt to face the argument. It is made up of evasion, sophistry and banter. The writer repeatedly contradicts himself, and is no match for Mr. Gillespie either in metaphysical acumen or in erudition. The Examination of the Refutation is as complete a demolition of an adversary, and as fine a piece of criticism, in point of power, as can be met with in modern times. Indeed, with a few exceptions, we should say that this is the most instructive and interesting part of the book. Mr. Gillespie possesses a peculiar tact for discovering the defects and fallacies of other writers. No man has more completely exposed the unsoundness of many of Hume's most formidable arguments, than Mr. Gillespie, and at the same time he has not hesitated to reprove, perhaps rather too sharply, the unsound reasoning of many of the friends of theism. Doctor Watts, Robert Hall, and many others, the reader will find handled with very little ceremony. We should have been more gratified with the work had it been distinguished by less of the spirit of boastful self-confidence, and more of the meekness of wisdom. Metaphysical theology after all is a two-edged sword. It requires in its use no little caution and experience. The greater the courage with which it is wielded, the greater the

danger of self-destruction or of mischief. Mysteries impenetrable seem to encircle the confines of our knowledge in every department. We often imagine that we see land at a distance, and we carry forward the frontiers of our own territory somewhat further, or think we do ; but still we have neither dissipated the clouds, nor exhausted the mystery which defied our vision, and still defies it. The observation applies not exclusively to such subjects as the present. It belongs to what we call the clearest of our sciences, and the most perfect of our demonstrations. You can prove nothing without assuming what cannot be proved—by reasoning—what is a simple matter of consciousness—and then you must proceed to define impossible facts, which are mere imaginary assumptions. Poor human reason ! Well may it droop its head, not only before the mysteries of the universe and its Creator, but when it contemplates the imperfection of its own work, and the insignificance of its own efforts.

Mr. Gillespie will, we trust, give us credit for having read his work with attention and interest. If we have not felt quite secure in following him in some of his propositions, he will perceive that at least we have high authority for our hesitation. We have been anxious to do him justice, and should even be glad to discover the soundness of his argument. Its solidity once established would set at rest the controversy with the atheists. And he may be sure we should rejoice to see them all placed in the position of the Zetetic Society at Glasgow. We sincerely trust that his work may command the attention it deserves. Every theologian is not a metaphysician, but there are many whose previous studies qualify them for the reading of the present work ; and to their attention we cordially commend it, with the confident assurance that they will not regret its perusal, or even its re-perusal.

- Art. VIII.—1. *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap Book*. 1846. By the Hon. Mrs. Norton.
2. *The Sacred Gift; a series of Meditations upon Scripture Subjects, with twenty highly finished engravings, after celebrated paintings by eminent masters*. Second Series. By the Rev. Charles B. Taylor, M.A., author of 'May you like it,' &c. 4to.
3. *Fisher's Juvenile Scrap Book*. 1846. By the author of 'The Women of England.'
4. *China, in a Series of Views, displaying the Scenery, Architecture, and Social Habits of that ancient empire*. Drawn from original and authentic sketches by Thomas Allom, Esq.. With Historical and Descriptive Notices by the Rev. G. N. Wright, M.A. Vol. 4.
4. *France Illustrated*. Drawings by Thomas Allom, Esq. Descriptions by the Rev. G. N. Wright. Divisions, I—III. London: Fisher, Son, and Co.

WE are reminded of the approach of Christmas, with all its pleasures and social convivialities, by the appearance of these beautiful volumes, as gifts for the season. They come to us this year in their usually elegant garb, introducing us by their attractive embellishments to foreign lands, in which it has not been the privilege of some of us domestics to travel; amusing, and, in some cases, instructing us by their varied and interesting details; and at the same time assisting to renovate the ornaments of our drawing-room table, by taking the place of their predecessors, whose dress has been somewhat injured by the constant wear of a year.

From our long intimacy with *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap Book*, we are naturally induced to cast on it our first glance; and we confess ourselves somewhat disappointed at not again meeting its gifted editor of last year, the author of 'the Women of England.' We felt great confidence and satisfaction in the compilation of the work being in the hands of Mrs Ellis, from the moral healthfulness which is uniformly diffused through all her writings. Still we must not be understood as wishing to depreciate the literary competence of the editor of the present volume. The Hon. Mrs. Norton is justly esteemed for the delicacy, imagination, and music of her poetry; which as devoted to the deep soul stirring and tender affections, is specially appropriate to the pen of a woman. In the volume before us we have some beautiful specimens of her descriptive powers, in illustration of engravings which admirably depict to the English reader the scenes and architecture of foreign lands:—

'Again, new scenes from other lands,
Lie spread before you, brightly fair.

We must content ourselves with one extract, the length of which completely exhausts our limited space. It is illustrated by a beautifully soft landscape by Mr. Bartlett, of Bingen on the Rhine.

BINGEN.

‘ A soldier of the Legion, lay dying in Algiers,
There was lack of woman’s nursing, there was dearth of woman’s tears ;
But a comrade stood beside him, while his life blood ebbed away,
And bent, with pitying glances, to hear what he might say.
The dying soldier faltered, as he took that comrade’s hand,
And he said, ‘ I never more shall see my own, my native land ;
Take a message, and a token, to some distant friend of mine,
For I was born at Bingen,—at Bingen on the Rhine.

‘ Tell my brothers and companions, when they meet and crowd around,
To hear my mournful story in the pleasant vineyard ground ;
That we fought the battle bravely, and when the day was done,
Full many a corse lay ghastly pale, beneath the setting sun.
And midst the dead and dying, were some grown old in wars, —
The death-wound on their gallant breasts, the last of many scars :
But some were young, and suddenly beheld life’s morn decline,
And one had come from Bingen, fair Bingen on the Rhine.

‘ Tell my mother, that her other sons shall comfort her old age,
And I was still a truant bird, that thought his home a cage :
For my father was a soldier, and even as a child
My heart leaped forth to hear him tell of struggles fierce and wild ;
And when he died, and left us to divide his scanty hoard,
I let them take whate’er they would, but kept my father’s sword ;
And with boyish love I hung it where the bright light used to shine,
On the cottage-wall at Bingen, calm Bingen on the Rhine.

* * * *

‘ There’s another—not a sister ;—in the happy days gone by,
You’d have known her by the merriment that sparkled in her eye ;
Too innocent for coquetry,—too fond for idle scanning,—
Oh ! friend, I fear the lightest heart makes sometimes heaviest
mourning !

Tell her—the last night of my life—(for ere this moon be risen,
My body will be out of pain, my soul be out of prison)
I dreamed I stood with her, and saw the yellow sunlight shine
On the vine-clad hills of Bingen, fair Bingen on the Rhine !

‘ I saw the blue Rhine sweep along—I heard, or seemed to hear.
The German songs we used to sing, in chorus sweet and clear ;
And down the pleasant river, and up the slanting hill,
That echoing chorus sounded, through the evening calm and still :
And her glad blue eyes were on me, as we passed with friendly talk,
Down many a path beloved of yore, and well-remembered walk ;
And her little hand lay lightly, confidingly, in mine,—
But we’ll meet no more at Bingen, loved Bingen on the Rhine !’

His voice grew faint and hoarser,—his grasp was childish weak,—
 His eyes put on a dying look,—he sighed and ceased to speak :
 His comrade bent to lift him, but the spark of life had fled,—
 The soldier of the legion in a foreign land was dead !
 And the soft moon rose up slowly, and calmly she looked down
 On the red sand of the battle-field, with bloody corpses strown ;
 Yea, calmly on that dreadful scene her pale light seemed to shine,
 As it shone on distant Bingen,—Fair Bingen on the Rhine !'

The plates, which are thirty-six in number, are distinguished by variety and beauty, although they cannot boast of originality. That of the Chinese Opium Smokers is truly appalling. The views on the Rhine, Florence, and Italy, are pleasing, and Jephtha's daughter but too painfully reminds us of the grief of the father for the haste of his vow.

The Sacred Gift, by the Rev. Charles B. Taylor, is got up with much care, and is distinguished by admirable feeling. It consists of papers, or meditations in prose and verse, on sacred subjects, by the editor, Henry Raikes, Joseph Baylee, Canon Slade, Hugh Stowell, R. C. Evans, and Hugh M'Neale, all clergymen of the church of England, and is intended, the editor tells us, for 'those readers to whom subjects of a less sacred character would not be acceptable.' There is nothing sectarian in the volume; a religious spirit breathes throughout it; yet we must confess ourselves somewhat opposed to this class of pious Annuals for the boudoir, as inconsistent in form and purpose. The embellishments agree in subject with the prose and verse illustrations, and are selected from Fisher's Family Bible. We find it difficult to give our readers a specimen of its contents, as the pieces are most of them very long. We must therefore merely transcribe a beautiful hymn, which is characteristic of the spirit diffused throughout the volume.

HYMN.

- ' How blessed are the sons of light !
 Though poor on earth, and ill at ease,
 The path of faith and not of sight,
 Is that of pleasantness and peace.
- ' Loud laughter and the idle jest
 May rise amid the ungodly throng,
 But calm content, and holy rest,
 To pilgrims of the cross belong.
- ' In thee, sweet Source of heavenly peace,
 All fresh and living springs are found ;
 And the deep well knows no decrease,
 From whence those gladdening springs abound.

- * What though the vain and worldly deem
The way of God a desert rude,
Green pastures and the tranquil stream
Are found in that sweet solitude.
- * There the good Shepherd loves to lead,
In noontide heat, His little flock ;
There they repose, and there they feed,
Beneath the shadow of the Rock.
- * Fearless of harm, to that clear spring
The dove descends, her wandering o'er,
Laves in the stream her weary wing,
Nor leaves the quiet shelter more.
- * Thou God of grace, and peace, and love !
Teach me to find that region blest ;
Oh for the pinions of the dove,
To flee away and be at rest !

' *The Juvenile Scrap Book*,' says Mrs. Ellis, 'embellished with the usual number and variety of engravings, is again offered to the notice of her young friends, whose kind welcome to the preceding volumes of this elegant work, leads her to hope that their hearts not unfrequently go with her, in the pleasing task of preparing it for the amusement of their winter evenings.' We certainly feel warranted in congratulating the editor on her present attempt, and do not recollect that she has ever before presented herself to our youth in an aspect more engaging, or better calculated to improve or interest them, than in the present volume, which contains sixteen engravings executed with sufficient taste and skill to satisfy and enchant the readers for whom the work is intended. The vignette is a landscape in the country, where, seated under the shade of some trees, is a rural and happy family, consisting of three generations. It is entitled 'The Sparkling Draught,' to which is appended the following appropriate stanzas.

THE SPARKLING DRAUGHT.

The sparkling draught that fills thy glass,
Kind stranger, freely sip ;
'Tis not like some that sweetly pass,
But have a poisoned lip.

That sparkling draught springs where the leaves
In green luxuriance grow ;
The wild-rose there her garland weaves,
And hair-bells droop below.

Deep through yon grove its crystal tide,
With song and music goes ;
The wild-bird builds her nest beside
And warbles where it flows.

No aching brow, no frenzied eye,
Bend o'er that sylvan stream ;
The heavens above—the bright blue sky—
The star's reflected beam.

Within that fountain pure and deep
Dark fearful forms live not ;
But silent dews at night-fall weep
Bright tears around that spot.

Kissed by the opening flowers of spring,
Fed by soft-falling showers,
Deem not that fresh'ning draught can bring
Sad thoughts for after-hours.

The sparkling glass will cool thy lip,
Nor wake one pulse but joy ;
Drink then, kind stranger—freely sip
Sweet draughts without alloy.

We have perused the fourth volume of *China, its Architecture, &c.*, with great pleasure, and find in it as much to interest and instruct, as in the three former volumes. We decidedly prefer it to many of our gifts for the season, inasmuch as it has a purpose which will place it on the library shelf when its exhibition in the drawing-room ceases. Its engravings are exquisite and original, thirty-two in number, introducing us to scenes of which we know comparatively little. They are executed in the same style, and display the same elegance, as we have already noted in the former volumes of the work.

France Illustrated. This is a similar work to the preceding, and will be equally acceptable to all lovers of the fine arts. The engravings, which are numerous, are exceedingly beautiful, and many of them are executed in the first style, whilst the descriptive matter familiarizes the reader with some of the most interesting points of French history, natural scenery, architectural structure, and social life. The work is issued in monthly and quarterly parts, the former at two, and the latter at six shillings each, and unites in an unusual degree the attractions of an Annual with the more permanent qualities of a descriptive and historical volume.

Art. IX.—*The League.* Nov. 15. 1845.

ANOTHER heave has been given to the progress of the Corn-Law question, by circumstances which man cannot regulate, but on the occurrence of which or something similar, he was as much bound to calculate, as sea-going man is to be provided with the means of reefing his sails, in the knowledge that though none can foretell the precise period of a gale, a gale at some time is in the first class of certainties. A failure has been announced in the potatoe crop; thus reducing the numerous class who in the language of ecclesiastical dignitaries 'rejoice in potatoes,' to try what they can make of mortifying upon wheaten flour, after the counsels of that celebrated French princess who said, that sooner than die like the people who starved for want of bread, she would live on macaroons. And this is backed up by continually accumulating reports, that the wheat harvest in most parts of the country is defective either in quantity or quality, and that the other countries of Europe, with the unimportant exception of Denmark, are suffering under at least a *jealousy* of short supply.

The parties responsible for the scrape into which we are partly brought and worse threatened, maintain stiffly that the reports are exaggerated. It may be conceded, for the advancement of the argument, that of course to some extent they are. Wherever there is an interest in making out a case, the most will be made of anything that favours it; and the people of this country have a fearful interest in diminishing the danger which has been brought on by the visible act of governors, and if possible preventing its recurrence. But if there be suspicion of exaggeration against one side, there is the same against the other; the two therefore may pair off. Either there is danger or there is not. Either, to take the most prominent feature, there is a failure in the crop of the 'coarser kind of food,' or else potatoes are flourishing unscathed by curl at the top or the black death at the bottom. To remove a part of the impression by fine writing, may be possible; but to remove the whole, must be of the last stage of impossibility. There is less food than our governors meant there should be; and the question is not of altering what is unalterable and re-instating us in the previous position, but of allowing remedy to leak in by such chinks and crannies as the ingenuity of our rulers has not availed entirely to cut off.

And here it is that our quarter-deck people have contrived to move a step towards the solution of the question. A belief is

clearly among the crew, that a gale of wind is coming on, and a winter's night in prospect makes it doubly important to prepare. Of the officers some take one side and some the other; but there is shrewdly surmised to be an interest among them in keeping things as they are. In some way or other the sensibility of their breeches' pockets is suspected to be involved in denying the danger, and carrying sail through all, though at the risk of sending the masts over the side, when they are supposed to count upon having the boats at their disposal, and escaping the destruction which is to fall on the ignoble herd. In this state of things the chief mate,—(for the captain is too great a personage to have anything personally to say to it, nor would much difference be made by the fact if it took place,)—the chief mate holds a council,—half a dozen councils,—hour after hour of precious time expended on each. By this he recognizes to the fullest extent, that there is a popular belief,—a creed among the unaccounted vulgar who are to go to the bottom in the event of ill success without a boat to help them,—that a gale is close at hand. Knots of the crew are seen collected here and there, handling the ropes which lead to reefing sails, and the word from time to time passes among them that the chief mate is only waiting to hear what this and another gentleman has to say against it, and then he is going to the captain to say it must be done.

In this position of things, what does our Palinurus, chief of all with the exception of the seed of the gods that tenants the state cabin, finally decide on? He decides, that though the growling of the coming storm is not reduced but heightened, and without a shadow of reason to show except that the gentlemen do not like it, he will say we will go on as we are, and if the gale comes and all effort at taking in a reef is too late, we will read the Prayer for Fair Weather as by law established, and put the officers into the boats when the rest must clearly go down.

Now nobody can say, that the chief officer who did this, had not (with exception always of the present peril) done the likeliest or rather the most certain thing, to bring on such a searching into the principle concerned, as can end in only one way, and that with a vengeance of effectiveness which must satisfy the most ardent wisher. If the thing does not come to a conclusion now, it will be tried again; it will be tried therefore till the conclusion comes. If the chances of present death and misery could be set out of sight, a hearty hater of the evil principle and half a dozen other evil principles incidentally involved, might joy rather than grieve over the decision of the man whose word is law.

In this state of being 'doubly armed,' and with the certainty that the abolition of restrictions on the provision of food must come hereafter because it does not come now, it is time for those to be looking about them, who are the enemies not only of the evil principle immediately concerned, but of other evil principles which hang by it and own a common origin. In public questions, which can only be settled by the gradual preponderance of opinion under whatever disadvantages expressed, there is very little use in the concealment which may be prudence in more limited concerns. The adversary 'knows his strength, and we know ours.' Lord Ashley's declaration is decisive on this point. Instead of being an indication of personal weakness, as in some quarters unwisely intimated, it was the cool declaration of a good officer, taking a leader's view of the field, and counselling the taking up of the inferior position, because the higher was no longer tenable. Such a moment was no time for discussing the principles of a cause; all men are supposed to have made up their minds on these, before they present themselves to a contest. A good leader does not request his followers to throw themselves into a gulph because their cause is good; he does what is much more likely to be of use, desires them to take up a contracted position which he points out. The time then seems come, when, as Mauser Headrigg invited the Life Guards under Claverhouse in their retreat, the enemy may be called upon to 'tarry,' and be in no hurry to get away from the consequences of his defeat. There is more to be done with him, before he is quit; why will he not stand like a man, and defend his grand position, or else quietly give up the others which will be found to hang by it? The corn laws were not merely enactments for finding portions for the ruling classes' daughters; they were the banner, the cockade, the representative by concentration, of their general right of wrong. If it is once discovered that the ruling classes cannot keep their corn laws, a host of questions they 'may not look upon,' will be gathering fast about them, each grimmer and more abhorrent to them than its predecessor. Nothing is more certain than that the maintenance of wrongs at large, depends on the invulnerability of each particular one. The boy who would not say *A* because he knew he should be asked to say *B*, is the true and only type for the policy of wrong-doers. Why not hold out a little longer? Is it not plain that the corn laws are in the fact of being surrendered, and legions of strange aspect, leaving no hope to the claimants of the marriage portions but from their quarrelling with one another, are standing on the slip for the first entry at the breach that shall be made? If the monopoly of the bread that perishes cannot maintain

itself, what sanctuary can be depended on, where the suffering genius of wrong may hide the sorrows of her pocket and her heart?

If the losers by the other injustices have not bestirred themselves vigorously before, it was perhaps because the time was not come, and may be no argument against their vigour now. The League which has been the *malleus*, the *marteau* as military men who prefer French would have it, the sledge-hammer which struck the actual blow, has rightly proclaimed itself of no colour in politics or any of the strifes in which men are engaged except its own. Like the rays of light which combine all the hues in the rainbow, the League was white. It was precisely because all kinds were there, that this result ensued. One only reservation, entire or partial, can be assigned. The League was always the most deficient in what may be denominated the popular voice; meaning thereby the voice of the class who cannot help themselves, and do not always know when anybody else will help them. Active measures had been taken to produce this effect, and had been too successful. The knowledge of the fact is not confined to its friends; and when 'the leading journal'* undertakes to lecture the League on the leaning it asserts to have been shown towards Radicals and Destructives, the inference is only that it sees the quarter from which the accession of strength is to arise. It dreads the infusion of popular blood. It knows the thing will not be done without the rank-and-file. Wait till the chief mate has laid the ship on its beam-ends. At Birmingham there sat at a mess-table what were or ought to have been the five hundred officers of Birmingham's hundred thousand; but whether these captains of two-hundreds left their companies in an equal state of intelligence and exaltation, does not substantially appear. One thing however is certain, that the League can keep nobody out. By its constitution it can refuse no volunteers. If the whole multitude whom the great call 'swinish,' choose to present themselves and give, not take, the enlisting shilling, they must be provided with forage and quarters, and have as good a pig-trough as anybody else. But what is true of one is true of another; no man can be prevented from uniting with the League, because his views are not supposed to be limited to cakes and ale. The League, with vast resources in possession and almost boundless ones behind, has made an inroad into the fortress of misrule, and as regards the county registration, may be said to have recovered the Constitution. Not a man who has an honest purpose, but may take advantage of the expensive machinery here established to his hand, and march in to take

* *Times*, 18 Nov.

his own share of the recovered power, if he can only stomach cheap bread as an accompaniment. It is, therefore, for all that conceive themselves wronged, to make a part in the movement; and if they do not, they are not men who know how to shut their mouth when a good thing is put into it. There may be battles after the battle of Armageddon; but a man will not be the worse for having been there, and on the right side. Of course when the League has gained its point, there will be a great breaking-up into a multiplicity of directions;—Ptolemies of all kinds, parcelling out the empire of the defunct Alexander. But nothing is clearer than that they will have gained by the previous union, and not lost. Darius then, must settle his affairs with the Macedonian as he can; and when that scene of the play is played, his successors may count on finding the Ptolemies in positions of their own.

Brief Notices.

The Pilgrim's Progress, from this world to that which is to come.

By John Bunyan. With two hundred and seventy engravings from entirely new designs. 8vo., and foolscap 8vo. London, Bagster.

The Pilgrim's Progress, from Earth to Heaven. In two Parts. An Epic Poem. The first part by the Rev. George Burder, and the second by the Author of 'Scripture Truths in Verse.' Foolscap 8vo. Bagster.

The Life of John Bunyan, written by himself, and published under the title of 'Grace abounding to the Chief of Sinners.' With the addition of some particulars on his examination before his committal to prison, and a continuation to the time he joined good Christian in glory. Foolscap 8vo. Bagster.

The name of Messrs. Bagster will be a sufficient guarantee for the accuracy and beauty of these volumes. We are glad to see them on our table, and take an early opportunity of introducing them to our readers. The numerous editions of the *Pilgrim's Progress* which have been issued, attest the truthfulness of the work, and its permanent value; whilst they constitute a cheering indication of the healthful state of the public mind. The peculiarity of the editions now before us, one of which is in demy, and the other in foolscap 8vo., consists in the engravings with which they are richly illustrated. These are from entirely new designs, are two hundred and seventy in number, small in size, but executed, in many cases, with considerable spirit and effect. To the young reader, especially, they will prove invaluable, as serving to imprint more deeply on the mind the pro-

minent points of the narrative, and through them the great truths which the allegory is designed to enforce. They are in truth 'pictures whose tale is self told,' the embodiment of Bunyan's own beautiful thoughts. The price of these editions, considering the number of illustrations, is decidedly low, the larger one being published at 7s.6d. and the smaller one at 3s.6d.

Of the poetical version we shall say nothing more than that those who think the idiomatic prose of Bunyan may be improved, cannot supply themselves with a neater or better edition than that before us. For ourselves, we are free to confess that we entertain no such notion, but shrink from the mere attempt to versify as something like profanation.

The Life of Bunyan, written by Himself, will be read with deep interest by all who are concerned to understand the workings of a powerful and imaginative mind in the earlier stages of its religious life. Bunyan's experience, however, must not be made a precedent.

Life of Lorenzo De Medici, called the Magnificent. By William Roscoe. With a Memoir of the Author. London: David Bogue.

The European Library, of which this volume constitutes the first, is another of those efforts which mark the literary character of our age, as full of promise. In former times books were the luxury of the rich, and only few, even of them, cared about the expensive indulgence. Times are happily changed now, and the best productions of our first authors are brought within the means of the great mass of our countrymen. The European Library is admirably planned in this respect. It is to consist of volumes of from 450 to 500 pages, printed in a good and legible type, on paper of the best quality. Each work will be edited by a gentleman conversant with the subject to which it is devoted, and where necessary a memoir and index will be supplied. The price of each volume is to be three shillings and sixpence, constituting the series, as stated by the prospectus, the cheapest 'ever published in this or any other country.'

'A peculiar feature of the *European Library*,' we are informed, 'will be the works of the chief historians of literature—the Wartons, the Tiraboschis, the Sismondias, the Bouterweks, the Guinguenés. The works of these and some other writers in the same charming class, will, for the first time, be presented to the English reader in a popular form and at a popular price, with illustrations from such productions in the same department as may be deemed necessary to give it a complete form.'

The series is appropriately commenced with Mr. Roscoe's chief production, which is enriched by a brief memoir of the author, and rendered more popular by a translation of the Latin, Italian, and French notes, and some other alterations, which are briefly detailed in Mr. Hazlitt's advertisement. We cordially recommend the work to our readers, as adapted to unite, in a greater degree than is usual,

the entertaining and the instructive,—what is solid and valuable, with whatever is attractive in historical or literary research.

The Modern Orator. The Speeches of the Right Honourable Richard Brinsley Sheridan. 8vo. London: Aylott and Jones.

WE are glad to report the satisfactory progress of this work, and shall be happy if our recommendation contributes to its more extensive circulation. Such a publication has long been called for; and the cheap and popular form in which it is here produced, leaves nothing in this respect at least to be desired. We could wish a more liberal illustration in the way of notes; and, as formerly intimated, should have been glad of connecting links between the speeches of the several orators who constituted the glory of the Commons House, at the close of the past and the commencement of the present year; but in the absence of these, we receive with thanks the present publication, and strongly recommend it to our readers. Sheridan's Speeches are included in five parts, which may be had, stitched together, for three shillings and four-pence, and we trust that the publishers will be so supported as to encourage them to proceed to the completion of their original design. A cheap issue of *these masterpieces of English oratory* has long been needed, and much good must result from their extensive diffusion. Lord Erskine's speeches follow those of Sheridan.

Sacred Biography, illustrative of Man's Threefold State, the Present, the Intermediate, and the Future. By J. Smith, M.A. Glasgow: George Gallie.

AN interesting little volume, in which the more familiar facts of the histories chosen are related, in connexion with inferences from the scattered hints and indications to be found elsewhere in Scripture. These are sometimes fanciful, but always vary and enliven the narrative in a way which will attract the young; and should serve the further purpose of inciting them to a thorough collation of the Sacred Writings for themselves. The concluding lectures, as abounding less in figure and apostrophe, we prefer to the earlier ones.

It is necessary, in explanation of the full title, to say, that there are supplementary chapters on the Intermediate State, on the Resurrection, and on the Nature and Duration of the Future Existence of Man, which do credit to the author's diligence and discrimination.

Literary Intelligence.

Just Published.

The Reformation and Anti-Reformation in Bohemia. 2 vols. 8vo. From the German.

Eight Sermons, preached in St. Pancras Church. With an Appendix. By the Rev. G. S. Drew, B.A.

Elements of Mental and Moral Science. By George Payne, LL.D. 3d Edition, enlarged.

Proceedings of the Anti-Maynooth Conference of 1845. With an Historical Introduction, and an Appendix. Compiled and edited (at the request of the Central Anti-Maynooth Committee) by the Rev. A. S. Thelwall, M.A. of Trinity College, Cambridge.

Knight's Books of Reference. Political Dictionary; forming a Work of Universal Reference, both constitutional and legal; and embracing the Terms of Civil Administration, of Political Economy and Social Relations; and of all the more important Statistical Departments of Finance and Commerce. Part 9. Second Half.

The Palace of Fantasy; or, the Bard's Imagery. With other Poems. By J. S. Hardy.

The Modern Orator. Being a Collection of Celebrated Speeches of the most distinguished Orators of the United Kingdom. Part 11. Erskine. Part 3.

Cobbin's Child's Commentator on the Holy Scriptures. Parts 20 and 21.

The Pictorial Gallery of Arts. Part 10.

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